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**JOURNAL**  
**OF A**  
**RESIDENCE IN NORWAY**

**DURING**  
**THE YEARS 1834, 1835, & 1836;**

**MADE WITH A VIEW**  
**TO ENQUIRE INTO THE MORAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THAT**  
**COUNTRY, AND THE CONDITION OF ITS INHABITANTS.**

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**NEW EDITION.**

**IN TWO PARTS.**

**PART I.**

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## INTRODUCTION.

NORWAY has been visited and described by Von Buch, Dr. Clarke, and other travellers of science and talent; but these enlightened observers have naturally directed their attention to the geology, botany, and sublime natural scenery which the country presents in the most interesting forms, and have bestowed little of it on the social condition and state of the Norwegian people. They are, however, the most interesting and singular group of people in Europe. They live under ancient laws and social arrangements totally different in principle from those which regulate society and property in the feudally constituted countries; and among them, perhaps, may be traced the germ of all the free institutions which distinguish the British constitution at the present day. They present to the political philosopher the singular spectacle of a nation emerging suddenly from under the hand of an uncontrolled and absolute sovereign power, with their civil liberties and social arrangements so well adapted to their condition, and so well secured by their ancient laws, that the transition from despotism to democracy was unmarked by any convulsion, or revolutionary movement, or important change in the state of society and property.

The remarkable firmness, moderation, and judgment, with which this people have exercised the legislative power, vested by their constitution entirely in their representatives, place them, in the moral estimate of European nations, in a much higher rank than those who have received a much greater share of the public attention in this country.

## INTRODUCTION.

Norway has a claim morally and politically upon the British nation, which renders her social condition and her present constitution of peculiar interest. In 1813, our government was party to a treaty with Sweden,—the foulest blot, perhaps, in British history,—by which we agreed, in consideration of Sweden joining the Allied Powers against Buonaparte, to give Sweden the kingdom of Norway, of which neither of the contracting parties had at that moment possession even as military occupants of the territory, and far less any shadow of rightful claim to it. It would be a case in point, as far as regards principle, if Russia and Denmark were to conclude a treaty for giving to Russia the kingdom of Ireland. Providence sometimes will not allow our measures to be so flagitious as we design them. The Norwegians declared themselves an independent nation upon the Danish monarch renouncing the sovereignty of Norway, framed a constitution, and proclaimed the son of their former sovereign king. The Danish prince abdicated his newly acquired crown rather than engage in so unequal a contest with Sweden and England; and these two contracting powers redeemed in so far the character of their private nefarious treaty, that the Norwegian nation was not, as in the case of Poland, handed over, like a herd of black cattle, from one potentate to another, but their distinct national existence was acknowledged, their new constitution, as established on the 17th of May, 1814, was accepted, and solemnly sworn to by the proposed monarch, the late king of Sweden, on the 4th of November; and on these conditions only, viz. the distinct existence as a nation of the kingdom of Norway, and the preservation of its constitution as sworn to, were the two crowns of Norway and Sweden united—under the guarantee of this country as one of the Allied Powers, to support each party, the Kings of Sweden and the Norwegian nation, in their just rights.\* Great Britain is therefore

\* The treaty of Kiel, if it had even been founded on any just or admitted principle of the law of nations, was renounced by this acceptance as a ground of right to the sovereignty of the Norwegian nation. At the present day,

## INTRODUCTION.

morally and in honour bound to preserve the national independence of Norway, and her singularly liberal and well-constructed constitution. Norway never can become a province of Sweden, nor be deprived of her present constitution, while there exists in the British cabinet honour or respect for its own guarantee; and abhorrence in the nation of a participation in a measure which would have been in principle and in effect exactly similar to the partition of Poland, but for the redeeming circumstances of our recognising and guaranteeing the independent national existence and free constitution of Norway.

The writer of the following observations aims at a higher object than the amusement or instruction of those who may read them. He would draw the attention of this country, if he had the ability to do so, to the important duty which, by the transactions of 1813 and 1814, we are morally bound as a nation to perform to this handful of free and happy people living under a liberal constitution, flourishing under their own legislation, and making no demands, asking no favours, from the other governments of Europe, unless that Great Britain should watch over the guarantee she has given for their independent existence and the enjoyment of their constitution of the 17th of May, 1814.

when the excitement and occasion which gave rise to that nefarious treaty are past, and its object has been accomplished upon just principles, no Swedish cabinet could, in the face of civilised and moral nations, have the effrontery to claim rights over the Norwegian people as emanating from a treaty so repugnant to all principle. Norway has her guarantee in the moral feeling of mankind.



# RESIDENCE IN NORWAY

IN

THE YEARS 1834, 1835, 1836.

"O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint  
\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* extrema per illos  
Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit." VIR. *Georg. II.*

## CHAPTER I.

Norway interesting from its peculiar law of succession. — Steam-boats. — Gottenburg. — Trollhætta. — Christiania. — Money. — Fish. — Slaves. — Cariole Travelling. — Myosen Lake. — Farms. — Houses. — Haymaking — Ladies' Side-saddles. — Laurgaard. — Goats. — Log-houses. — Norwegian and Scotch Highlanders. — Condition, Property, Food, Lodging compared. — Timber Duties. — Snow. — Dovre Field. — Mill. — Sneehætta. — Game. — Fishing. — Norwegian Inns. — Sækness. — Sundset.

Hull, July 7. 1834.

NORWAY is a country peculiarly interesting to the political economist. It is the only part of Europe in which property, from the earliest ages, has been transmitted upon the principle of partition among all the children. The feudal structure of society, with its law of primogeniture, and its privileged class of hereditary nobles, never prevailed in Norway. In this remote corner of the civilised world we may, therefore, see the effects upon the condition of society of this peculiar distribution of property; it will exhibit, on a small scale, what America and France will be a thousand years hence. From a period coeval with the establishment of the feudal system the land and the people of Norway have been under the influence of the mode of succession which those countries have

only recently adopted. What effect has this produced on the state of society? on the condition of the lower and middle classes in this peculiar community? what on the arrangement and distribution of its landed property after a thousand years of division and subdivision? A single fact, brought home from such a country, is worth a volume of speculation.

I had long entertained a wish to visit Norway, partly to investigate the social condition of a people living under institutions so ancient and peculiar, and which have recently been adopted by two of the greatest of modern nations, and partly from the historical interest which we attach to every thing Norwegian. Here we expect to see the original type of institutions, customs, and domestic usages which England received by the Norman Conquest, and the long previous occupation of a large portion of her territory by invaders of Norwegian race. Few readers of the historical events of the middle ages rise from the perusal without a wish to visit the country from which issued, in the tenth century, the men who conquered the fairest portions of Europe. Such were the objects to investigate which the writer was induced to spend nearly two years in this remote part of Europe; and he will now, in the form of a journal, communicate the result of his inquiries.

*Gottenburg, July, 1834.*—Steam-boats interfere most particularly with the vocation of the traveller who sets out in quest of all sorts of adventures and perils by sea and land, and hopes to edify and astonish his friends at home by the narration of them. These mail coaches of the ocean deliver him and his portmanteau on the other side of the North Sea, within twenty minutes of the appointed time, without more adventure, and with considerably less trouble, than if he were journeying in the coach from Charing Cross to Greenwich; and he finds himself, with his hands in his breeches pockets, whistling along the quay of Gottenburg, before he is well aware that he has left his favourite corner in his old accustomed coffee-room, and has actually accomplished a voyage across the salt seas.

The fare by the steam-packet from Hull to Gottenburg is about seven pounds sterling; and we accomplished the passage in seventy-two hours, with favourable weather and a smooth sea. There were only five passengers on board, and, I understand, seventeen are the greatest number the vessel ever conveyed to Gottenburg. This, of course, would be a ruinous trade for a



steam-vessel ; but the owners are secured from loss by a contract with the British and Swedish post-offices. They receive four thousand pounds for conveying the mails to and from Gottenburg once a week, during nine months of the year. This is a very limited intercourse between the two countries. Hamburgh, being the centre of exchanges and of mercantile affairs for the north of Europe, is the route which men of business prefer both for themselves and their letters. Our Norwegian steam-packet mails are very ill-regulated. The steam-packet from Copenhagen and Gottenburg to Norway was leaving the latter port while we were entering the river, so that our mails and passengers for Norway, although arriving at the proper hour, will be detained here a week.

It appears extraordinary that three millions of people, so near to our coast, requiring all the articles which we manufacture, and having commodities which we specially require,—wood and iron,—should have so little correspondence with Britain. At one of our country post towns there are probably received and delivered more letters in a day than are transmitted to or from Scandinavia in a week. This surely implies something wrong in the commercial relations between the two countries.

I have passed a pleasant week at Gottenburg. I became acquainted at the table-d'hôte with a Swedish gentleman from Sundsväl, on the Bothnian Gulf, who spoke French and German : as he had also a few leisure days to get rid of, we resolved to visit together the Falls of Trollhætta. We set off at eight in the morning, in a little steam-boat which plies up and down the river Gotha : her machinery, I observe, was made at Dundee, possibly of Swedish iron. The day was beautiful ; the sun sparkling in the water ; the boat running swiftly along, and the passengers numerous, gay, evidently good-humoured folk, who had set out determined to enjoy themselves. Between eating, drinking, smoking, admiring the scenery, and playing three-card Loo, we got on very successfully ; and in eight hours were landed at the hamlet of Lilla Edet. The scenery on the Gotha is not fine : marshes on each side reach to flat fields bounded by hills skirting the river-valley at the distance of half a mile on each side. These hills are mere knobs or hummocks of gneiss, scantily covered with soil, and with edges of granite occasionally shooting up through it. As we approach Lilla Edet the hills close in, and the scenery resembles the tamest views

on the Cumberland Lakes. It is water sleeping between green banks and woods, and the current is scarcely perceptible till near Lilla Edet. We landed on the right bank, the river ceasing to be navigable on account of rocks in the channel. Having hired a four-wheeled vehicle and a pair of horses, we drove about sixteen miles to a ferry, where we crossed to the locks of the celebrated Trollhætta Canal, at the foot of the great waterfall. Our road was over an open country, apparently well and carefully cultivated in the plains and valleys; but the hills, although of small elevation, are bare knobs of rock shooting up through the earth, without a particle of soil on them. These naked ribs of gneiss and granite run through the country, like the bare bones of some giant-skeleton, leaving between them small intervals skinned over with a thin covering of soil, and forming, together with the river-valley, the only parts of the country capable of cultivation. Every patch of soil seemed occupied. The rest of the country in view, to the extent, I should think, of four-fifths of the surface, was naked rock, without even moss or heath. When a country containing a great extent of such land is compared as to the number of inhabitants with other regions, it is to be remembered, that of the square mile of 640 acres there should be thrown out of the account perhaps 200 acres or more, as bare rock, or waters producing neither subsistence nor employment for man. With this allowance, I should suppose, from the many odd nooks and corners in which houses are set down, and attempts made at cultivation, where six or eight sheaves of corn only could be raised, that land is scarce even in proportion to the population; and that every square mile of what really is land is inhabited as densely as in other cultivated countries. Small patches of soil between the rocks, which, in a territory where good soil was plentiful, would be neglected as inconvenient, are here occupied. Without some correction of this kind, the statements of the number of inhabitants to the square mile in different countries furnish no correct data for comparing the agricultural industry of one country with that of another.

The canal of Trollhætta did not appear to me a work of such great magnificence as it is often considered. The idea, originally formed by Charles the Twelfth, was undoubtedly bold, and superior to his age. The splendid inland sea called the Wenner is connected on one side by a chain of lakes with the Baltic, and on the other by the river Gotha with the North Sea. The falls of

Trollhætta, on the Gotha, are the only impediment to a free navigation from the ocean into the Baltic. The idea of overcoming it by a series of locks was the conception of a great mind, but the execution is lamentably defective. The locks strike the eye at once as too narrow for vessels of sufficient breadth of beam to navigate the Baltic, the North Sea, or even the Wenner, yet unnecessarily wide for canal boats or river barges. This defect appears extraordinary; since, great as the undertaking was, the execution consisted chiefly in excavating a very hard and solid rock, in which every inch quarried was gained for ever, and any dimensions whatever could have been given by patience and gunpowder. There were none of those natural difficulties to contend with, such as soft soils in the sides, loose sands or gravel, slips of clay, springs, rivers, valleys, or hills to turn or surmount, and all that variety of obstacles which places canal engineering among the highest efforts of human intellect. As a work of art, the Trollhætta cannot be placed by the side of the Caledonian Canal; the difficulties were vastly inferior; and in the execution of the locks, lock-gates, stone-work, and in the finish of the whole, it cannot be compared to its rival, which, in its present state of perfection, is undoubtedly the finest work which Scotland can show to the stranger. In consequence of this defect in the Trollhætta Canal, it is proposed to excavate another of greater width of lock by its side: it is not probable, however, that such an undertaking would ever defray the expense. Commerce is somewhat wayward, and will not take the road which governments and ministers point out. The Trollhætta and Caledonian Canals are similar in one respect; both, in proportion to their cost, are almost equally useless. The Trollhætta, however, serves to convey wood from the Wenner Lake to the saw-mills at the Falls, and from the mills to the navigable part of the Gotha. The north and west coasts of the Wenner are the principal districts for timber. The blocks of wood, that is, the trunks of the trees divested of bark and branches, are floated down the rivers which run through the forests in the back country, and fall into the Wenner in the neighbourhood of Carlstadt: they are there shipped in schooners and sloops, which carry from fourteen to forty dozen blocks; and they are transported, at the freight of five dollars banco per dozen, to Trollhætta, where they are sawed into planks. The saw-mills are erected on the very edge of the cataract. The boldness of their

situation is one of the most striking features of Trollhætta. The Falls are the most magnificent in the north of Europe ; but it were idle to attempt to describe the scenery.

Trollhætta is a village containing nearly a thousand inhabitants, and a large and good inn. A party of actors from the opera-house at Stockholm, unfortunately for us, possessed the best accommodations. These French of the North, as Voltaire calls the Swedes, are as fond of the theatre as the Parisian French. I found the mate of our steamboat reading "Medea en Opera;" and all the saw-mill population of Trollhætta were opera-going people. Our accommodations at this good inn were consequently not of the best; and I found, in bed at least, ten thousand good reasons for getting up long before sunrise. I advise the traveller who may visit Trollhætta for its sublime scenery to do the same, and see the Falls amid the morning mists, and before living things are a-stirring.

The enormous chasm through which this great body of water rolls from the Wenner, makes the artificial canal beside it appear a mere scratch on the surface of the earth. A time must have been, however, when this chasm itself was only a scratch on the granite; for all the rocks around and above it are water-worn, and have been long submerged, apparently, under running water. One remarkable place is shown to strangers, because the king and other great personages have inscribed their names in it; but it is much more remarkable, because it could only have been scooped out into such rounded and polished hollows in the hard substance of the primary rock, by the continued action of water in motion over it for a length of time beyond imagination.

When my Swedish friend awoke, we recrossed the river below the Falls, and set off to regain the steam-boat. He drove our little calash, which looked like a bundle of hop-poles upon axle-trees; and, certainly, no English coachman would have taken his vehicle down such steeps as we rattled over at full speed. I thought at first the gentleman was trying my nerves at the risk of our necks, but I saw every person on the road proceeding in the same way. It is the serious, sober way of driving in this country, to take every slope, although it should be as steep as the roof of a house, at full gallop. The carriages are light, the horses small, active, and in excellent wind. They finished their stage, at their utmost rate of exertion, without panting or distress.

Gottenburg resembles some of the old decayed towns of Holland, with its wide streets of good houses, canals in the middle of the streets, and nothing stirring either in the streets or in the canals. Few places have suffered greater vicissitudes. It had a flourishing herring fishery ; but the fish disappeared from the Skaggerack, and never returned. It had an East India trade, which failed ; and during the last war it had a third period of prosperity, which vanished with the return of peace. The population is about 16,000 ; and there is a suburb, called Clippen, extending more than two miles below the city, which contains, probably, as many more. They are of the labouring and seafaring class. The shipping come no higher up the river than Clippen. The little cabins of the inhabitants of this suburb are built upon bare granite, with scarcely soil enough for gardens ; they are set down like so many wooden boxes on the side of the hill, without any regularity. In threading my way through these crowded habitations, I observed that the meanest had a wooden floor and good windows ornamented with the fringe, at least, of window-curtains ; and flower-pots with pinks and other common flowers, well cared for, were in every house. These trifles indicate some degree of taste and leisure among the labouring classes.

At Gottenburg I put up at the hotel of a Scotchman, Mr. Tod, who has been settled there for many years. I found the accommodation good, and expense moderate.

*Christiania, Monday, July 21. 1834.*—I am at last in Norway. I embarked at Clippen on Saturday in the steam-packet *Gustav Adolph*, commanded by an officer of the Norwegian navy, with a lieutenant under him. I paid five dollars of Norwegian money, or about twenty shillings sterling, for my passage from Gottenburg. The other passengers had all come in the vessel from Copenhagen. The sudden disjunction of Norway and Denmark left, of course, much business to be adjusted between individuals of the two countries : it occasioned much distress and loss to persons having connexions and property in both ; and it still produces a constant intercourse. We had beautiful weather, but saw little of the coast, as the steam-packet crosses the Skaggerack in a direct course from Gottenburg to Fredericksvarn, where we arrived in the morning, and were removed into a small coasting steam-boat which takes passengers along the coast from Christiansand to Christiania. It was pleasing to see the numbers of people availing themselves of

this steam communication, and going from town to town. At Tonsburg, Holmestrand, Droback, Moss, and other places, we received and put on shore passengers in considerable numbers. This is a country for steam navigation to produce its greatest benefits. The long fiords running into the heart of the Peninsula, and the immense extent of sea coast defended by chains of islands and rocks just above water which break the swell of the main ocean, and afford a kind of inland navigation, are precisely the waters fitted for steam navigation. The government appears aware of its value, and is making great and judicious exertions to promote it. The vessels are commanded by naval officers; the fares are very moderate; and in all that regards the management and comfort of passengers they equal our own. In a country too poor to have any competition in such expensive enterprises, it is, perhaps, wise in government to undertake them. Private speculators might, by injudicious avidity, prevent the establishment from taking root. If it should prove losing as to money, still the advantage to the country would justify the expenditure. A steam-boat costs less than a regiment:—which adds most to the wealth and strength of such a country as Norway?

We arrived at Christiania in the evening, winding through its long fiord amid scenery quite new to me and delightful. The fiord, which in some parts does not exceed the breadth of a moderate river, is so enclosed with woods and rocks, that we think it terminated, when, in a few minutes, we come to an expanse of water studded with little islands, which appears to run up towards the mountains, farther than we can see. Christiania is situated at the head of the fiord, on one of these expanses.

I was surprised to find, last night on my arrival, that I had to go through all the ceremony at the custom-house of having my baggage visited, as if I had come direct from a foreign country, and not from part of the same kingdom. The Norwegians, it seems, keep themselves and all their establishments perfectly, and even jealously, distinct from Sweden.

I have got into the Hôtel du Nord, apparently a great inn, and well kept.

*Christiania, Tuesday, July 22.*—The money here is on a better footing, at least for the stranger, than in Sweden. The dollar, worth 3s. 10d. sterling, at the present exchange, is divided into five marks, or orts, of twenty-four skillings each; and there are

notes of one dollar, half a dollar, and twenty-four skillings, all printed on white paper. The notes of five dollars are on blue paper, of ten on yellow, and of fifty on green. For sums below twenty-four skillings there is a copper and silver coinage of two and one skilling pieces. All this is very clear. The weather is so excessively hot, which I did not expect in Norway, that in the middle of the day I could do nothing out of doors. I strolled to the fish market, and found salmon and trout, eels, flounders, mackarel, gorebills, whittings, sethe or gadus virens, and other sea fish. I doubted whether these were caught so far up in these fiords; but the lobster, which of all others can least support fresh water, is in abundance. The town has but a dull appearance: the streets, to prevent fires from spreading, are very wide; so that a few pedestrians, with one or two carts, make no appearance. The shops have no great show externally, and altogether the town looks deserted; and at this season it probably is so.

One thing here is very revolting to good taste and good feeling. The convicts or galley slaves are employed, sometimes along with other labourers, in all parts of the town; and two or three times a day you meet a gang of them going to, or returning from, their work. I saw a party marched into a house, from which I had before heard music with female voices, with which the clanking of the chains did not exactly harmonise. They seemed chained, too, in a brutal way, with iron collars round their necks and legs, which have projections, that must prevent their resting in any position. Some appear to be of an age too young to be irreclaimable; but if they are all offenders who have deserved death, it would probably be better for society that they should suffer it, than that the public should be accustomed to the spectacle of the lowest degree of human wretchedness without feeling any sympathy or emotion, which must be the case, if it be a daily spectacle. I see them employed in mending boats, sawing wood, carrying mortar, and such work as necessarily brings them into communication with other labourers. They are even speaking to the children and women in the streets. It is not wise, and certainly not pleasant, to have these malefactors constantly before the public. They lose all sense of their disgrace, and perhaps the citizens do the same.

*Christiania, Wednesday, July 23.* The weather excessively sultry, which is unusual here.

After considering and consulting about my mode of travelling, I have to-day bought a little second-hand cariole, for which, with the harness, I have paid twenty-five dollars, or about 3*l.* 18*s.* The Norwegian cariole is a little gig, just large enough for one person, and resting between two low light wheels, upon two cross bars of wood morticed in the shafts. They are made also with iron springs; but I preferred the wood, as in travelling it can easily be got repaired, which iron work cannot; besides, the shafts are so elastic, that the jolting is very slight on ordinary roads. Travelling, I am told, is very cheap; only one ort, about 9½*d.* sterling, for a horse, per Norwegian mile, which is no less than seven of our degenerate English miles. One must, a few hours before starting, send off a forbud, in travellers' language, "a courier," but, in humble reality, a little ragged boy, who, for four skillings, or 1½*d.* a stage, precedes you in a baggage cart with your luggage, and leaves at each post station a printed notice, in which you have previously filled up the number of horses you require, and the hour of your arrival. The station master sends notice to the farmers whose turn it is to furnish horses for this service, and is entitled to four skillings per horse for his trouble. The horses are always in readiness, if fair time be allowed by sending off the forbud the day before. A book is kept at each station, in which the traveller states how he has been served; and these books are examined and signed regularly by the local authorities, and checked by superior officers of the district, and any complaint of undue delay is examined into. This arrangement certainly makes travelling easy, even to a stranger unacquainted with the language; but I have been beset, ever since I landed, with couriers, valets, or interpreters, offering their services. These gentlemen seem to think it an infringement upon their privilege, that a foreigner, especially from England, should presume to travel without one of them to hold his purse. I have bought a travelling map, have made the waiter fill up forbud notices for horses, all the way up to what appears by this map to be the centre, or highest point of the country, where the waters part, and the great valleys begin, which is near a station called Jerkin. I have packed up and sent off my luggage this evening by the forbud, and off I go by day-break to morrow.

*July 24.*—Having set off this morning at four, I resolved to make a good offing at first from the metropolis, and jog on more



leisurely when I should get into the heart of the country. I therefore travelled until sunset, and stopped at this single farmhouse, on the side of the Myosen lake,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  Norwegian miles, about '75 English, from the capital. The house, I understand, is called Frognet. I have had one of those delightful days of which one never loses the impression, and which only passes in the midst of novel scenery. The Myosen is a splendid sheet of water. Its scenery I would class with the pastoral, or beautiful, rather than with the sublime. Its coasts are well cultivated, and with the exception of a few rough promontories dipping into the lake, the slopes are easy, and the back country in view not strikingly high. The crops of oats, bear, flax, peas, and potatoes, along its coast, are beautiful. The houses appear good. I have not seen one that could be called a poor habitation.

*July 26.*—I got to this farmhouse, which is called Holmen, last night, about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  Norwegian, or 58 English, miles from Frognet. The scenery of a river, as large here as the Tay at Dunkeld, filling the narrow valley in some places, and in others forming a long motionless lake amidst the woods, or rushing like a mountain stream through the gorges, affords many picturesque points of view. At the end of the Myosen lake, there is a small village called Lille Hamme, which was formerly a town of some importance. It is the first village I have seen in the country. The extent of cultivation in the Strath of the Myosen, extending up to this village, surprised me. It is not merely a fringe between the hill and the shore, but reaches far back among the hills, and over the summits of the ordinary heights. I would compare its breadth to that of Strathmore in Forfarshire. The farming cannot be very bad, for the crops of oats, bear, and rye are excellent. Potatoes, which appear to occupy the place of the turnip in our farming, are clean, and well horse-hoed. Draining and clearing new land of roots of trees and stones, are going on in various quarters, and lime was laid out at one place for spreading. Farms appeared to be of various sizes; I observed many so large that a bell was used, as in Scotland, to call the labourers to or from their work, which shows a certain regularity in their operations. Some are so small as to have only a few sheaves of corn, or a rig or two of potatoes, scattered among the trunks of the trees. These appear occupied by the farm-servants, or cottars, of the main farm, paying probably in work for their houses and lands, as in Scotland. Very

good houses these are; loghouses of four rooms, and all with glass windows. The light does not come down the chimney, or through a hole in the wall shut up at night with an old hat, or a pair of old breeches, as in some cottages in the county of Edinburgh. The division of the land among children appears not, during the thousand years it has been in operation, to have had the effect of reducing the landed properties to the minimum size that will barely support human existence. I have counted from five and twenty to forty cows upon farms, and that in a country in which the farmer must, for at least seven months in the year, have winter provender and houses provided for all the cattle. It is evident that some cause or other, operating an aggregation of landed property, counteracts the dividing effects of partition among children. That cause can be no other than what I have long conjectured would be effective in such a social arrangement; viz. that in a country where land is held, not in tenancy merely, as in Ireland, but in full ownership, its aggregation by the deaths of co-heirs, and by the marriages of female heirs among the body of landowners, will balance its subdivision by the equal succession of children. The whole mass of property will, I conceive, be found in such a state of society to consist of as many estates of the class of 1000*l.*, as many of 100*l.*, as many of 10*l.* a year, at one period as at another. The state of Ireland is generally adduced as a proof of the evil which would result from the abolition of primogeniture. There, it is stated, the sons of the peasant marry and settle upon a portion of the father's farm, itself originally too small for one family, and by this system of subdivision, the whole class of peasantry is reduced to a lower state in respect of decencies, comforts, and enjoyments, than any population which is ranked within the pale of civilised life. It has always appeared to me, however, that the state of Ireland, instead of being a case in point, proves the very reverse. There the land and other property is not disseminated in ownership, or in small portions among the mass of the inhabitants. It is notoriously held in very large masses, by a very small proportion of the population. The peasantry having no property nor any reasonable prospect of ever possessing any, have not those tastes, habits, modes of thinking, prudence, and foresight, which accompany the possession of property, and which altogether form the true and natural check upon the tendency of population to exceed the means of subsistence.

The Irish peasant gratifies the natural propensity to marriage, precisely because, being destitute of property, and of its influences on the human mind, he has grown up to manhood without any restraining propensity. Take the Irish peasant who marries so recklessly in his own country, because he is without the rudest tastes and habits of a person imbued with a sense of property, and place him in London, where his labour is worth ten or twelve shillings a week, he is no longer an indolent or improvident man. He indulges a taste for gin, porter, tobacco; for the alehouse meetings of his fellow-labourers; for such clothing, lodging, food, as they enjoy; and to marry improvidently, and by the expense of a family abridge his habitual enjoyments, is as much out of the question with him, as with a man of the higher and educated class of society. The restraints of property are upon him. He is, in fact, an educated man; for the real education of the human mind is to be found in that which daily and hourly exercises the mental powers and moral character—in the possession of property. Reading and writing are but means of education, not even efficacious in all states of society. A man may read and write, and yet have a totally uneducated mind. He who possesses property, whether he can read and write or not, has an educated mind; he has forethought, caution, and reflection, guiding every action; he knows the value of self-restraint, and is in the constant habitual practice of it. It is this kind of education, induced by the diffusion of property, and of the civilising tastes, habits, and motives of action which attend its possession, that will keep the population of a country within its means of subsistence. This sense of property, as it may be called; the instinctive desire to possess, to accumulate, forms the preventive check, established by nature upon the tendency to excessive multiplication. This check is wanting in Ireland. By the artificial diffusion of property through society, under the feudal system of succession, the restraining influences of property are totally removed from the mass of that community, and the propensity to improvident marriage freed from the check which nature has provided against it. The state of a country in which the land is the property of eight or nine thousand individuals, out of a population of as many millions, cannot, surely, be the picture of what it would be, were landed property, by a law of equal and natural succession, diffused through the whole body of the people. That the land so possessed would be frittered into

portions too minute for civilised existence, by a people imbued with the tastes, habits, and influences of property, is an assumption not borne out by any experience. It is not consistent with our observation, for instance, that the ten children of a man of a thousand a-year would each, upon his death, build a house upon his share of the estate, and giving up every attempt to raise his income to what is necessary for the habits, tastes, and wants acquired when participating of his parent's vastly greater income, would live upon his hundred a-year, and leave it at his death to be divided among, perhaps, ten other children. It is much more consistent with our daily experience of human nature to assume, that the one would sell to the other, and turn his capital and industry to pursuits which would enable him to acquire what are to him necessities of life, and to provide the same competence for his children : and this, in fact, we see done every day by co-heirs. An estate would no more be divided by heirs, than a ship is broken up and divided by heirs, unless it were the interest of the heirs to do so ; and if so, society would be a gainer by it. Norway, at all events, affords a strong confutation of this dreaded excessive subdivision of property. Notwithstanding the partition system among children continued for ages, it contains farms of such extent, that the owner possesses forty cows, and must summon his farm-servants to work by a bell on the house-top.

*July 27.* — I overtook, to-day, my forbud, or courier, and my luggage, of which I am very glad, there being no comfort or advantage in being a day's journey behind a razor or a clean shirt. Travelling in Norway is not so very cheap. You pay indeed but one ort, or 9*d.* sterling, for a horse per Norwegian mile, but the traveller who has any luggage must have two horses. Then there is a fee of eight skillings to the station master for ordering the horses, as much to the two boys who take them back, four for the forbud cart ; in short, altogether, it is 2*s.* 4*d.* per Norwegian, or 4*d.* per English mile. One may travel all over Europe in the public conveyances at this rate ; the living on the road, however, is not very costly. I was charged only ten skillings (4½*d.*) for dinner ; for supper, bed, and breakfast, only one ort, in all about 1*s.* 1½*d.* My fare, to be sure, is not very costly ; bread, cheese, and eggs, and, above all, wild strawberries in the greatest profusion, and so highly flavoured that it would be a retrograde step in the science of good living to cultivate them in gardens. I have excellent coffee also,

and plenty of milk. The traveller must expect nowhere on the Continent the cleanliness and nicety of the English inn, with every thing bright, shining, and smiling, from the landlady's cheek to the kitchen poker. There is nothing in England so peculiarly English as the country inn.

*July 28.*—I amused myself yesterday evening by walking over my landlord's farm. I suppose there may be about a hundred acres cleared of bushes, of which two-thirds at least are under grass, natural, not sown, and preserved for hay, which the people are now busy in making. As the land is dry, and has not been top-dressed, the quantity is very small in proportion to the extent, the natural grasses not attaining any length under such circumstances. The cutting is excellent. The ground is shaven as close as a gentleman's lawn or bowling-green. They use a shorter scythe blade than we do. If one considers the length of our common scythe blade, it will be evident that the heel of it only can cut close to the ground. The point and one-third of the blade are sticking up in the air, and what is cut by that part is cut too high. Look at one of our mowers at work. It is evident that he cannot, without great exertion and fatigue, keep his scythe close to the ground for its whole length. The point is in the middle of the stems of grass, and is working to waste, especially at the end of his sweep, and if the point were prolonged in the direction in which the blade stands, it would be flourishing over his head. The short blade saves the ridiculous sweep, or semicircle of our mowers, one-half of which is working to waste, either of time or of grass. I understand, in making the hay, it being scorching weather, they left it as it was cut one day, next day turned the swaths with a great number of hands, and took it to the hayloft on sledges. These, made of light birch poles, are excellent for dragging hay or corn out of a field. They make no ruts, are so light that a horse can draw them over any ground, and they take a small rick of hay or corn out of the field into the barn or hay-loft at once: there being a sloping ascent or bridge up to the loft above the stables, the horse walks at once into it with his load. A set of sledges is as necessary on every farm as a set of carts. The ground is encumbered with loose masses of stone, especially in the woods, over which wheels could not pass. The hay when taken in is green, not yellow, it is merely withered grass; but I suspect, from the excellent wind and powers of exertion of the Norwegian horses, which get no other

food, it is more substantial than our hay. These Norwegian horses are beyond all praise; they scamper down hills as steep as a house roof, and in going up hill actually scramble. They make no objection whatever, if you have none, to any path or any pace; they are the bravest of horse kind.

The landlord was horse-hoeing his potatoe crop, which seemed clean and good. The potatoes all over the country carry a white flower. In whole fields not one with red or purple flowers will be seen. I do not know if this be a better or worse variety of the plant, or whether it be not the effect of the climate, which seems to have a tendency to produce every thing in the albino style. Horses, cattle, even children, appear white varieties of their species. After the farm work was over I went out with the landlord, his wife, his son, and his brother, to catch fish in the river, or rather the narrow lake which the chief stream of the Myosen forms in this part of its valley. We had a boat and a very poor net which we drew thrice, and caught fifteen very fine fish. I do not know their proper name; but they were about a foot in length, shaped like a trout, with scales, but different when cooked, being white, firm, and good. I imagine they are the guinard, *salmo lavaratus*. They are very plentiful in this river, which, by the by, from above Lille Hammer, where it expands into the Myosen lake, is of a very peculiar colour, like that of milk and water, and in this upper quarter it retains the same unpicturesque tinge.

*Hundorp, July 29.* — At my last quarters I paid half a dollar for my dinner of eggs, strawberries, and milk, my supper of fish and strawberries, my bed, and my breakfast of coffee and strawberries. This, I believe, is about the general rate of expense and of fare that the traveller may expect. The bread of rye is good and substantial; the milk, cream, and butter, good and clean; the cheese excellent. I reached this place early, still along the milky river. Few situations are more exhilarating than setting out before sunrise on a fine, warm, dewy morning, in one of those light carioles behind an active scampering pony, with every thing one requires between the two wheels, and rattling up hill and down dale, all in the cool air.

In this upland district, the prevailing rock appears to be a micaceous schist. I measured some slates at this place, which were ten feet long, six broad, and not thicker than an ordinary

The people in the valley were all in motion this morning, going to Brandvold church to some religious meeting. The men were clad in a home-made grey cloth with bright-red woollen caps, and almost all were well mounted on spirited little horses. I met scarcely one on foot. The saddles, bridles, and housings ornamented in the style of the middle ages; the full flowing manes and tails of the steeds, and the grey clothing and scarlet caps of the riders, made the road appear as one may fancy it to have done in the fifteenth century. The women were on side-saddles, which had a slight rail or back half round the seat, so that they sat as on a chair, and had a step for supporting the feet. I doubt if the modern side-saddle be any improvement upon this ancient one, for safety, comfort, or splendour. Some were highly ornamented, with crimson-velvet seats, and must have been in their day very showy. I admired very much one damsel's horse furniture of old figured or embossed leather, which had been richly gilt, and reached down in peaks over the horse's shoulders and flanks. I have no doubt these are very ancient pieces of household goods. This is on the verge of a highland district, in the remote glens of which we may suppose that property of that kind, and the custom of using it on a church festival three or four times a-year, would long be retained.

*Laurgaard, July 30.* — I reached this place at six this evening. It seems a nice clean house situated where the main river of the Myosen, which is called the Laug, divides into branches running through narrow glens rather than valleys. It appears to be at the mouth of the highland district. The old woman of the house intends to be civil; she is milking a large flock of goats at the door, and has sent to the hill for fresh strawberries for my supper. On this promise of comfort, I shall remain here for a few days. There is a right way to do every thing; even, it seems, to milk a goat. You should turn its head towards you, put your left arm over its back, and milk it with both hands in that position, in which it cannot move. My old woman was teaching her grandchild this art. Goats seem a favourite kind of stock, and on every farm they appear much more numerous than sheep. The hills have no pasture for the latter, no heath or rough grass; what is not bare rock is bush or tree. The goat will eat and thrive on the shoots of the dwarf birch, beech, and young fir; the sheep will not, and in winter it requires some hay. The goat then gets a bundle of dried

leaves and shoots of the beech, which cost only the trouble of collecting and drying them. Every farmhouse at this season is surrounded with bundles of these withered branches and leaves of beech tied together, and stuck upon poles to dry. The goat, too, gives some milk in winter when that of cows is scarce; and that little may bear to be increased with water better than any other milk.

*August 4.* — Irrigation is very extensively practised in these valleys, and through the whole of this long Guldebrandsdal. The water is conducted in channels and wooden troughs to the head of each field. From the purity of these mountain streams, I suspect it is not for any enriching sediment they may deposit, as I see in the channels only pebbles or sand of crystallised rock: the object seems simply to moisten the roots of the plants which, on these steep slopes of which the soil and subsoil consist of the open porous detritus of the overhanging rocks, must require this even in wet seasons, the rain running off or being absorbed as fast as it falls.

*August 6.* — The room I occupy here is detached from the family house of the farm. It consists of four walls, each composed of ten logs roughly squared with the axe, and the edges chipped off, so as to make them octagonal. They are laid one upon the other, with a layer of moss between each, which keeps the interstices quite tight. The logs forming the side walls are notched above and below, and those forming the gable walls so as to correspond; thus the head of each log touches the one below it at the corners, which are as tight and strong as any part of the building. Each log may be twelve inches square; so that the walls of my apartment are a foot thick, and ten feet high. The soles and sides of the windows and the corners are lined with boards; and in good houses the whole, I understand, is boarded or panelled inside and out: but I am in one of the dwellings of the middle or labouring class. There are three latticed windows in the room, which is eighteen feet square, and sixteen panes of coarse glass in each window. The floor and ceiling are boarded; the former, raised from the earth by a stone wall a foot or two high, according to the level, and rough-cast with lime. The roof has a pitch of about two feet; it is closely boarded over on the outside, and the boards there are coated with birch-bark, peeled off in large flakes. Above this is laid earth, about three inches deep, retained by a ledge of



the same depth along the bottom of the roof. A crop of grass, or of moss, growing on this earth, makes it compact. Many houses are roofed with tiles, and some with slates. The joiner-work in the window-frames, doors, floors, &c. is very rough, and ill finished, but all is wind and water tight. I give this minute description, because one hears so much of the log-huts of America, and this is probably their mother country. It is very different, too, from the wooden tenement of the English labourer, which is but the skin of a house, having only the boarding, outside and inside, upon a hollow frame-work, without the solid log in the middle between him and the cold. The cost of such a house, with two rooms below and two above, does not usually exceed fifty dollars, wood and workmanship included. As the wood is on the farm, and any man can do the work, the number of houses about one stead is wonderful: I have counted eighteen. There is a distinct one for every thing, so as, in case of fire, not to have all under one roof. The family has a dwelling-house, consisting, on ordinary farms, of three rooms below, one of which is the kitchen, and the same above; and at the end, with a separate entry, there is generally a better room, and one above reserved for strangers. Opposite to this dwelling is another, with rooms above and kitchen below, for the farm-servants and labourers. At a small distance from the family house, raised upon posts to exclude rats, is the sanctum, — the gudewife's store-room and dairy, where the provisions for the year are lodged. It is large and airy, with windows, and with at least two rooms for different objects. The rest of the square, into which the houses are generally arranged for the convenience of winter attendance on cattle, consists of stables, cow-houses, barns for hay and corn, under which are generally the sheds for tools, carts, sledges, a cellar under ground for ale, and one of large size with double doors, like our ice-houses, for preserving the potatoes. Every thing is under cover, and the spaciousness of the offices surprises one accustomed to our crowded narrow stables and cow-houses. The Norwegians are a well-lodged people, as far as I have seen; the poorest dwelling having good glass windows, separate rooms, and some sort of outbuilding, with conveniences of which I doubt if every house in Scotland can boast.

*Laurgaard, Aug. 8.* — There is a beautiful, at least singular, kind of slate in this quarter; it is as thin as sheets of copper, and

has the same metallic lustre and colour. It is cut round, or in lozenges, and sits so regularly, thinly, and closely upon the roof, that the houses might have seemed roofed with copper, till I considered how unlikely it was that in this poor country it would be so applied.

Steatite, also, is found in beds in the hill above this house; it is quarried in slabs to line the vents of fireplaces, or to be placed under stoves, and such like purposes. The hills appear to consist of micaceous schist resting upon gneiss.

*Laurgaard, Aug. 9.* — I have seen as yet no old building in Norway, — no cottage, manor-house, country church, bridge, castle, or other structure of former days. Every thing appears to belong to the present generation. Even the commanding points, which in all other European countries present ruins of castles, have never been so occupied here. The partition of property among the children has probably prevented even the nobles allied to the family of the monarch from building these, or any mansions of stone. That of the country, although abundant, would be an expensive material, from its hardness and irregular forms; and a costly erection upon an estate which was to be divided on the death of the owner would have been useless. Wood was the material, at all times, for all classes of dwellings, from the palace of the monarch to the peasant's hut. It was everywhere abundant and cheap. This circumstance has been more important than may at first appear in the destinies of the country. The chieftains, or nobility, had no strongholds in which they could secure themselves and their retainers. When at variance with a more powerful neighbour, or with the sovereign, they, with their adherents, could only retire to their ships. Those expelled by Harold Haarfagre became thus sea-kings, and pillaged other countries, for want of stone castles in which they could, like the feudal lords in the rest of Europe, withstand an attack at home. The monarch himself had no strength, scarcely even security, unless in public opinion. Harold Haarfagre's son and successor, Eric, appears to have been expelled simply by the people being against him. King Olaf, the Saint, lost his power with his popularity, and could not obtain assistance from his discontented subjects to oppose Canute the Great. The same cause probably saved Norway from much of the internal warfare which raged in the middle ages in other countries;

and it preserved, perhaps, many institutions favourable to liberty, which were transplanted, and have flourished elsewhere.

*Laurgaard, Aug. 12.* — I live here on strawberries and milk, and trout, or rather char, being pink, not white like fresh-water trout. Fish appears everywhere the basis of a Norwegian repast. Meat, even at the table-d'hôte at Christiania, seemed secondary. The river or lake is regularly resorted to. It is no sport for an Izaak Walton to fish trout here; the mosquitoes would have eaten him alive while he was singing his madrigals. I got so stung in the evening's fishing at Ellstadt, that I have not yet recovered from the irritation.

In the afternoon I took a long walk up one of the glens, and came to a singular formation of rock: it is micaceous, but without the slaty fracture usual with rocks in which mica prevails. The masses are columnar; and the ground is covered with regular-formed triangular cubes with the edges truncated, so as to render them hexagonal. These masses, standing up in the earth with a fibrous texture, had so much the appearance of old stumps of trees with the bark on, that, till I had struck some of them, I could scarcely believe them to be stone. One might almost fancy them petrified tree stumps: they are allied to asbestos. A hand specimen of that mineral, enlarged in all its parts, would give the best idea of them; and the same mountain has steatite on its other side. A geologist who is a good pedestrian will find much to interest him in this tract of country.

*Laurgaard, Aug. 16.* — I have been for some days taking long walks up the glens, and over the hills: the former contain some grand scenery. It is not the season for wolves to leave their haunts on the fjelde or mountains, else one would expect to meet them in these lonely woods. In a gloomy winter evening I would not send little Red Riding Hood on a message across them. Upon the hills, and the high table-land of the country, the ground is covered with blocks of a conglomerate rock, in which pebbles of quartz, feldspar, and other crystallised substances, are imbedded. These blocks have been in motion, and subject to violent friction. They are not only rounded, but the pebbles of hard crystallised matter embedded in them are cut or rubbed flat on the surface. The action of the elements would never, in any series of ages, produce this appearance. They would wear equally the round pebbles and the matrix or stone in which they are imbedded; so that the

former would retain their rounded figure on the side exposed to the air, as well as on those hid and embedded in the mass; and, being the harder substance, would present the semblance of round protuberances rising from it. The appearance above described can only be accounted for by some exterior friction acting violently on these blocks.

One traces with difficulty the various footpaths and bye-roads winding over these fjelde and hills, and is not aware, if he has never been in a highland country, that these slight scratches along the mountain side are worn by human feet, and lead to little groups of farms in every glen: this and the next contain above forty. The district resembles much one of the small highland estates in the north of Scotland, with a great number of small tenants or cottars scattered over it. It wants, however, the laird's mansion and farm, with the squalor and wretchedness of the turf-built hovels of our highlands. The farms are nearly of the same size, the largest not exceeding forty acres of in-field land, by which I mean land bearing crops of oats, bear, and potatoes, with patches of grass intermixed, and all fenced off. The smallest have not above four or five acres in cultivation. What is the condition of this Norwegian highland population compared to that of the tenants on a highland estate in Scotland? I cannot yet form a full estimate of the condition of the inhabitants of these glens; but there are some points bearing upon the subject upon which a stranger may judge as well as one long acquainted with them.

In the first place, the highlands of Scotland are a better country for subsisting its inhabitants; the soil is better. Here, it is the gravel of primary rocks washed down from the high grounds, and covered with a thin coat of earth. The crops are not strong, and, in these narrow glens, are prematurely ripened by the gleams of hot sunshine reflected from the rocks. Harvest was begun in the month of July; but a great part of the crop is evidently not properly filled, although dead ripe. In our highlands the crops on the moorish or clay soils will be scarcely in ear, and will not be ripe before October; but the grain will be heavier, and the acre of land will produce more. It is also a great disadvantage to these highland farmers that they have not the hill pasture behind their grounds which ours have; the stretch of unbroken, purple, blooming heath, outside of the hill dyke, on which cattle will pick up a living for great part of the year. Here, beyond the boundary of

the farm, there is little pasture ; only huge masses of naked rock, with juniper and fir growing between them. I have not seen so much heath in this country as would shelter a covey of grouse, or subsist a score of black-faced wethers for half a day. Thus the condition of the people here, in relation to soil, climate, crops, and pasturage, appears less favourable than in the Scottish highlands.

It is vastly better, however, in another respect — they have no rents to pay, being the owners of the farms they cultivate. Here are the highland glens without the highland lairds. It is, I am aware, a favourite and constant observation of our agricultural writers, that these small proprietors make the worst farmers. It may be so ; but a population may be in a wretched condition, although their country is very well farmed ; or they may be happy, although bad cultivators. The country around Rome was certainly better farmed under the Romans than it is now under the Pope. Was it a happier country then, when all the agricultural labourers were slaves working in chains, and driven to and from their work like beasts of burden ? Our West Indian colonies were better farmed under the slave system, especially when fresh slaves could be imported from Africa, than probably they can ever be by free labour. Which is the happiest state of the population ? Good farming is a phrase composed of two words which have no more application to the happiness or well-being of a people than good weaving or good iron-founding. That the human powers should be well applied, and not misapplied, in the production of grain, or iron, or clothing, is, no doubt, an object of great importance ; but the happiness or well-being of a people does not entirely depend upon it. It has more effect on their numbers than on their condition. The producer of grain, who is working for himself only, who is owner of his land, and has not a third of its produce to pay as rent, can afford to be a worse farmer, by one third, than a tenant, and is, notwithstanding, in a preferable condition. Our agricultural writers tell us, indeed, that labourers in agriculture are much better off as farm servants, than they would be as small proprietors. We only have the master's word for this. Ask the servant. The colonists told us the same thing of their slaves. If property is a good and desirable thing, I suspect that the very smallest quantity of it is good and desirable ; and that the state of society in which it is most widely diffused is the best constituted. I suspect that the object of wise laws should be to diffuse

this general good through society, by promoting the distribution of property by its equal inheritance, not to concentrate the whole into the hands of a few by the law of primogeniture; which, although well adapted to the artificial feudal system, is not fitted for the natural and rational state to which society is advancing. The common sense of the majority of mankind would, I apprehend, in spite of the most curious and subtle argument, decide that the forty families in these two or three highland glens, each possessing and living on its own little spot of ground, and farming well or ill, as the case may be, are in a better and happier state, and form a more rationally constituted society, than if the whole belonged to one of these families (and it would be no great estate), while the other thirty-nine families were tenants and farm-servants. Add a few ciphers to the numbers, and you have Ireland, Scotland, England, with their millions of people, and their soil possessed by a few thousand proprietors. It is impossible such a constitution of civil society can long exist without some great convulsion, unless mankind be retrograding to the state in which the feudal law of primogeniture originated. If society and the ideas of mankind are advancing in a different direction, it would be wise if legislation were to precede, rather than be forced to follow.

If small proprietors are not good farmers, it is not from the same cause here which we are told makes them so in Scotland — indolence and want of exertion. The extent to which irrigation is carried in these glens and valleys, shows a spirit of exertion and co-operation to which the latter country can show nothing similar. Hay being the principal winter support of live stock, and both it and corn, as well as potatoes, liable from the shallow soil and powerful reflection of sunshine from the rocks, to be burnt and withered up, the greatest exertions are made to bring water from the head of each glen, along such a level as will give the command of it to each farmer at the head of his fields. This is done by leading it in wooden troughs (the half of a tree roughly scooped) from the highest perennial stream among the hills, through woods, across ravines, along the rocky, often perpendicular, sides of the glens, and from this main trough giving a lateral one to each farmer in passing the head of his farm. He distributes this supply by moveable troughs among his fields; and at this season waters each rig successively with scoops like those used by bleachers in watering cloth, laying his trough between every two rigs. One

would not believe, without seeing it, how very large an extent of land is traversed expeditiously by these artificial showers. I have seen turnip crops in Scotland in situations where, in dry seasons, it might be possible to save a crop by similar means. The extent of the main troughs is very great. In one glen I walked ten miles, and found it troughed on both sides: on one, the chain is continued down the main valley for forty miles. They may be bad farmers who do such things; but they are not indolent, nor ignorant of the principle of working in concert, and keeping up establishments for common benefit. They are, undoubtedly, in these respects, far in advance of any community of cottars in our highland glens. They feel as proprietors who receive the advantage of their own exertions. The excellent state of the roads and bridges is another proof that the country is inhabited by people who have a common interest to keep them under repair. There are no tolls.

This population, also, is much better lodged than our labouring and middling classes, even in the south of Scotland. The dwelling-houses of the meanest labourers are divided into several apartments, have wooden floors, and a sufficient number of good windows; also some kind of outhouse for cattle and lumber. Every man, indeed, seems, like Robinson Crusoe, to have put up a separate house for every thing he possesses. Whoever has observed the condition of our labouring population will admit the influence of good habitations upon the moral habits of a people. The natives of New Zealand have dwellings more suited to the feelings and decencies of civilised life than the peasantry of a great proportion of Great Britain and Ireland, who live in dark, one-room hovels, in which not only household comfort and cleanliness are out of the question, but the proper separation of the sexes can scarcely be maintained. Can any reflecting person doubt that it is an important advantage to the labouring class of a country that their standard of living is pitched high as to lodging, food, and clothing? It is the most effective check upon pauperism and over-population. Why does the Irish peasant marry so recklessly? Because his idea of a suitable dwelling for a man in his station is a hovel of raw earth and sticks, such as a man may put up in a forenoon on a hill side; a bucket full of potatoes is his standard of food; a tattered great coat, of raiment. With these he is in no worse condition than the population around him, and therefore he

marries. If the ideas and habits of the country required a more expensive and comfortable sort of habitation for the very meanest person of his own station, he would not marry until he had acquired the means of lodging like his neighbours; nor would he find a wife who would leave a decent habitation to burrow in a hole like a pigstye. Every man looks to what is considered proper and reputable in his own rank; and the poor man having little else to give him importance, is generally more tenacious of the proprieties belonging to his station than the rich man of what is suitable to his sphere.

It is from the operation of our timber duties that the working class in Great Britain, and particularly in Scotland and Ireland, is so wretchedly lodged; an evil by which the whole community suffers. The timber of America is not adapted, either in size, strength, durability, or price, for the woodwork of small houses. For the beams, roof-timbers, or other parts in which there is strain or exposure, it is considered totally unfit; and were it stronger, the waste in reducing its logs to the proper dimensions prevents the application of it to such small buildings. The duty upon the kind of wood alone suitable for the poor man's habitation, which is the small sized logs, deals, and battens of Norway, or the Baltic coasts, renders it impossible for the lower, or even the middle, classes to lodge themselves comfortably, or even decently. It affects the price not merely of the good building material which these countries could furnish at a cost lower than the duty now levied upon it, but it raises that of our own worthless planted fir wood, which no prudent man can use in any work that is intended to last for twenty years.

If our labouring classes understood their own interests, they would find that the timber duties press more heavily upon their comfort and well-being than even the corn-laws. Cheap corn may only produce cheap labour. If the loaf is reduced permanently to half of its present price, it is possible that wages might, in the ordinary course of demand and supply, be reduced in the long run to half their present rate. The cheap loaf would beget cheap labourers in every branch. But a dry, warm, tight, comfortable, roomy dwelling, such as induces a man to stay at home, keeps him out of the ale-house, and his family out of the doctor's books, would be a real improvement in the condition of the working man, which ~~he~~ would obtain by the total abolition of the timber laws, and which



could in no way affect the rate of his wages. There is, perhaps, no one cause which drives the labouring man to the spirit and beer shop so much as the want of a comfortable, decent dwelling to retire to, when the work of the day is over.

This duty, the most pernicious, perhaps, in the whole range of British taxation, stands also in the way of the industry of very numerous and important classes in the middle rank of life. It prevents, for example, the industrious seafaring man, who has gathered a little money, from ever obtaining that object of every seaman's ambition, a small vessel of his own. It is not necessary that vessels of a small class should be of oak; Prussian and Norwegian ships of large burden are built of pine. If the duty upon the east country timber were abolished, our small capitalists would form a floating population, engaged in the various trades of communication and conveyance between the British, Irish, and foreign ports. But the duties put it out of the reach of small capitalists to have such vessels as are suited to their means, and as the same class in other countries, having a free timber trade, are able to fit out. It costs as much with us to make a herring-boat as it should require for a coasting sloop.

The great capitalists engaged in shipping gain by this state of things, because the carrying of timber from America is a trade suited to old vessels not of the first class. They are called the Shipping Interest of the country. Does this title properly belong to these great owners? or to the active, sea-going population? Is it the interest of the country, for the sake of any class of capitalists, that the population should be supplied with inferior timber, useless for the purposes of house-building or ship-building? Is it not our true interest to put it in the power of the whole inhabitants to lodge themselves suitably; and of the maritime population to fit out small vessels on the same capitals that are sufficient in other countries for that purpose?

The standard of living, with regard to food, appears to me also higher in Norway than in most of our Scotch highland districts, though I cannot yet form a decided opinion. The materials are the same; viz. oatmeal, bearmeal, potatoes, fish from the river, salt-fish, and salt-herrings, of excellent quality, from the sea coast, also cheese, butter, and milk. Four meals a-day form, I understand, the regular fare in every family; and with two of these meals the labourers have a glass of home-made brandy distilled from potatoes.

It is usual, I understand, to have animal food, such as salt beef, or black puddings, at least twice in the week. I observe also some notion of comfort in the mode of taking their food, which is often wanting in our highland households. The table is set out, the bread is in baskets, and the labourers sit down regularly to their meals. The cooking and preparation of food appears to occupy more labour and time.

As to being comparatively well, or ill fed, these terms are vague. As fine a human animal is reared upon potatoes and milk in Ireland as upon roast-beef and plum-pudding in England. The food best for a country is clearly that which it requires the greatest exertion of industry and skill to produce. That which can be procured with little of such exertion, as potatoes, would, undoubtedly, reduce a nation to a low state of industry and skill. They are in a wrong path who would reduce pauperism in England by reducing the standard of subsistence for the poor. If the English labourers, instead of considering wheaten bread and meat necessary for their proper sustenance, were to be content with potatoes and salt herrings, the increase of pauperism among them would be in proportion to the diminished value of their food and the ease of obtaining it. The man who now thinks himself ill-off without the finest bread, would then think himself entitled to marry, if he could earn potatoes for himself and a family. Our pauper population would thus increase with frightful rapidity. I agree with Cobbett, that potatoes are the worst food for a nation to subsist on, but not for his reasons; because they are an unsubstantial food, and consume coals and time, and keep the housewife boiling or baking all day long; but because, in proportion to their nutriment as food, they require less labour, less exertion of body and mind, to bring them to the state of food than any other article of human culture. The planting and digging up, the boiling or baking, are almost all the operations required with the potatoe; and, therefore, the nation which is satisfied with a potatoe diet must be in a state of sloth and inactivity bodily and mental. The most complicated manufacture, perhaps, which we have among mankind, and which in all its parts requires the most continued exertions of human industry and skill, is the production of a quartern loaf from a few seeds of wheat put into the earth.

*Lien, August 17.*—I bought a little horse to-day from my landlady at Laurgaard, for twenty dollars. I am proud of my progress

in the language, which has saved me from paying more than, perhaps, double the value of the animal ; and I might have been taken in as much in bargaining for a horse in English. I mounted my luggage upon my cariole, and set off over the hills. This is the true way to see a country. One is independent of distances, and post stations, and right or wrong roads, and all the petty annoyances and considerations of regular travelling. I am astonished at travellers, who have time, encumbering themselves with routes and couriers, as if they were charged with a load of government despatches. I stopped at a farmhouse about the middle of the day, and got for dinner what we call in Scotland lappered milk. Every thing was nice and clean. I observed that the mowers, who appear to be people who go round the country to cut grass, as in some parts of England, had a table regularly covered for them ; and their bread was in baskets as at Laurgaard. These trifles indicate a state of ease, and some attention to comfort among the working class.

In the evening I reached this single farmhouse, and got grass for my pony and quarters for myself ; and the mistress gives me the comfortable hope, if I understand her right, of fried fish, which are still in the river, but which the mowers will catch in time for supper.

I am now near the summit of the country. The waters still run into the great valley of Guldebrandsdal, but the river is here only a mountain stream. I passed to-day some patches of snow ; which, having stood this very hot summer succeeding a very wet spring, have probably lain for thousands of years. Although the elevation above the sea of this perpetual snow must be considerable, there is no remarkable rise of any one hill or range from its base ; not more, as far as I can estimate, than 500 feet : there is no Alpine scenery. The height above the sea is great, but that is not perceptible to the senses : the traveller's eyes and legs have no concern with it ; the immediate spring from the valley to the clouds above is alone grand, sublime, and most particularly fatiguing. These patches of snow were not 300 feet above the glen where the people were making hay in so hot a sunshine that they worked in their shirts and trowsers only. The country is inhabited in the glens, and the farmhouses appear large. On the dividing ridges there is no cultivation, and, indeed, no soil to cultivate, only rounded masses of gneiss and micaceous rocks, with juniper, fir, aspen, birch, and beech, growing where they can,

amid the stones. I have not observed furze, whin, or broom. The features of the country all the way up Guldebrandsdal are in fact far from being so grand as the highland scenery in Scotland. If there are avalanches, or glaciers, in winter or spring, they must be upon the same scale as in our highlands; but cannot be on the scale of those of the Alps, there being no high mountains dipping at once into this valley. The truly grand feature of the country is the valley itself — the Guldebrandsdal, which, with its splendid lake the Myosen, exceeds two hundred miles in length.

*Fogstuen, August 18.* — Cultivation ceases at a short distance from my last night's quarters. Opposite to this house there is a patch of snow, which is found in hollows and sheltered situations, while ground considerably higher, but more exposed to wind, is clear at this season. I found stunted birches and firs growing within twenty paces of this snowy mass. Dwarf willow, birch, juniper, blackberry, crowberry, and a few other shrubs, live quite close to their cold neighbour.

The stream issuing from this snow turns a corn mill, which I went to examine while my pony was feeding.

In Norway, there is no astringency to mills; every man has Odel's right, or, as I understand the term, is feudal superior of his own lands, and holds them without service, suit, feu, astringency, or other burthen. Every man may build a mill who chooses to do so. In the glens about Laurgaard, every little farm had its own little mill. Oats when ground are not first shelled as in Scotland, that is, cleared of the outer husk, but, after being strongly kiln-dried, the grain, husks, and all is made into meal. This meal is as fine almost as wheaten flour, the mill-stones being of very hard gneiss, sitting very close upon each other, and going round very swiftly. No doubt this is a much more economical plan than ours; for in the husks, or *sids*, which we take off in Scotland, there is left much nutriment; as appears from the jelly called *sowens*, obtained by steeping them in water. This is lost in many parts of Scotland entirely, the husks being put on the fire to kiln-dry other grain. The farmer here gets back from the mill the same weight he sends to it. Very good bread is baked of this meal; flat cakes, covering the bottom of a girdle, or frying-pan, and as thin as a sheet of paper, being put on in nearly a fluid state, and, when used at table, they are made crisp by being warmed a little. They are not equal, certainly, to our best oatmeal cakes found in gentlemen's

families ; for the grain, I suspect, cannot yield such meal. It is better, however, than is commonly used by the people in our northern counties, owing principally, I think, to its being better baked. This mode of grinding and baking makes intelligible the use of bread of the bark of the fir-tree, in years of scarcity. Its inner rind, kiln-dried, may undoubtedly be ground, along with the husks and grain, and add to the quantity of meal ; it may even be nutritious. I had previously been rather disposed to doubt the fact, and to laugh at the idea of a traveller dining on sawdust-pudding and timber bread. In years of scarcity, however, this use of fir bark is more extensive than is generally supposed. The present dilapidated state of the forests, in districts which formerly supplied wood for exportation, is ascribed to the great destruction of young trees for this purpose in the year 1812. But to the mill.

The Norwegian mill is similar to that still used in the Zetland islands, and probably in no other part of Britain. An upright shaft or spindle, with buckets or vanes fixed in the lower end, at such an angle as will best receive the stroke of the water-fall projected upon these vanes through a wooden trough or pipe, is passed through the centre-hole of the lower fixed millstone, and its upper end fastened in the upper running millstone. The water strikes on the projecting vanes below, and drives round the shaft with the upper millstone fixed on it. The stones are of very small diameter, like the quern stones, or hand-millstones formerly used in the north of Scotland, and are of hard gneiss ; the upper one concave, so as to sit close upon the convexity of the lower fixed stone. The mill is fed with grain through the centre hole of the upper stone by a hopper, on which there is a little door sliding up and down, for the grain to run out at between the stones. To regulate this door, there is an upright piece of wood touching with its lower extremity the surface of the running stone, and with its upper, the loaded end of another piece, suspended horizontally by the middle, like a balance-beam, and the end opposite to the loaded one is fastened to the handle of the sliding door or hatch, in the hopper. The weight of the loaded end opens the sliding hatch, and the grain falls through it between the stones ; but when too much comes between them, it raises the upper stone from resting close upon the lower ; the end of the upright stick touching its surface is consequently elevated, and the loaded end of the balance consequently raised by the other extremity of the upright piece of

wood, when the feeding hatch shuts proportionably. It is curious to see these ingenious contrivances, the same in principle, perhaps, as those of our best machinery, constructed here, on the Dovre Fjeld, of such rude materials. There was not a nail in the mill, which was all put together with wood, or with fastenings of birch bands made of twigs bruised and twisted together. There are good reasons for preferring the upright shaft, moved by the direct impulse of the water, to our water-wheels. It is not so readily clogged with ice, nor impeded by back-water. The cog in which the vanes are fixed being moveable on the shaft, and the trough through which the water strikes on them, adjusted to their place, these impediments are avoided.

At Lien, I quitted the stream which I have followed from the Myosen up the Guldebrandsdal. It trends to the west, having its rise in the western branches of the Sneehætte mountain. I took the road leading over the Dovre Fjeld on the east side of that mountain, and I hope to see it to advantage in crossing the Fjeld, on which it rests.

*Jerkin, August 19.* — This is an extensive grazing farm, and a comfortable inn, situated on the north verge of the Dovre Fjeld, a few miles from the point where the waters begin to run, and the land to slope northward. The Dovre Fjeld here may be from 24 to 28 miles across. When we give things their real names, we take away much of their imagined grandeur. The Dovre Fjeld sounds well; and we fancy it a vast and sublime natural feature. It really is no more than a fell, like those of Yorkshire or Cumberland; an elevated tract of ground whence run waters in opposite directions, and which forms the base of a number of detached hills of moderate elevation. In fact, as a scene impressing the traveller with ideas of vast and lonely grandeur, the tract from the waters of the Tay to those of the Spey, by Dalnacardoch, Dalwhinny, and Pitmain greatly surpasses it. You are indeed 3000 feet above the level of the sea; but that is not seen, — it is a matter of reflection and information. You look down upon nothing below you, and look up only to hills of moderate elevation. Sneehætte alone comes up to a mountain magnitude: It is 7300 feet above the sea; but this fell is 3000 feet at this farmhouse, which is about twelve miles from the base of Sneehætte. The actual height for the eye, therefore, of this mountain is about the same as that of Ben Nevis, about 4300 feet, with the disadvantage

of gaining its apparent height by a slow rise from the fell. There is a considerable mass of snow in a hollow on the bosom of Sneehætte, but not more than remains for a great part of the summer on hills in Aberdeenshire, — nothing like a glacier. The head and shoulder are clear of snow. The most extraordinary feature of this mountain tract, and the grandest on reflection, is that the surface of the fell, and of Sneehætte to its summit, is covered with, or, more properly, is composed of rounded masses of gneiss and granite, from the size of a man's head to that of the hull of a ship. These loose rolled masses are covered with soil in some places; in others they are bare, just as they were left by the torrent which must have rounded them, and deposited them in this region.

I met this morning one of the officers employed in the trigonometrical survey of Norway. He was sketching in the features of the country, on a scale of four inches to a Norwegian mile, with great beauty and effect. He told me that it is now believed by the officers of the survey, that Sneehætte is not the highest of the Norwegian mountains. By barometrical observations, which, however, are not yet fully completed, one of the mountains of the Hurunger Fjeld exceeds it by about 700 feet, and is only at a distance of from three to four Norwegian miles from the head of one of the fiords, or inlets of the sea, in the Bergen district. Its elevation must consequently be vastly more rapid and grand in its effect.

This officer confirmed my suspicion that Dr. Clarke had been misinformed with regard to the same lake which throws out the Kongarne river, which is called the Muonio in part of its course, and enters the Gulf of Bothnia under the name of the Tornea, throwing out a river also which runs into the North Sea; thus making the peninsula, in fact, an island. This may not be impossible, but it would be a very extraordinary feature in topical geography. A lake may overflow and run over in any direction, or in all directions, but its permanent vents must be on one side or other. If we pour a little water upon a table, whether it be a dead level, or with any conceivable slope, it will not run off in two opposite directions at one time. Water can no more do so than a man can run in opposite directions at once. This officer, who has been on the spot, assured me, that although the source of the Kongarne is near the coast, there is a considerable space of ele-

vated ground between it and the source of the river which runs into the North Sea at Lynger Fiord.

This gentleman, however, mentioned a feature which is so remarkable, that, as he justly observed, it will scarcely be believed by topical geographers when the map of Norway is published. The stream which runs through Guldebrandsdal and the Myosen, and reaches the sea at Frederickstad, being the same I left at Lien, comes down from the hills at or near Lessoe, and is there divided into two branches, one of which, as above stated, runs into the Myosen, and the other into the North Sea at the Fiord in Romsdal Amt, on which the town of Molde is situated : thus including, in its delta, between four and five degrees of latitude, and all the west and south of Norway. The course of this little river from Lessoe to the sea is very important, as it gives precision to our ideas of the shape and direction of the Dovre Fjeld, and of its connection with the Hurunger, the Fille, and the Hardanger mountains. These, running into the sea at the Naze of Norway, form, with the Dovre Mountains, one vast triangular range with its apex at Lessoe, and its base overflowed by the ocean in the bight called the Skaggerack.

Two English gentlemen are here on a shooting excursion, but have found no game. I doubt, if the real moor game exist in Norway ; if they do, they must live upon very different food from those of Scotland. I have not seen so much heath on the fell as would support a covey, yet I never saw any food in the stomach of these birds in Scotland but the blossoms and tops of heath. Heath is a rare plant in these hills. I suspect the ptarmigan, and the American grouse, or willow-hen, are varieties which feed upon berries, and that the Norwegian are similar. They are very scarce, whatever they may be. This is certainly the best situation for them ; yet English sportsmen have been here for a whole season without shooting more than thirty brace. The markets of Norway and Sweden are filled, no doubt, in winter with the greatest abundance and variety of game. But we forget the extent of the country, and that there are but few markets to fill, which, at that season, are supplied, from the most remote distances, by peasants coming on other business. One bird killed in every ten square miles of country would be sufficient. In this country, man and dog would require Jack-the-Giant-killer's seven-league boots to make any thing of shooting in any one district. The country



people kill this game in the winter, when the birds are driven by the snow to seek food and shelter in the low grounds. There is a singular scarcity of birds, in fact, of all kinds in Norway. Magpies are the most numerous; and seem favoured by the country people, as they hop about in a half tame state. The Royston crow and the swallow are common; but the lark, the linnet, the blackbird, the thrush, the robin, and all our old acquaintances of the woods and fields, even our town acquaintance, the sparrow, are not at home here. I have seen or heard more of these in travelling one mile in England, than in all the space I have traversed in Norway. I suspect there may be spring frosts, which spoil the eggs and prevent the hatching and increase of the small birds.

The land on this fell is not altogether unimprovable. This farm, Fogstuen, and also the two post stations north of Jerkin, were established, for the accommodation of travellers, so early as 1120, and enjoy some peculiar privileges. They are valuable grass farms. The houses at Jerkin are good, and there are fully a hundred acres inclosed, bearing good natural grass, which the people are busy making into hay. There is a stock of thirty cows; but no grain is raised either here or at my last quarters. The hill pasture all round is certainly not such as we have on our worst hills, being juniper, blackberry, dwarf willow, and such shrubs; but there is also some rough grass, and hardy sheep would make a living in summer. I understand the owner, who was not at home, intends to keep a stock of reindeer. They may be better than sheep, considering the long winter; but a sheep stock would succeed, if they could be wintered at any moderate expense. In Germany, sheep must be kept in-doors all winter as long as in Norway.

*Druvestein, August 21.* — Cariole, pony, and self being all in the best going trim, I determined to proceed to Dronthiem. I shall see the northern slope of the Dovre Fjeld, and the country on that side of this great mountain barrier, and also the cathedral of Dronthiem. I shall know whether, in its structure, the ideas may be traced that were displayed by the Norman descendants of this people, in so many similar edifices in England and France.

A few miles beyond Jerkin bring us to the point where the Fjelde dips and the waters run northwards. I think twenty-four miles will take one fairly across from slope to slope. As far as Kongs-

vold, the first stage, and house, from Jerkin, the road is dismal and lonely. Sneehætte, at the distance of eight or ten miles, makes all the surrounding country look like a vast plain. There is no living thing to be seen ; and the huge mass of mountain is so unlike all around it, that one might fancy it a living being sitting upon the waste. From Kongsvold to this place is down a ravine, rather than a glen, containing the grandest scenery. The tongues of land, interlocked with each other, are so precipitous, that although I hired an additional horse to assist my pony, the two could scarcely scramble up and down with the cariole. Norwegian horses alone could get over this road, which, however, is itself good. It is evident the dip is vastly more rapid on this side of the Dovre Fjeld. At one place the scenery in this ravine was very striking. The head of the crag above us was wrapt in snow, whence streams were trickling down ; while the burn at its foot, along which our road wound, was running through a wood of birch of the most tender and lively verdure.

One of the English gentlemen whom I met at Jerkin gave me a fishing rod, with which he did not wish to be encumbered. He had caught trout until he was actually tired, having killed above 300 in a very few days. Having fortunately brought with me some flies and tackle, I went out this forenoon, while my pony was resting after yesterday's fatigue, to try my skill. Although I never fished trout before, I caught above six dozen between breakfast and dinner : this will give some idea of what fishing is in Norway. They were small, the largest not exceeding a foot in length ; but the landlord brought in some as big as salmon, caught in a lake on the Fjelde. I had no idea of even grilse or sea trout attaining such a size. I have seen ordinary sea trout of three or four pounds weight, but these exceed eighteen pounds.

Fly-fishing appears not known here, and I imagine it is altogether an English art. The people had heard of the success of English sportsmen at Jerkin ; and one cannot make a more acceptable present to them than fishing flies and hooks, properly mounted.

*Sunset, August 22.*—I set off this morning from Drivestuen. The expense of travelling in my present style is half a dollar per day for man and horse. I live, to be sure, and so does my horse, in the country manner, which is certainly not the English one : but whoever has travelled in the highlands, or even the lowlands

of Scotland twenty years ago, has no right to complain of his accommodation here. An Englishman, bred in the midst of that peculiar attention to cleanliness and nicety, which, even now, is almost exclusively English, will find much to horrify him in a Norwegian inn; but such gentlemen are scarcely in a situation to judge of the habits of a people. They have been trained in a very nice, cleanly little world, bounded perhaps by the Trent, or, at most, the Angel at Ferrybridge, on the north, and the Ship inn at Dover, on the south. It is scarcely fair to compare the state of manners and habits of all European nations with this standard. He who will travel fairly must eat what is placed before him, and sleep where there is a bed to lie down upon. If his sheets and his food are dirty, a plunge at day-break in the clear burn, and a good digestion, will remedy all. I doubt if a traveller would at present be so well accommodated in our remoter highlands. The dairy products are all clean, and butter is such that any one may venture on it. Fish, eggs, wild strawberries, and the moltebeer, which will keep for a year, and deserves a place on our housekeepers' shelves, better than half of our jams and preserves, are all excellent things, which cooking cannot spoil to the most dainty traveller. There is, doubtless, a scarcity of many articles very important to comfort and cleanliness. Pottery ware, plates, dishes, bowls, are coarse, and not in the abundance we are accustomed to. Knives, forks, spoons, are also on the minimum side of the account as to comfort and nicety. If we will not buy their timber, how can these people buy our pottery and hardware? If the traveller judges fairly, and considers what he actually finds, and the cost and difficulty of bringing together these household articles in a small Norwegian household, he will find much to admire. The sense of comfort, cleanliness, and order in domestic concerns, appears to me more generally developed among the working class in this country than in Scotland. The wooden floors and side walls, the abundance of glass windows in the meanest habitations, and the outside store-rooms and accommodations distinct from the dwelling apartments, keep the inmates, especially the females, and their habits of living, in a much more cleanly and orderly state than it is possible for those of the same class in Scotland to enjoy, with their earthen floors, and roofs, and side walls, their single pane of glass window, and their single room for all ages and sexes,

to cook and eat, and sleep in, and to hold all the clothes and stores of the family.

*Sockness, Aug. 23.*—I started early this morning from Sundset. A Norwegian gentleman and his daughter are travelling like me with their own horse, and in stopping to bait I have formed a little acquaintance with him. He is a northern proprietor, returning from Copenhagen. Proprietor, I find, is a sort of conventional title, like esquire with us, given to landholders who possess estates larger than they themselves farm. The smaller landholders, who work upon their own little estates, are called *bonder*. This gentleman and his daughter are like our own country gentry in remote parts of Scotland, very kind and obliging, and with the manners and appearance of genteel people.

From Sundset to Bierkragen, there is more forest than I have yet seen in Norway. Distant farms look like holes cut out of the green mass of woods. The trees also appear larger, and the soil much better than on the other side of the Dovre Fjeld. The oats, bear, and potatoes are beautiful. Rye, and a sort of red bearded-wheat, are luxuriant; but they are not in general cultivation. Hemp and flax grow on every farm, and every house has a little patch in hops for family use. The hops appear very plentiful, and the plants healthy; but the mode of cultivation is different from ours. The plants are not set in separate hills, but close together, so as to smother all vegetation below them.

*Sæberg, Aug. 24.*—I made only three Norwegian miles to-day, being unwilling to arrive late in the evening at Dronthiem, where I understand there are no regular inns. My travelling acquaintances went on, having friends there.

In building houses in Norway, timber is used of a size far exceeding the dimensions we generally suppose its trees to attain. There is a log in this old house which is three feet on each square side, and retains that size for at least twenty five feet in length. In all the houses, especially those of very old date, the logs are as large as the Memel or American timber usually brought to England. I understand that the impediments in the rivers prevent the floating down of such lengths of great timber to the coast. The vessels, also, are too small for such pieces which it is customary to use in building. For these reasons the timber on this side of the Dovre Fjeld is in general cut into short deals for exportation. Wood of considerable size grows as far

north as the valley of the Namsen the largest of the Norwegian rivers, about 120 English miles from Dronthiem: it grows in sheltered situations in Nordland and Finmark, as far north as Alten Fiord, but of diminutive size, and in such limited quantity that it is thought necessary to preserve it for the use of the inhabitants, and its exportation is prohibited. Trees in Nunmedal, or the valley of the Namsen river, are large enough to furnish building material to the country to the north, and masts or spars of a foot and a half of girth at the end of sixty feet of length.

## CHAPTER II.

Dronthiem. — Inn. — Cathedral. — Town. — Shipping. — Library. — Saxon and Norman Arches. — Gothic Architecture. — Stordal. — Colonel George Sinclair. — Rocking Stones. — Levanger. — Dronthiem Fiord and Bothnian Gulf. — Norwegian Farm. — Hops. — Stikklestad. — Date of the Battle corrected by an Eclipse. — Værdal. — Peasants. — Cross Roads. — Snaasen Vand. — Steenkjær. — Scotch Farmers. — Norwegian Farms. — Value, Size, Taxes, Harvest Work, Ploughing. — Gigot Sleeves. — My Winter Quarters.

*Dronthiem, Aug. 25.*—I arrived here this morning at ten o'clock. The custom-house officer, sitting at the gate to take town dues, probably thought, from my portmanteau, that I had merchandise to pay for. He willingly accompanied me to the best lodging-house, to examine my luggage, and I readily gave him a small fee, as it is awkward to enter a town without knowing where to go. I have got into a comfortable house, kept by a cheerful old lady who speaks a little English. It is not exactly an inn; there is no sign-post; it is not open at every hour for every body, and the family expect more consideration than in a place where the traveller, at least the English traveller, is every thing, and the family nothing. In considerable towns, I understand, such as Dronthiem and Bergen, there are no regular inns, but plenty of these boarding-houses, which are, in fact, as comfortable, and in which the traveller is served as well as he could be in any inn the place could support.

After an excellent breakfast, I went to see the far-famed cathedral. It does not impress the traveller who has seen others either

with its magnitude or its beauty. It has nothing picturesque, whether viewed near or at a distance, and it has attracted little notice from the English or other foreign travellers. It is, however, a very remarkable and interesting structure. There are parts unquestionably as old as the year 1033. Few if any of the churches in England, which are considered to be of Saxon architecture, are known as belonging to that period, being about the time of Canute the Great; and any which, from the style of architecture, are considered to be older than the Norman Conquest, are objects of great interest; and the style of arches and ornaments has given rise to many curious speculations. This cathedral would, therefore, deserve the careful examination of those conversant with the subject. There are parts of the fabric which have evidently been rebuilt at various periods, as the structure has frequently suffered from fire, and the old finely cut stones have in many places been built into the present walls without any distinct reason; in some places forming arches, and in others pillars supporting nothing, but merely put in, because they were considered ornamental. The barbarous taste of those who at present have charge of this curious building is much less excusable. Workmen are actually employed in painting over the whole of the stone work, of a sort of light-blue colour, which they think more beautiful, and more like stone, than the beautiful stone itself of which the fabric is constructed. They are picking out, as our house-painters call it, in white paint, the traceries, grotesques, and ornamental pillars, so that the whole exterior resembles very much the stern of a Dutch galliot.

It would require some time, and more knowledge of the subject than I am master of, to consider this structure properly, and to distinguish what is original from what is of a later age.

*Dronthiem, Aug. 27.* — This town has a population of 12,400 inhabitants. The streets are spacious, with water cisterns at their intersections. The houses, which are all, or with very few exceptions, of wood, are large and good, and have an air of cleanliness and comfort. The scrubbing and washing of doors, windows, stairs, and pavements give a favourable impression of the habits of the Dronthiemers. They are a remarkably handsome people—as the ladies at least know. There are few towns of this size in which one meets so many well-dressed handsome females of the higher class, who are invited out by the delightful evenings at this season. The means of subsistence here arise partly from Dronthiem being

the seat of the higher courts, and functionaries connected with the provinces north of the Dovre Fjeld, and partly from its being the only place, on this side of the Fjelde, of which the merchants enjoy the privilege of trading to foreign ports. Tromsøe, in Nordland, has of late obtained the same privileges, but it is as yet in its infancy. The trade of Dronthiem employs about fifty vessels belonging to the port, chiefly in conveying wood to France, and a few cargoes to Ireland and Scotland, also dried fish to Spain and Italy. France has been for some years the best customer for timber. One can well understand that the small proprietors there, who had acquired their lands during the Revolution, would not for many years possess the means, and the confidence in the security of their property, to build and lodge themselves suitably to its amount. Spanish and Italian vessels have of late found their way to Dronthiem; and the trade, although it suffers by having its own vessels unemployed, gains by finding customers at home instead of sending its fish to a distant market. In the year 1830, 154 vessels cleared outwards to foreign ports, of which 56 were to British ports, 23 to the Mediterranean, 28 to Spain, 17 to Denmark, 12 to Holland; the rest to the Baltic, Bremen, and other ports; and for the home trade and fisheries, in the same year, there were cleared outwards 59 ships, and 262 yachts or coasting small craft. In the provinces or Amts, which are supplied through Dronthiem with all foreign products, there is a population of about 112,000 people, besides the inhabitants of the town itself, so that the trade of the place is considerable. All the products of other countries are extremely moderate in price, the import duties seldom exceeding two per cent. *ad valorem*, and the freight by the return of vessels being very trifling. There are few towns in France where French wines are so cheap. The roadstead for shipping is bad, exposed to a heavy swell from the north and west, and with loose ground in twenty fathoms. In the river there is not depth of water for vessels drawing above ten or twelve feet. There is a little rock called Munkholm, on which very expensive fortifications and batteries are constructing for the defence of the town and shipping; but for these objects it is apparently useless, being situated at too great a distance. During the last war, our naval officers sent in boats, and destroyed towns and shipping, overcoming defences much more formidable than those of Dronthiem on the sea-side. On the land-side, although almost surrounded by the river Nid, it is so

entirely commanded by the tongues of land and ravines on the opposite side of the river, that it appears scarcely secure as the principal military depôt on the north side of the Fjelde ; and in case of invasion could not be maintained without a very large force.

*Dronthiem, Aug. 29.*—There is a public library here on a liberal footing. I found no difficulty, although a stranger, in getting out books upon simply signing a printed receipt in which the librarian inserted the title of the work. The collection is large, and contains many curious and rare books. The *Biblia Polyglotta Anglicana*, per Br. Waltonum, Londini, 1657 ; and *Edmundi Costelli Lexicon Heptaglotton* is shown to strangers as rare, from the work, excepting a few copies, having perished in the Fire of London in 1660. There is also a collection of minerals, and objects of natural history, and of antiquities, but of little value, being ill-arranged, ill-preserved, and the productions of different countries and ages, all jumbled together. The Runic calendars, or staves with Runic characters, on which Dr. Clarke sets some value, if I am not mistaken, are indebted to the antiquary's fancy for their importance. As records of events, they may be safely classed with Robinson Crusoe's tally-stick, with a long notch for Sundays, and an extra long one for the anniversary of his shipwreck. Imagination alone can make any thing more of them than a rude device to aid the memory of the individual in recollecting his private affairs, or possibly public transactions. No Runic inscription, either on wood or rock, has yet been discovered of an older date than the introduction of Christianity in the eleventh century ; and Scandinavia boasts of regular historical records in the Saga, which relate the transactions of the tenth and even the ninth century.

*Dronthiem, Aug. 30.*—I have paid a daily visit, since I arrived, to the cathedral, and, as I intend to move to-morrow, shall put down all that I have read or observed concerning this structure. King Olaf Haraldsen, who appears to have been the most blood-thirsty tyrant who was ever canonised, was killed by his subjects in a battle at a place called Stikklestad, north of Dronthiem, in the year 1033 ; and his body was interred in a church still standing, which he himself had built in that city and dedicated to Saint Clement. As Olaf reigned fifteen years, this building must have been erected between 1018 and 1033. As this monarch introduced Christianity by fire and sword into his dominions, and was killed by the peasants whom his cruelties had driven into revolt, he was



canonised ; his shrine became the most distinguished in the north of Europe, and one of the most frequented by pilgrims. The cathedral was founded in the year 1180 or 1183, close to this church, which forms a chapel at the east end of it. The west end, now in ruins, was not founded till the year 1248, and in the end of the thirteenth century the whole structure must have stood in its splendour. The extreme length has been 346, and its breadth 84, English feet ; but the west end, which contained the grand entrance, had a chapel at each corner, making the breadth of that front 140 feet. The transept and east end are the only parts roofed in, and now used for divine service. The western, once magnificently ornamented, is now used as a timber or store-yard, but the outer walls still rise to the height of the arches of the lower windows, which are pointed, and of the spring of those which have joined the outer walls to the pillars of the aisles ; but these are all demolished. The grand entrance in this front was by three doors, now all built up, and in their place buttresses support this end of the wood-yard. This front was adorned with a row of twenty arched and delicately cut niches above the three entrance gates, and below these, on each side of the entrances, a row of ten pointed arches with ornamental ones within them. The ten have rested upon slight pillars, and those within have joined and ended in a carved flower. The niches have been exceedingly rich in finely carved fret-work and mouldings, and they still contain five full length statues more or less mutilated. From the folds of the drapery, hands, and hair of the heads, they could not have been the work of the same age or country, which produced the grotesque masks and figures which are strewn with profusion over the most ancient parts of the building. They are of a different taste and school from those figures in the cathedral of Amiens and other churches of the same period ; and the celebrated figure of the goose-footed queen, on the portals of four French cathedrals, which has given occasion to so much learned conjecture, could not probably be ranked with these. They display considerable merit, and deserve the examination of a competent judge. The upper works of the transept and east end, being all now roofed in, have probably been rebuilt at various and comparatively recent periods. By these, I mean all above the first arches, or those springing from the ground. I conceive that all this higher part has originally been only of wood, for the cathedral is said to have frequently

been burned. Now fire would consume the roof and wood-work, but not the stone walls. At all events the stones, not being calcareous, would have remained though the walls had tumbled down. But there is on the spot no rubbish, or heaps of ruins, and in the adjacent houses no stones, which originally belonged to the cathedral: having all been squared, they would have been easily recognised. Hence I suspect that, when the wood-work has been consumed by fire at different periods, the stones of the aisles and arches within the shell now remaining of the west end have been employed to build up the present walls of the transept, and other parts which were originally of wood. Thus we may account for the paltry taste and execution of all the upper part of the structure, and for the insertion of cut stone mouldings of arches where an arch could never have been intended, but the stones have evidently been built in from other places; while all that is below, and could not possibly have been injured by any conflagration, is original, and, from its antiquity, style, and execution, very interesting. The round arch with the zigzag ornament, which we call Saxon, is employed in all this old part, and also in Saint Clement's chapel. The present entrance in the north transept is a fine specimen of both. But this simple massive style is mixed with light pointed arches, adorned with grotesque heads, flowers, and all the variety of ornaments which are usually considered peculiar to a much later period of Gothic architecture; but here the two styles are evidently coeval. It shakes the theory of the Saxon and Norman, the round and pointed arch having been used exclusively in particular and different centuries, and affording ground to determine the comparative antiquity of Gothic edifices. The Norman arch, in its most florid style, is here connected with the Saxon in its most simple and massive form, in a building where the known date of the portions containing this admixture is more ancient than the ascertained date of those English edifices from which the theory is derived.

There has been a good deal of ingenious writing about the origin of Gothic arches. The interlacing of the boughs of tall trees in an avenue, as it has something of the effect, has also been considered as the original model of the interior of the Gothic cathedral, and what the earliest architects may have proposed to imitate. The origin is probably much less picturesque. The people of the north of Europe, before their conversion to Christianity, buried their dead, like all barbarous nations, with their arms and imple-

ments, and even their horses, slaves, and sometimes their wives. On the sea coast, the boat or ship in which the chieftain sailed was laid over the body, and the tumulus was raised over its hull. This circumstance repeatedly occurs in the Saga; and the ship tumulus is distinguished by all Scandinavian antiquaries as distinct from the round heaps or mounds of earth raised over stone coffins or other receptacles. Its inside would be exactly a Gothic building in wood; and the main body, the nave (*navis*) is called the ship of the building in the ancient northern languages, probably in reference to this origin.

The curious will find a minute description of the cathedral of Saint Olaf, its 316 windows, its 3361 pillars, its 32 altars, and all the rest of its magnificence, in a quarto volume, published at Dronthiem, in the year 1762, by Gerard Schöning, rector of the high school there; an antiquary whose works are held in high esteem by the learned in Scandinavian antiquities.

*Aug. 31.* — The weather being fine, and myself and pony quite refreshed by our long rest, I resolved to proceed onwards along the coast of this magnificent gulf. If I should be overtaken by bad weather, or find poor accommodations, I have always Dronthiem under my lee. I paid my bill, about a dollar and a half per day, mounted my goods and chattels again behind my cariole, and set out before sunrise, by the opposite entrance to that by which I entered. The road crosses the river by a good wooden bridge, and beyond is a considerable suburb, and a country studded with neat villas of the merchants of Dronthiem. I took the road northwards, along the coast of the fiord which was skirted by low hills, or knobs of primary rock, containing much mica, against which there rests a compact chloritic clay, which, in its indurated state, appears to be the stone used in the cathedral, and in its soft state is the greenish till or subsoil of the arable land. Where this is laid dry, and made friable by cultivation, it appears to form an excellent soil. The crops are very luxuriant, but cultivation is much impeded by knobs of the primary under-rock. I have not, indeed, seen in Norway twenty acres of arable land in one field, without some obstruction from knobs of stone. The farms upon this slope appear excellent; the crops heavy and clean. Oats, bear (I have seen no barley), rye, red wheat a kind of bearded spring grain, and potatoes, make as good an appearance as similar crops do in the

districts of Scotland which are farmed in the ordinary way without any special improvements.

The hills of primary rock in some places run out into promontories which dip into the fiord. To scramble up and down these is not work for an alderman: when one does, however, get over the keel of such a ridge, he sees a quiet, beautiful scene below. The little land-locked bay is so shut in with rocks and woods, that it resembles a small mountain-lake. The entrance is hid by trees; and the mark of high water on the white beach at the head of the cove is the only indication that it belongs to the ocean. There is generally room at its head for one fishing farmer, with his house at the foot of the rocks, a green spot for his cows and goats, and his little skiff at anchor before his door; where the lucky fellow, without ever knowing what a sea-storm is, or going out of sight of his own chimney smoke, catches in his sheltered creek the finest sea-fish beneath the shadow of the rocky forest that surrounds him. When the traveller drops suddenly upon one of these nooks, his toil is repaid.

Besides these coves, there are extensive lateral valleys through which considerable rivers run into the fiord. The fiord itself is just a great valley filled with the sea, above 100 miles long, and from 3 to 12 broad. These Norwegian fiords are singular and inexplicable features. How could these immense rifts, 60 to 200 miles long, and in some places not a gun-shot broad, be made in the solid primary rock? It was not by the action of the sea; for some extensive branches of them are at right angles to the main fiord, and not exposed to that impulse of the sea by which it could have been excavated. It could not have been formed like other valleys, by the gradual operation of rivers running into the sea, because there is here no back country to afford waters for so many large streams as must, by this supposition, have existed close, and often at right angles, to each other. The theory of the elevation of land by volcanic impulse from below gets over the difficulty more intelligibly than either of these two suppositions. It was not necessary that this volcanic power should break through the crust it elevated, and volcanic productions be found on the surface. Iceland might have afforded a near enough vent. I have been led to these observations by a singular rock which I found behind the Ferry-house, at which I stopped for the night, in the valley of Stordal. This is the greatest of the lateral valleys on this side of

the Dronthiem Fiord; running about sixty miles up the country to the dividing ridge, or kiolin (keel) of the peninsula, which sends its waters from one side towards the Dronthiem Fiord, and from the other towards the Bothnian Gulf and the Wenner Lake. The breadth of the valley here may be about three miles of alluvial soil resting, on the south side, against hills of micaceous schistus penetrated by veins of granite; and, on the north side, upon gneiss. Close to the river, shooting up through the alluvial soil, there is a huge mass of rock different in its texture from any I have seen in Norway. Having to fasten my pony under the lee of it for the night, I was struck with its appearance. The texture is vesicular: some of the vesicles are empty, others filled with what appeared to me whitish, decomposed feldspar, and the mass contains fragments of its own material, and of crystallised substance rendering it a conglomerate. It struck me that here, if any where, the crust has been broken through, and that this mass is a volcanic production. Indurated clay, mud upon mud, deposited from water, would have had a stratified or laminal texture, not a vesicular. Not knowing the ancient lava, I cannot speak confidently; but I know this mass is totally different in texture from the granite, the gneiss, the mica, the lime, or the indurated clay families, which are the usual rocks of Norway.

This valley of Stordal is partly the scene of one of the most gallant enterprises in modern warfare, which, not being very generally known in Scotland, I will here relate. One hears often in Norway of the Scottish war, and finds it an important chapter in the popular histories of the country; and one ransacks his memory in vain to find when and how it took place. The circumstances are as follow:—In the war between Christian IV. of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, which began in the year 1611, Gustavus sent a Colonel Munkhaven over to Scotland to obtain recruits for his service. Munkhaven raised about 3000 men in the north of Scotland, and embarked them in the end of the summer of 1612. He found, on his arrival, that affairs had been going on unfavourably. Gottenburg had been taken by the Danes; the whole Swedish side of the Sound was in their possession; Stockholm itself was threatened; and, from the North Cape to Calmar, the whole coast was occupied by the enemy. Munkhaven must have been an officer of singular military talent and vigour of mind: an ordinary man, under such circumstances, would have returned

to Scotland and disbanded his raw recruits. He would have been fully justified in doing so; and his conduct and success is one of the finest examples, in modern warfare, of the *nil desperandum* in military enterprise. He sailed northwards, and detached Colonel George Sinclair with 600 men to land in Romsdalen, and draw the attention of the garrison of Dronthiem to that quarter. From Romsdalen, Colonel Sinclair marched slowly up the valley of Lessoe into the Guldebrandsdal, ravaging the country on his way. Meantime Munkhaven, with his main body, proceeded northwards, sailed past the city of Dronthiem into the fiord, and landed at this place, Stordal, within a day and a half's march of that city. The garrison, especially in a Swedish war, formed a powerful division of the army; Dronthiem being, as stated above, the only military depôt north of the Dovre Fjeld. From the manner, however, in which it is commanded by the adjacent heights, a handful of men could demolish it. The troops in Dronthiem, finding an enemy on each side, and probably supposing Sinclair's division the main body, durst not move out and leave exposed this principal military depôt. Munkhaven marched his troops, therefore, up this valley without opposition, crossed the Kiolen, seized on the two provinces of Jemteland and Hergedalen, and annexed them permanently to Sweden; he then relieved Stockholm, which was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the Danes, extricated his sovereign from a perilous situation, and enabled him to conclude the peace of 1613.

Colonel George Sinclair, with the forlorn hope of this brilliant enterprise, did not proceed so fortunately. He appears not to have used the ordinary precaution of seizing the principal inhabitants on his route, and causing them to march with his column, as hostages for the peaceful conduct of the people. He was attacked in a narrow pass of Guldebrandsdal by the peasantry of two or three of the adjoining parishes; and, although they were only armed with such weapons as the country could afford, they cut off him and all his troops. Two only, it is said, escaped alive. By another account, sixty were made prisoners, and were butchered in the course of the winter, which is not a probable circumstance. Sinclair's lady is said to have accompanied him; and it is added that a youth, who meant to join the peasants in the attack, was prevented by a young lady to whom he was to be married next day. She, on learning that there was one of her own sex among

the Scottish troops, sent her lover to her protection; Mrs. Sinclair not understanding his purpose, shot him dead.

It is possible that the papers of some of the Sinclairs in Caithness would give curious information respecting Munkhaven's levy, and the fate of Colonel George Sinclair and his lady.

It is pleasing to observe that the people remember, and feel pride in this gallant exploit of their forefathers. It is told or sung in every house. A peasantry see nothing of the operations of war but what is before their eyes; and they may justly boast of having cut off a body of regular invading troops by their own unaided valour. But it is lamentable to find enlightened men in Norway seriously resting the defence of the country entirely upon this excellent spirit of the people, and its natural capabilities of defence. These may do much, if well applied, but are by no means sufficient in modern warfare. They forget that on this very occasion Colonel Munkhaven broke through their country with a mere handful of men, within a trifling distance of its principal military station, and turned the tide of war against them; and all this with the loss of only a forlorn hope of six hundred men, caused apparently by the rashness of their leader.

*Levanger, September 2.* — I arrived last night at this little town. Few situations in travelling excite more anxiety than that of driving alone through a strange country towards nightfall, both horse and man pretty well tired, and both nearly equally unacquainted with the language, or where to find a night's lodging. This was my situation last night. After leaving the Ferryhouse at Stordal river, and crossing the river and valley, I got into a rough country covered with huge fragments, not rolled masses, of gneiss and of conglomerate broken down from the craggy steeps above. In any other region one would be very much inclined to call in the assistance of an earthquake to account for this phenomenon; but in this latitude frost would be sufficient. Some of these blocks have tumbled upon the top of each other, and are so nicely poised, that I at once exclaimed, "Here are the Rocking Stones of Cornwall." Two huge masses, near each other, are placed above similar ones, by such small points of contact, that the adjustment seems, at first view, artificial. The aspect of the cliff above, however, and the vast accumulation of similar *débris*, satisfied me that it was the work of chance.

I had imagined, as probably many other travellers do, that

beyond Dronthiem, one must be on the extreme verge of cultivation; that the country, forty or fifty miles northwards from that city, must be a sort of waste of moss, and rock, and morass, supporting, perhaps, a few cottars, with their cattle, near the coast, and a few Finlanders or Laplanders, with their reindeer, in the interior. I was astonished to find myself, towards sunset, in a fine arable district, with farms and capital farmhouses, having each its hop garden, and fields of excellent oats and bear, on a much larger scale than any I had yet seen in Norway. I found also many good roads crossing the main one, with guide-posts, bridges, road-drains, fences, and the spires of three parish churches in view at once. My Lapland vanished. My anxiety about a night's lodging ceased on the first glimpse of a land of kirks and manses. I drove on to the spire which had the greatest cluster of houses round it, found excellent quarters in a farmhouse near the village, and in half an hour I and my horse were eating our suppers. My fare was newly caught salmon, with a sauce of horseradish pounded into a cream, followed by excellent coffee; and all so nice, clean, and comfortable, that I determined to halt here for some time. As another inducement, I saw last night, as I drove between the fields of corn, a plough, — a genuine red-painted Scotch plough. There was no mistaking my countryman. On inquiring to-day, I find that I am right; there is a Scotch farmer who has been eight or nine years in this neighbourhood. One may learn more of Norway in an hour from such a man, than by travelling a hundred miles.

*Levanger, September 4.* — This is the only country town, except Little Hammer, at the upper end of the Myosen lake, that I have seen in Norway. The territory is not inhabited village-wise. In this respect countries differ remarkably. In some the agricultural population is clustered into villages, and the arable lands are necessarily at a distance from the dwellings; which must occasion great delay and loss in farming operations. Here the husbandman dwells in the midst of his lands, which must be more advantageous, and make even a difference in the wealth of an agricultural nation.

I walked through this little town to-day. The houses are remarkably good and clean. The little parlours, the kitchens, and pantries would be suitable in an English maritime town; but the streets are unpaved and frightfully dirty. Horses and carioles are



so general among the country people, that the comfort of the pedestrian is little attended to, even in the considerable towns, such as Dronthiem: while all that relates to driving, such as bridges, covered drains, water-courses, is kept in excellent repair, even on unfrequented cross roads.

The floors of rooms in Norway, and, I believe, in Sweden also, are, at least once a week, strewed over with the green tops of the fir or juniper. On a white well-scoured deal floor, the lively green specks have a pretty effect. The use is the same as that of the yellow sand, with which our housewives sprinkle their floors. It prevents the mud on the shoes from adhering to and soiling the wood. The gathering and selling these green juniper buds is a sort of trade for poor old people about the towns, just as selling yellow sand is with us. At funerals, the road into the churchyard and to the grave is strewed with these green sprigs.

In so remote a little town, I was surprised to find two working silversmiths. The small proprietors are fond of possessing plate, as silver spoons and tankards, or jugs, for ale, having the heads or covers, and often the whole, of silver.

The want of gardens, or a bit of ground before or behind a house, laid out in beds, and looking nice and trim, gives to all the dwellings an uncomfortable aspect. They look like wooden boxes set down upon a grass or corn field. A small inclosure for hops is attached to every farmhouse, but carrots, onions, cabbage, and all garden vegetables are little used. Probably, the short interval between winter and summer allows little time to attend to any but the essential crops. Farmers are bad gardeners everywhere.

This little town is situated on an inlet of the Dronthiem Fiord, which affords the best shelter for small vessels on this side of that gulf, and is a place of considerable importance. Dried fish, salted herrings, and all kinds of manufactured goods and foreign productions, are brought from Dronthiem to this town, which is a sort of commercial outport for the trade of that city. The Swedes come across the Fjelde in great numbers, when the snow sets in and makes the transport of heavy goods practicable on sledges. They bring iron and iron nails, copper, tallow, butter, cheese, skins, hides, frozen game and venison which will keep good until spring, and barter these products for the articles they consume.

The upper part of Sweden, which throws its waters into the Baltic, is more easily and cheaply supplied by this channel than

by the Bothnian Gulf. To a large portion of Sweden, perhaps even of Finland and the north of Russia, the Dronthiem Fiord affords a much readier communication with other parts of the world than the Baltic; it is never impeded by ice, and is the true seaport for those countries, being navigable at all seasons, and leading direct into the ocean. In winter, after the snow has fallen, the whole country across from it to the Bothnian Gulf and into the interior of Russia, is one railroad, such as art can never rival, as to the aid given to animal power. If the steam carriage should ever be brought to perfection, it is in those countries in which winter equalises and hardens the sledge roads over the snow for eight months of the year, that its application will produce the greatest changes in the channels of commerce. The distance across from the Dronthiem Fiord at this place to Sundsvold on the Bothnian Gulf, is only about 270 or 280 miles, by a new road now constructing across the Fjelde. This in winter is but a small impediment, compared to the long navigation up the Baltic and the Bothnian Gulf, which are only open for a part of the year, and to which vessels from America, or the Mediterranean, or even from Bristol or Liverpool, can scarcely reckon upon more than one annual voyage. This trade may become very important, if any political events should make the navigation of the Baltic unsafe. Already it is of such importance, that the first mercantile companies in Dronthiem have houses and warehouses in this little town, with a view to two great fairs held here in December and March. The resort thither of people from Sweden is said to be very great, when there is no disappointment in having snow for the transport of goods by sledges. The trade must be considerable which admits such good buildings for the sake of a business that lasts only three weeks in the year.

*Levanger, September 10.* — It is very unsatisfactory to travel over a country, seeing it as you would a panorama, but, from imperfect knowledge of the language, unable to gain information about what you see. I consider this place, or at least this district, as very interesting. It is evidently a point of contact between civilised life and what can scarcely receive that appellation. The inhabitants of the most unfrequented tract of land in Europe (for it is only along the sides or shores of the fiords that roads or business lead the stranger), come from the interior of the peninsula to purchase here their necessities and luxuries. The country is evidently

rich and well cultivated ; and the inhabitants, being removed from all foreign intercourse, unless at these fairs, must afford the best specimen of the genuine landholders of Norway, unaffected by any extraneous circumstances. Having the advantage also of an intelligent Scotch farmer, who has been settled in this neighbourhood for some years, to apply to for information, I resolved to remain here a few days. I had got, moreover, into clean and comfortable quarters.

I went one evening with my landlord to look at a farm about four miles up the country, which he intends to sell. He expects about two thousand dollars. I was surprised to see offered at this sum at least a hundred acres, besides a considerable tract of under-wood. Not above forty were cultivated ; the rest grass, impeded with bushes and stones, but yielding hay. Sown grasses are not introduced, and ray grass at least will not, I understand, endure the winter. I suspect there must be some fault in the management, for I found it growing naturally on the sides of a field, in which I was told it had been tried, and had failed. Timothy grass is the only kind cultivated, but not at all generally. The farmer depends for his hay upon natural grass, and as the fields are not top dressed, it requires a great space of land to produce any considerable quantity. As the straw is all housed, and consequently more dry and withered towards spring than that of crops stacked out of doors, a large quantity of hay is required. This is the cause, I understand, of so great a proportion of every farm being left unploughed.

I found a small hop garden even on this farm, and apparently the crop excellent. It is singular that a plant which is so delicate and precarious in the south of England, and requires the most expensive culture, should flourish here in latitude  $64^{\circ}$ , and with very little attention. It is not impossible that there may be races or families of plants, as undoubtedly there are of animals, more hardy, or at least more exempt from diseases, than others of the same species ; and that our hop farmers might obtain from this quarter a hardier plant, and one which perhaps would succeed farther north, than the British.

I must endeavour to become acquainted with the value of land in this country. It appears to me, from what I learned in my walk this evening, that many who emigrate with small capitals to the woods of Canada, and whose habits are not exactly suited to a life

of privation and toil, would have found all they wanted much cheaper here.

Summer lingers long in this country. On returning from our walk we found the family sitting out of doors at eleven o'clock at night, listening to two visitors, who sang and played the guitar. It was almost like the south of Europe. The evenings and nights, even in this month, have not the raw, damp, chilly air, which in Scotland would not make it at all agreeable to sit out of doors at midnight in September. The air is dry and warm, and I infer, from the little hurry or bustle about cutting down or taking in the crops which are standing dead ripe, that the climate is steady at this season. A Scotch farmer would be in a fever of anxiety and apprehension, if he had his fields in such a state.

*September 20.* — Being desirous of seeing as much as possible of this fine tract of country, while the weather is so delightful, I set off yesterday towards the north along the fiord. My stay at Levanger has advanced me considerably in the language.

The country is much better than nearer to Dronthiem, the soil superior, and the barren headlands of primary rock running into the fiord, not so numerous, steep, and rugged. Cultivation extends back into the country as far as the eye can reach, and is not confined to the hollows and skirts of high ground, but spreads over hill and dale. At the entrance of the valley of Værdal, I left the coast, and after driving a few miles through a tract covered with the most luxuriant crops, now in full harvest, I came to the river which runs through the valley, and is at this place as wide as the Tweed at Kelso. Seeing fresh traces of wheels on the sand, and a steeple a little distant on the other side, I took the river, concluding this to be the ford. When I was half across, a man came bawling about a boat, as I understood ; but I had got over the worst, and saved my fare, although with a little wetting. I whipped on to the little church, which the man told me was that of Stikklestad. It is a place celebrated in Norwegian history, for here king Olaf the saint was slain in the battle with his subjects.

Never was a monarch opposed and cut off by his people on juster grounds. He was raised by them to supreme power under the pledge of not interfering with their religious or civil rights. After a course of success, not unmixed with single acts of cruelty and perfidy, against all the small kings who had originally assisted him in reaching the sovereign power, he attempted to impose, by force

and cruelty, the Christian faith on his subjects. Superstition appears to have entirely altered a character, originally humane, brave, and eminently popular; and to have led him to acts so atrocious, that in an age not very distinguished for humanity, he excited an universal revolt. On his way from Sweden with an army to reconquer his kingdom, he was met at this place by the hostile peasantry, and fell without even showing the prudence and courage which had distinguished his early career.

The Danish Antiquarian Society has erected a monument on the spot where this bloody saint fell, which is also marked out by a rude monument of older date. They have added an inscription, implying, that the pious monarch, after labouring for fifteen years in the conversion of his subjects to the Christian religion, was slain in a tumult of his mutinous people, on the 29th June, 1033. The silence of the ancient monument is more honourable, and true to history.

Of all historical events, one would expect the exact date of this battle of Stikklestad to be the best ascertained in northern history, because all accounts of it concur in the remarkable circumstance, that a total eclipse of the sun began nearly with the battle, at half-past one in the forenoon, and continued till three, commencing with a redness in the sky, and increasing to a total darkness; and the date is usually given as the 29th June, 1033. But in Grundvig's translation of Snorro into the modern Norse, which I saw at Dronthiem, it is stated to be 29th July, 1033. But it has been calculated by the celebrated Professor Hansten of Christiania, that there was no such eclipse at either date visible at Stikklestad. The Saga and Snorro Sturlesen are proved incorrect even by their own accounts, which state that, at night, the darkness prevented the parties from continuing the fight or the pursuit. Now in latitude  $63^{\circ} 40'$ , it is not so dark at midnight, either on the 29th of June or of July, as to occasion any practical difference between night and day. As there is no bringing the sun to the saint, it has been found necessary to bring the saint to the sun. On the 31st August, 1030, there was a total eclipse of the sun, which would be visible at Stikklestad at the hours specified; and at that date also the sun would be so far below the horizon at night as to occasion darkness. There can be no doubt, therefore, that instead of the 29th June, 1033, as in all the historical accounts, and also on the Antiquarian Society's pillar, the real date was 31st August, 1030.

What then shall we think of the authority of Snorro Sturlesen, or of the Saga, whence he draws his information, when we find such an error regarding a leading event, which had an important influence on a chain of succeeding events, and took place, if I am not mistaken, only about 148 years before his own birth? How much greater must be our doubt as to more distant events, some not committed to writing, we are told, until 240 years after their occurrence.

The church of Stikklestad, or some part of it, is probably of a date not much later than the fall of Saint Olaf. His body was transported to Saint Clement's church in Dronthiem, erected by himself. As he was canonised soon after, and became one of the most celebrated of northern saints, this stone church, so near to the field of battle, may probably be of ancient erection. The only part which struck me as curious, although, from my not knowing the date, of little interest, is the entrance gate, a round Saxon arch with peculiar fillet ornaments, similar to those on round arches in the transept of the cathedral of Dronthiem.

After satisfying my curiosity, and drying myself in the sun, on this memorable battlefield, I drove up the valley of Værdal for ten or twelve miles, to its junction with another river and valley from the south-west, called Indal. There is here a neat little church, with an old standing stone in the churchyard. About a mile higher, I found a ferry-boat, and crossed the river with my horse and cariole, to the house of a gentleman, for whom I had brought a letter from Levanger. He is an extensive proprietor in this quarter, and universally respected for his judgment and knowledge, and has been frequently one of the representatives of the city of Dronthiem in the Storthing. This gentleman not only understands the English language, but is better acquainted with English literature than many members of our own Storthing in Westminster; and I passed a very agreeable and instructive day with his amiable family.

I do not know in Scotland a valley so beautiful as this of Værdal: the crops of grain so rich and yellow; the houses so substantial and thickly set; farm after farm without interruption, each fully enclosed and subdivided with paling; the grass fields of so lively green, as free from weeds and rubbish, and as neatly shaven, as a lawn before a gentleman's windows; every knoll, and all the background, covered with trees, and a noble clear river running briskly

through it. There is a reach or two of Nithsdale in Dumfriesshire, about Ellilock, which, on a small scale, resembles this valley; but the soft living green of the natural grass does not belong to, or is not long retained by, our sown grass fields. Such verdure is to be seen in the Welsh, but not so often in the Scotch valleys.

I find that all these beautiful little farms, with the substantial houses, and that air of plenty and completeness about them which struck me so much on my way up this valley, are the udal estates, and residences of the peasant proprietors, or bonder. They are small farms, usually of about forty or fifty acres; but each having besides a pasturage or grass tract in the Fjelde, where all the cattle that can be spared are kept through the summer, until the crops are taken in; and upon these out-farms there are houses and a regular dairy. This class of bonder are the most interesting people in Norway. There are none similar to them in the feudal countries of Europe.

On leaving this beautiful valley, and the hospitable mansion where I had passed the night, I took the first road across the country leading to the north. In the evening I got to a branch of the great lake called Snaasen Vand, which by my map extends eastward about forty miles, and pours its waters through a valley of fine land, but of short extent, into the head of the Dronthiem Fiord. The tract across from Værdal to this valley, may be thirty-five miles by the road I came. It is rough. Blocks of primary rocks, gneiss, or micaceous schist, covered with trees, divide the streams, and form the banks of the small lakes, into which all the waters in this country have a tendency to expand; a proof that they have hard primary rock to cut through, and no very sudden rise of level behind to give them force. On the banks of these streams and lakes there are farms, but evidently of inferior soil to that of the great valleys. I stopped twice to rest and feed my horse, for which the charge is four skillings, or three halfpence sterling; and I have never been at a loss for excellent cheese, butter, milk, and oat-cake. I passed one or two peat mosses just forming. The trees had fallen, obstructed the drainage of the water, and were half buried in black, decayed vegetable earth. Of proper black, compact peat-moss, however, I have not yet seen so much as would make a stack in the highlands of Scotland, nor so much heath as would shelter a covey of <sup>partridge</sup>muirfowl. The fine

long unbroken stretches of purple heath, which cover our Scotch hills, are wanting, I believe, in Norway.

The cross roads by which I reached the valley of the Snaasen Vand, are not worse than many cross roads within forty miles of London. They are badly laid out for avoiding sharp ascents, but well constructed and kept up, over all Norway. It is, perhaps, one of the advantages which that country derived from being so long under the vigorous administration of an absolute government, that all public duty was, and continues to be, done with a kind of military promptitude. This has enriched Norway with roads and bridges, without which many tracts could not have been inhabited; and no vague sense of public advantage and convenience could, perhaps, have worked so effectively, either with the public functionary or the people, without the will and fiat of the strong unrestrained power behind to enforce the execution. Many of the most lonely forests and Fjelde, by those paths of communication are made, if not available for human use, at least not obstructive to it.

At the junction of the river of the Snaasen Vand with the Dronthiem Fiord, there is a good wooden bridge, with five arches, over the river; and on each side is a small cluster of houses, forming a little village called Steenkjær, once a place of great importance. After a long and fatiguing day's journey, for I had wandered considerably, I found good quarters at the merchant's house here.

*Steenkjær.*—I have remained a few days at this place to see the country. The road to the north terminates about four Norwegian miles beyond this village, after which the traveller must proceed by boats. There are roads only across the necks of some of the peninsulæ, and over some of the islands from ferry to ferry. Another road leads up the valley of the Snaasen Vand. Here ditching, draining, and clearing land were going on with great spirit. I did not expect certainly to be charmed with the crops in the sixty-fifth degree of north latitude; but the vegetative power, whatever be the cause, is more vigorous here than in the north of Scotland. Some of the largest establishments of saw-mills in Norway are supplied with trees from the forests around the Snaasen Vand. Of ordinary productions, rye, oats, bear, flax, hops, appeared great crops. This may well be in a soil and climate which raise such noble forests. Behind the house I in-



habited is a standard cherry tree bearing ripe fruit. It would be a rarity in Scotland to raise them, unless against a wall, even eight degrees of latitude south of this. Dronthiem is supplied with them from a parish twenty miles north of the town. Hops are cultivated here as a crop. Flax seed ripens so as to be fit for being sown. It is only in the south of Scotland that these productions would come to maturity. Yet I observe that the mountain ash, with us one of the hardiest of trees, growing where none of the pine tribe reach, high among the hills by itself, is in Norway a delicate tree, the only one upon which any care is bestowed. I see it planted in the hop gardens, and in sheltered situations. The common ash is also scarce on this side the Dovre Fjelde. Aspen, wild cherry, birch, and the pine tribe are the trees, juniper, wild raspberry, and wild rose the bushes, that generally prevail.

In this valley of the Snaasen Vand I found another Scotchman (where are they not to be found?) who has been six years in the country as a farm servant and tenant. I was glad of the opportunity of seeing his farm, because it is not like those of the two or three other Scotch farmers which I saw on the skirts of a town or village, like Dronthiem or Levanger, and has no peculiar advantages to prevent it from being considered a fair specimen of these small estates. There was also a measurement or plan of it to guide my inquiries.

Land in Norway is measured by the mæling. The mæling contains forty-nine square ells, the ell two feet, and the foot Norwegian is, I find, three per cent. longer than ours. Thus the English acre, of 43,560 square feet, contains four mælings and four-tenths. It is only near towns, however, that land is sold by the mæling. In general a farm is valued or sold at a sum, without much measurement. Each may be considered as consisting of three divisions: first, the infield, or what we should call the mains, or home acres, inclosed for the crops and the best hay; next, the mark, or outfield, also inclosed, and affording the out-pasture for the cattle. Parts of it also are occasionally fenced off, and broken up for grain, and when exhausted left to sward itself; and when the cattle are sent to the Fjelde, some hay is got from the mark. The housemen, or cottar tenants, have their land in this part, which is generally in a half cleared state, with bushes and small wood sprinkled over it, and is often of considerable extent. In speaking

of land or farms, the people seem to think nothing of the mark, and the mælings generally refer only to the infield or mains; but a purchaser or farmer would, I apprehend, find the best part of his profit in the mark. There is often a still rougher piece of land divided from the mark, as a range for goats and young cattle, called the out-mark. The third division is the seater. This is a pasture or grass farm, often at the distance of thirty or forty miles up in the Fjelde, to which the whole of the cattle and the dairymaids, with their sweethearts, are sent to junket and amuse themselves, for three or four months of the summer. There are huts on these seaters, such as the French call *chalôts*, whence our highlanders apparently got the word *sheelings*; and although only for temporary residence, they are generally substantial buildings, with every accommodation necessary for the dairy. The seaters are generally situated on the banks of some stream or lake in the Fjelde, and the people who reside there catch trout, gather *molteberries*, and make cheese and butter for the mistress, and, I dare say, have a pleasant life of it, up in the Fjelde, all in the fine still summer evenings. The seaters have generally also near them a mire or bog, on which some bog-hay is made and stacked upon the spot; and in winter, when frost has hardened the ground, and snow levelled the obstructions, it is driven home on sledges. The seater and mark are thrown in as appendages, when speaking of farms of so many mælings.

The farm of my countryman consists of 1276 mælings, or 290 English acres; but this does not include the seater, which happens here to be on the hills immediately behind the farm, is covered with fine trees, and is of a defined boundary, extending about a Norwegian mile in circuit. Of the measured land, 148 acres are cleared; but being farmed in the Norwegian style, one-third only bears crops of corn and potatoes. The remainder is always in grass for hay, for the winter support of the cattle. It is natural grass, not top-dressed with manure, and is mown when not above the length of one's finger, so that the proportion of arable land that must be given up to keep the cattle in winter is enormous; it is the system of farming in this quarter: 142 acres outside of the 148 infield are half cleared, being fenced off and ploughed in patches. It bears good grass, but is encumbered in some places with brushwood and stones. Three housemen, or cottars, paying from three to four dollars each of rent, and working at the low rate of eight skillings,

instead of twelve per day, with their victuals, have their land and houses fenced off in this division.

This farm supports twenty cows, seven horses, and a score or two of sheep and goats. The accommodation for cattle is excellent. They stand in a single row in the middle of a wide house, with partitions between each, and room before and behind greater than is occupied by the animal itself. The cowhouse is lighted by good glass windows on each side. The cattle stand on a wooden floor, below which is a vault, into which the dung is swept by a grated opening at the end of each stall. One woman here will keep twenty or twenty-five head of cattle quite clean, instead of its requiring six hours' work of two men, as in cleaning out our ill-constructed byres. All the cowhouses in Norway are on this roomy, convenient scale, built over a vault and with wooden floors; so that the animals, both cows and horses, require no litter; having the dry clean boards, instead of damp stones or earth beneath them. This is a saving of fodder, where it is so valuable from the length of the winter. In this, and in all large farms, the water is brought by pipes, or there is a pump in the cowhouse; and the woman who attends the cows sleeps in one corner of it.

This farm is distant from sea carriage about five English miles. The freight of grain to Dronthiem is about 2*d.* per quarter. The price of common labour is about 4½*d.* per day with victuals. A carpenter earns 9*d.*

The annual rent of this farm is 200 dollars. The taxes amount in all to about 36 dollars and 8 skillings, or 6*l.* : 14*s.* : 5*d.* sterling. Of this, tithe and all charges connected with the church establishment, amount to 8 dollars 4 skillings. The poor-rate is the keep, bed, and victuals of one old man for twenty-six weeks. Every farmer has to send a horse to the post-house upon the particular day when his turn comes, on receiving due notice; but the use of the horse is paid for. Every farm also of a certain size must provide a horse for the artillery or cavalry; but as it too is paid for by government while in service, it is considered an advantage rather than a tax.

Upon a property of the net yearly value of 200 dollars, or 37*l.* : 10*s.* sterling, 6*l.* : 14*s.* : 5*d.* is a heavy amount of taxes. But this is nearly all that is paid in any shape; the indirect taxes, such as our Excise and Custom-house duties, being inconsiderable. If our landholder could reckon, besides his poor-rate, tithe, land-

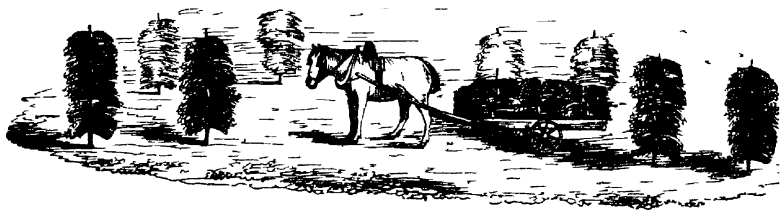
tax, window-tax, and direct assessments of every kind, all that he pays upon the commodities he uses, and all that his customers pay, so as to lessen the consumption and price of his produce, what proportion of his income would be really affected by taxation?

Such a property as that now described is considered worth about 4000 dollars. Within a mile or two of Dronthiem, adjoining the coast, I observed an estate advertised, with suitable houses and mills, at 36 dollars per mæling. This price I estimate at 29l.: 14s. sterling per English acre. The rent of land near a town can scarcely be ascertained; because it is the custom here, as of old in the north of Scotland, to leave a milking and working stock, seed, and implements, to the tenant at his entry, he paying back stock to his successor to the same value at the expiry of his lease. The milk near a town like Dronthiem, of 12,000 inhabitants, gives an important addition to the farmer's receipts; and that depends so much on the quality of his milking stock, that the rent per mæling may depend on the cow that is to eat its produce. I know 16s. sterling per English acre to be paid by one farmer in a favourable situation.

I have been particular in stating all I could learn about this farm, because I consider it fitted to be the representative of a large proportion of the estates into which this country is divided. From 2500 to 4500 dollars include, perhaps, the prices of all ordinary estates, and any thing very much above or below would be an exception. As to the dwelling-houses on such estates, the material for building is so easily obtained, that there is really no difference between the residence of a public functionary, of a clergyman, or of a gentleman of large property, and that of a bonde or peasant proprietor. The latter are as well, as commodiously, and even showily lodged as the former can be, and the properties upon which they dwell are as good. The others may have several of those estates, but seldom connected so as to form one exceeding the ordinary size. The division of property among children prevents the erection of any splendid mansions, or any thing more expensive than is proportioned to the property upon which it stands. As there are no domains to attach to a large mansion, and in a generation or two any estate would be reduced to the ordinary size, a larger house than suits the ground on which it is situated would be out of place. The Norwegians are, beyond a doubt, the most generally well lodged people in Europe; but none magnificently.

Many farmers in Scotland, paying from 300*l.* to 500*l.* sterling of rent, have worse accommodations for themselves, their cattle, and crops, than people here whose estates could be purchased for 500*l.*

The harvest work in this district, and I believe all over Norway, is well done ; and parts of their management might be adopted with advantage in our late districts, where so much grain is lost or damaged almost every autumn by wind or rain. For every ten sheaves, a pole of light strong wood, about the thickness of the handle of a garden rake, and about nine feet in length, is fixed in the ground by an iron-shod borer : it costs here almost nothing. A man sets two sheaves on the ground against the stem, and impales all the rest upon the pole, one above the other, with the heads hanging downwards. The pole enters before the band of each sheaf, and comes out at the bottom ; the sheaf is put on with a pitchfork, and a whole field is picketed in this way with the greatest ease, and as fast as cut. The crop is in perfect safety as soon as it is on the poles ; no rain or damp can heat or make it grow. Only a single sheaf is exposed to the wet. It hangs with its head downwards, is open on all sides to the air and wind, and thus dries as fast as the rain wets it. Gales of wind cannot shake it, making the heads of sheaves dash against one another, which often happens to corn standing in stooks ; there is also not half of the handling and pitching about of the sheaves as in our harvest work ; in which each sheaf is first dragged to the stook, and afterwards thrown into the cart. Here a sledge or car, on low wheels,

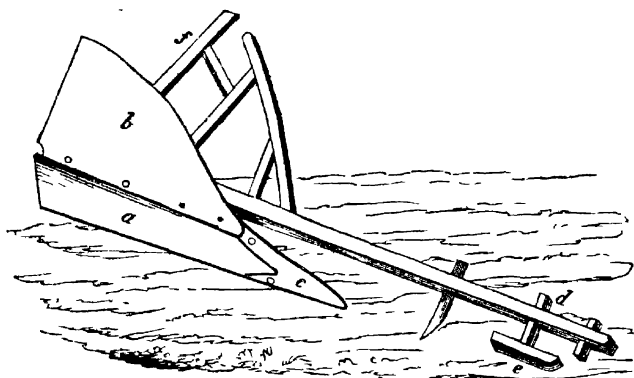


comes along the pole, which is lifted with all its sheaves, and laid into it at once ; and each pole, when in the barn, is a tally for a threave of ten sheaves. The crop is all necessarily brought at once into large barns, on account of the deep snow in winter. The straw must be well withered, and quite dry when housed, which,

without this plan, could seldom be effected. The sheaves are somewhat less than ours.

Shearers here make good work, cut low, and all back handed; that is, they grasp the corn with the back of the left hand towards the hook, not the palm as with us; thus only the stalks contained in the hand can be cut over at one stroke. With us much more, almost an armful, is pressed against the edge of the hook, and cut over; the greater of which is strewed about the field, and lost in carrying it to the band; for it is only what the grasp can manage that comes safely to the sheaf.

The practical farmer will not think these observations trifling. The loss of grain in Great Britain from the field to the mill, would pay the tithe.

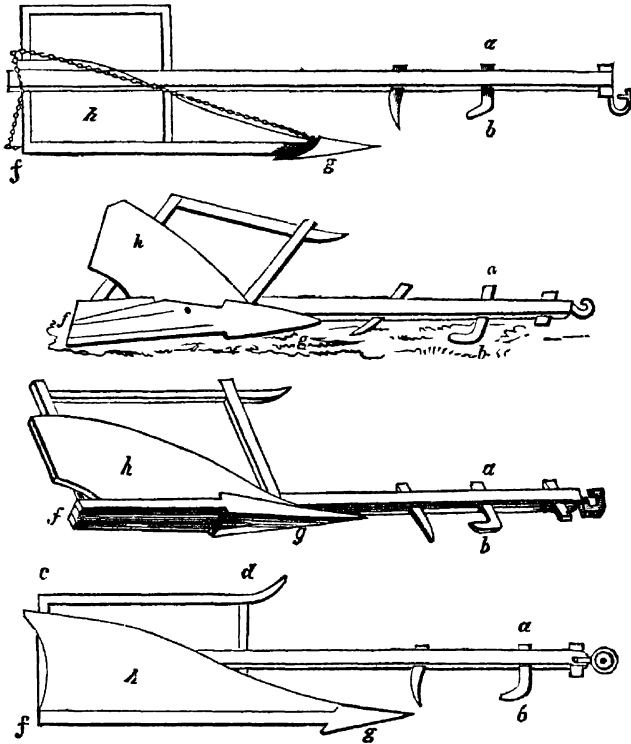


*Norwegian Plough.*

*a.*, Sole, flat and of wood. *b.*, Mould-board plated with iron; and *c.*, share; both fastened to the sole with bolts. *d.*, Regulator, of which the lower part, *e.*, touches the ground. *f.*, Handle, generally wanting.

The Norwegian plough is far from being a contemptible tool: the mould-board has an excellent shape, is clad with iron plate, and turns over the sod completely. It is a kind of paring plough, for the sole is flat, and generally covered with iron plate also, and the ploughing consists in taking the sod or earth at a certain depth, and turning it flat over. It is in fact the Norfolk system of not breaking the pan, as it is there called, of the soil, and never ploughing up or touching the subsoil. It would be rash to condemn this plan, where the subsoil is porous, as it generally is on the primary rocks, upon which clay is seldom the first layer, at least in this country. It might be disadvantageous to break into such a subsoil, and deprive the soil above of the moisture necessary for vegetation.

It appears, at any rate, rational to have a fixed depth of earth stirred by the plough and benefited by the manure bestowed upon a field, and not to leave it to the judgment of the ploughman, or



*Norwegian Plough.*

*a, b*, Regulator. *c, d*, Frame, with which the ploughman removes obstructions. *f*, Sole, of wood, with iron straps on the under side. *g*, Coulter. *h*, Mould-board, longer than ours, and well shaped.

the will of his horses. In the beam of the Norwegian plough, before the coulter, there is a wooden plug or wedge, which first touches the ground; and as this regulator is set high or low, the coulter behind it can take more or less depth. There are two stils to this plough, the one before the other. They are joined by a rail, and the ploughman walks not behind, but by the side of his plough, and holding by this rail turns over as with a lever the stones, sods, or earth, that obstruct the machine.

The whole of the field is ploughed quite flat, not gathered into rigs, which is an error, as the surface water, not finding an issue,

sours the land, and retards the seed bed. A still greater disadvantage is, that the plough, not being a turn-wrest one, returns empty to the place it set out from, to begin each new furrow. The ploughman does not make a fresh one in coming back, but trails the empty plough on its side to the head of the field. He requires, consequently, just double the time to plough an acre that we take. In a country where time is so much wanted in spring to get the seed into the ground, where little ploughing can be done in autumn and none in winter, the loss by this absurd practice is incalculable. The farmers thus incur the expense of keeping a greater number of horses and servants than otherwise would be required. They use only two horses in the plough, without a driver, and are anxious to save time and labour; yet this wasteful custom holds its ground by the side of farmers who have adopted our mode from seeing Scotch ploughmen at work, and thus with the same implements and horses go over double the space that their neighbours do in the same time. Such is the power of custom even among peasantry not averse to improvement. The ease of the horses, of which they have a sovereign care, is the impediment to its adoption. They think it must be too much for them to work forwards, and return also, without rest.

*September 28.* — Sunday. Gigot sleeves, rumps, and ringlets! Where does the empire of fashion end? Not on the borders of Lapland.

*September 29.* — Winter has surprised me. There was a sharp frost last night. The flies and the swallows are gone; and with them the prudent traveller should depart. I am not sorry, however, that winter has caught me in this part of Norway. I may contrive to pass it here, collecting, as I advance in the use of the language, interesting information among a people living in social arrangements so different from ours. I have as yet seen but little of their real domestic condition, only the outside, I may say, of the country. The passing traveller is really very like the swallow, skimming over the land by day, roosting under the roofs by night, and returning home very little the wiser for his flight.

I may easily run back to Dronthiem and winter very comfortably. There is a good library, and the inn or house at which I lodged is comfortable; but I should there see nothing of the real state of the Norwegian people. A third-rate commercial town is the same sort of thing all the world over; clubs, and card parties,



and perhaps, although, as I have no letters of introduction, perhaps not, two or three great feasts in the course of the winter ; and then their blue and white cathedral staring you in the face in every street. A winter in Dronthiem does not please my fancy, like a winter here among these udallers, these children of partition.

### CHAPTER III.

*Brusved Gaard.* — Polite Manners of the lower Classes. — Breed of Cattle. — Bible Society — Potatoo Brandy. — Earthquakes in Norway — Norwegian Constitution — Storthing — Qualifications — Election Men. — Representation — The Power of the Legislative — Attempts to alter the Constitution defeated. — Amalgamation with Sweden not desirable. — Veto of the Executive suspensive only. — Constitutional Principles generally diffused. — The Press. — Newspapers — Influence — Free in Norway, not in Sweden.

*Brusved Gaard.* — I have lodged myself for the winter with a small proprietor, near the little town of Levanger. My landlord holds the office of lensman, of which the functions are, I understand, the collection of taxes, the execution of writs and orders of the executive authorities, and of all public business within the parish. The foged is the superior executive officer, and has several of these parishes in his district, and above him is the amtman, the highest officer of a district, which consists of several fodgeries. The judicial functions are distinct from the executive, and administered by judges called Sorenskrivers, who hold courts monthly in each parish. The court-room of this parish is in my landlord's house, so that I could not be in a better situation for seeing the business and mode of living of the country and the people : I live with the family ; and the traveller would be very fastidious who did not find himself very comfortable with them. I have only to regret the want of sufficient acquaintance with the language to converse with the many intelligent persons whom I meet. It is easy to gather the bundle of words in a foreign language that are necessary to procure what you want for yourself and your horse ; but a very different affair to converse with and understand educated men, especially on subjects like the peculiar institutions of a country and a state of society so different from those we are ac-

customed to. We have to acquire the ideas correctly, as well as the words.

Being stationary now for some time, I shall have little to enter in this journal but detached reflections.

I like the politeness of people towards each other in this country ; the pulling off hats or caps when they meet either strangers or friends. The custom is universal : common labourers, fishermen, private soldiers salute each other with a bow, and do not merely touch the hat, but take it off. This is carefully taught to the children, and even the school-boys bow to each other in the streets ; such a custom is not to be laughed at ; it has a humanising effect. The exterior form of good-will, although but a form, introduces a pause before any expression of ill-will or passion can be indulged. He who has made a bow and received a similar salute, is not so likely to launch out into a burst of abuse or violence, even against one who has offended him, as if the previous delay had not intervened. There is something good even in the forms of goodness ; and it is not unimportant, that, although only mechanical, they should be observed by the very lowest class in their ordinary intercourse.

The breed of cattle in Norway is fine boned, thin skinned, and kindly looking ; the colour generally white, sometimes mixed with red ; I have seen very few, if any, entirely black. The head and muzzle are as fine as in our Devonshire breed. There is so little coarseness about the head or neck of the bull, that the difference between him and the ox is less observable than in our breeds. These cattle are clearly of the same stock with the common unimproved breed which, with a few shades of difference, may be traced through the greater part of Britain, France, and Germany. I had expected to find the original stamp of our highland cattle, but have seen nothing resembling them in any one point, colour, pile, eye, horn, or shape. It is very singular, that a variety of domestic cattle so strongly marked should be confined to so small a locality as the Highlands of Scotland. The cattle here are very carefully attended, and form an important branch of the husbandry, as dairy produce enters much into the food of every family, and is more certain in this climate than that of grain. The cows, sheep, and goats, are more tame and docile than with us, from the constant care and attendance bestowed on them during the long period they must stand within doors ; partly, perhaps, also from the instinct which in a country abounding in wolves makes the defenceless

animals seek man for protection. The good disposition of the Norwegians has, I think, also some influence; they maltreat nothing. The inferior and timid animals, such as the sheep, seem to have confidence, and not to fly from them. The magpies hop about the houses in a half tame state, and are never pelted at by the children.

The gates across the public roads to prevent cattle from straying from one field to another, are often very annoying, as you have to alight in travelling almost at every twenty yards to open one, yet I never saw one of them wilfully injured, or even wantonly left open: the people have a fine disposition to injure nothing.

Being in want of books, and of a few other articles, which I could not find in our village, I went to town, that is, to Dronthiem, for a few days.

I was surprised on inquiring at the only bookseller's shop for a New Testament in the Norwegian tongue, to find that he kept none. I thought at first he had misunderstood me, but really found that he did not keep any of late years. As he understood German, I asked him how, in a population of 12,000 people, the only bookseller kept no stock of Testaments and Bibles. He said that country booksellers did not find it answer, as the Bible Society in London had once sent out a stock which was sold much lower than the trade could afford, and it was only after the Society's Bibles were sold that they could get clear of what they had on hand; hence they could not venture to keep any now. It is plain, if any benevolent society were to supply a parish with boots and shoes below prime cost, until all the shoemakers in the parish had turned to other employments, the parish would soon be barefooted, and that they would do more harm than good, unless they had funds to continue the supply for ever. This bookseller, a very respectable man, laid no stress upon the circumstance; but simply explained it, as he might have answered any other inquiry about books; and a bookbinder, whom I afterwards saw, gave me the same reason. Men of the first capacity are connected with our Societies for the distribution of the Scriptures, and it may well deserve their consideration, whether such distributions may not in the long run do more harm than good. If the ordinary mode of supplying human wants, by affording a fair remuneration to those who bring an article to where it is wanted, be invaded, they may be interfering with, and stopping up, the natural channels by which society must in the long run be supplied with religious books.

I went to see the process of distilling brandy from potatoes in a small work in Dronthiem. The potatoes are first washed quite clean, then steamed, and crushed between two cylinders. They are then in the state of pulp, or soup; which is run off into vats to ferment along with a small proportion of malt. I found that to eight barrels of potatoes, equal to four imperial quarters, they used in this distillery two vogs, equal to seventy-two pounds weight, of good malt. The fermentation requires generally three days, and is produced by yeast: the process then goes on as in our stills. The produce from this quantity of potatoes and malt varies much, according to the quality of the former. From eight to twelve, and even sixteen pots, each pot four-fifteenths of a gallon, is the usual return from one ton or barrel, viz. half a quarter of potatoes. Every farmer is entitled to distil the produce of his own farm; and pays a trifling licence duty, if he buys potatoes and distils as a trader. A still is kept on every farm, not merely for the sake of the spirits, of which the consumption in a family is very great, but for the refuse or wash to the cattle. The spirit is distilled twice for the use of the family, and flavoured with aniseed. It is strong and fiery, but not harsh or ill-tasted. What has been only once distilled has not so raw and unpleasant a taste as new whiskey. The Norwegian gentry seem to prefer it as a dram, when twice distilled, to Cognac brandy. I never saw it mixed with water. The best French brandy is so cheap, that punch, which is the liquor generally handed about in parties, is never made of any other spirit. Very good ale is brewed in gentlemen's families; but in many districts it has a tartness caused by the admixture of oats with the bear. A crop of half oats and half bear is very common in places subject to early frosts, from an idea that when these occur, one kind of grain is not so readily injured as another, and something may always be got from the ground.

Since I was last in Dronthiem, a distinct shock of earthquake was felt there along the coast, and in the islands to the north, on the 3d September; and one on the 17th September, in the islands to the south. I have no great faith in our country earthquakes in England. One old woman fancies she felt the house shake: and all the old women of both sexes, for twenty miles round, make it a point of honour not to have been behind in their observation. But I have no doubt of these Norwegian earthquakes, because the same newspaper contains letters from places which could have had no

communication with each other, mentioning the circumstances, and agreeing in the time. . A correspondent of the *Morgenblad* newspaper, who has kept a register of the weather for many years, says he reckons seven distinct earthquakes in Norway since 1797.\* This will be interesting news to some theorists in geology. He gives a very plausible reason for shocks of an inconsiderable kind being so little noticed. A person touching the earth only by the superficies of the soles of his shoes, or by the points of contact of the wheels of his cariole, may not be sensible of a very considerable vibration of the ground, while one standing on a wooden floor which touches the ground over a superficies of perhaps six hundred square feet, is sensible of the slightest vibration. I have already observed that it is impossible to look at the features of this country,—its fiords and its valleys, at right angles to each other,—its inland perpendicular cliffs, with others facing them, and no back country to throw down a body of water to have excavated the space between,—without being impressed with the idea that at some period this surface has been torn, and raised, and depressed by earthquakes.

The Norwegian people enjoy a greater share of political liberty, have the framing and administering of their own laws more entirely in their own hands, than any European nation of the present times. I shall attempt to give a brief outline of their constitution. The Parliament, or *Storthing*, is elected and assembled once in three years, and sits for three months, or until the business is despatched. A special or extraordinary *Storthing*† may be summoned in the interval, if extraordinary circumstances, as the death

\* Earthquakes are recorded to have been felt in Dronthiem on the 18th July, 1686, and on the 1st April, 1692. On the 14th September, 1344, the river Guul disappeared in the earth, and on its bursting out again destroyed forty-eight farms, and above 250 persons. This event is supposed to be that referred to by Arugrim Joneæus, in *Crymogæa sive Rerum Islandicarum libri III.*, p. 130., in mentioning the earthquake which took place in that island in 1339 — *Eodem temporis momento in Norwegia terræ motus rura et habitationes rusticos quinquaginta evertisse scribitur, in loco qui vocatur Guularaas* although the dates of the events do not correspond. The disappearance of the river, or some other remarkable phenomenon in this Guul valley, appears to have taken place *eodem temporis momento* with the earthquake in Iceland. — *Kraft's Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge.*

† An extraordinary *Storthing* consists of the same members as the previous ordinary *Storthing*. There is no new election, but the extraordinary cannot, like the ordinary *Storthing*, initiate any legislative measure. It can only discuss the matters laid before it by the Executive.

of the sovereign, war, or peace, should require it, but its powers do not extend to any alteration in the laws or constitution. Each Storthing settles the taxes for the ensuing three years; enacts, repeals, or alters laws; opens loans on the credit of the state; fixes the appropriation and administration of the revenue: grants the fixed sums to be applied to the different branches of expenditure — the establishments of the king, the viceroy, or members of the royal family; revises all pay and pension lists, and all civil and clerical promotions, and makes such alterations as it deems proper in any interim grants made since the former Storthing. It also regulates the currency, appoints five revisors, who shall every year examine all accounts of Government, and publish printed abstracts of them. There are laid before it verified copies of all treaties, and the minutes of all public departments, excepting those of the highest military command. The Storthing impeaches and tries before a division of its own body all ministers of state, judges, and also its own members. Besides these great and controlling powers, fixed by the ground-law, as it is called, passed and agreed to by the king and nation on the 17th May, 1814, the Storthing receives the oaths of the king on coming of age or ascending the throne, or of any regents appointed during a minority; and in case of a failure of the royal line, it could proceed, as in 1814, to elect, in conjunction with Sweden, a new dynasty. This body, when elected, divides itself into two houses; the whole Storthing choosing from among its members one-fourth, who constitute the Lagthing, or upper house; their functions resembling those of our House of Lords, deliberative, and judicial in cases of impeachment; the other three-fourths constitute the Odelsting, or House of Commons; and all proposed enactments must initiate in the two divisions united in one house. A counsellor of state may on the part of the executive give in writing any proposals for new laws, but has no vote; and the initiative of laws is not vested in government alone, either in theory or practice, although it has manifested a strong desire, ever since this constitution began to operate, to obtain the abrogation of this part of the ground-law, but without success. In addition to these extensive legislative and controlling powers, the Storthing enjoys a right not known in any other European monarchy. After a bill has been passed in the Storthing or united houses, it is sent to the Lagthing or upper house, where it is deliberated upon, and passed, rejected, or sent back with amendments to the lower house, nearly

as in our two houses of Parliament ; it then requires the sanction of the king to become law. But if a bill has passed through both divisions in three successive Storthings, on the third occasion it becomes the law of the land without the royal assent. The ground-law, sworn to between the king and the people in 1814, fixes and defines this right so distinctly, that it cannot be got over, without overturning that compact. It presumes that, if, during six successive years, the nation by its representatives three times declares a measure beneficial, the king's ministers must be wrong, and the nation right. This right has not remained dormant. The abolition of hereditary nobility in Norway was made law by its exertion. This legislative body is elected in the following way.

Every native Norwegian of twenty-five years of age, who has been for five years owner or life-renter of land paying scat or tax, or who is a burgess of any town, or possesses there a house or land to the value of 150 dollars (30*l.*), is entitled to elect and to be elected : but for this last privilege, he must be not under thirty years of age, must have resided for ten years in Norway, and must neither be in any department of the state or court, nor on the pension list, nor in the counting-house or bureau of any officer of state, or of the court.

The country is divided into election districts, corresponding to the amts or counties, and sub-districts, corresponding to the parishes. Registers of the qualified voters in each sub-district are kept by the minister, and also by the foged or baillie. Each town with 150 voters makes a sub-district : but if the number of voters be under 150, it must be joined to the nearest town. In or before the month of December of each third year, the electors or voters assemble in the parish church, and proceed, after the constitution and ground-laws are read, to choose their election-men, in such proportions, that in towns one is chosen from among themselves by every fifty voters. In the country, every 100 voters, or under, if the sub-district contain only a smaller number, elect one ; from 100 to 200 voters elect two ; from 200 to 300 voters elect three ; and so on. In case an election-man, from sickness or other cause, cannot attend the district meeting, he who had the next number of votes is his substitute. In towns within eight days, and in the country within a month, after these election-men are chosen, they assemble at the place appointed for the district or county election ; and there elect from among themselves, or from among the other

qualified voters in the district, the representatives to parliament or Storting, in such proportion that for towns one-fourth of the number of election-men are chosen ; that is, from three to six elect one, from seven to ten two, from eleven to fourteen three, and from fifteen to eighteen four representatives, which is the greatest number any town can send to Storting. In the country one-tenth is the number any district is entitled to send. From five to fourteen election-men elect one, from fifteen to twenty-four two, from twenty-five to thirty-four three ; and above that number four, that being the greatest number any district or county can send. These proportions are founded on the principle, that the towns in Norway should, as nearly as possible, return one-third, and the country two-thirds, of the whole body, which should not consist of under seventy-five, nor above one hundred members.

The Storting meets on the first business day of February, and continues its session until April 30. All the meetings now described take place *suo jure*, by the terms of the constitution ; and not under any writ or proclamation from the king. An extraordinary Storting, convened by royal authority, can only pass interim acts, until the next regular Storting, by which they must be ratified in order to continue in force. The election and meeting of the regular body cannot be postponed or controlled in any way by the executive power, and do not depend on any shape on its co-operation. This is really the Magna Charta of Norway. Its constitution, containing such safeguards for the political liberty of the people, was formed with wonderful celerity. The states assembled for the purpose by order of the Viceroy, Prince Frederic-Christian of Denmark, held their first meeting on the 10th of April, 1814, and on the 12th a committee was appointed to prepare it. This committee was so prompt, that next morning it was ready with the principles of a constitution, which the Assembly took into deliberation until the 16th, and on the 30th of April, the constitution was on the table, and on the 17th of May was ratified by the Assembly of the States.

When one looks back to the universal delirium about political liberty, which had seized the European mind in 1790, and affected the mode of thinking of almost every individual in every country, it seems not a little extraordinary that almost the only result which approaches in reality to the theories of that period, has been the Norwegian constitution. Prince Frederic of Denmark having



withdrawn from the sovereignty, and the union of Norway and Sweden as two independent kingdoms having followed, the same constitution was received by the late Swedish monarch, as the compact between him and his successors on the one part, and the people of Norway on the other, on the 4th November, 1814. It was guaranteed by the Allied Powers, and sworn to by the late king Carl Johan, when Crown Prince; and again on his accession to the crown, and on his coronation in the cathedral of Dronthiem. It was the most regular and formal compact ever entered into by a people and a king; because there were no previously acquired rights, either of conquest or inheritance, on the part of the sovereign, and no allegiance due on the part of the people.

After the excitement of the great events of the years 1814 and 1815 had subsided, and monarchs and their ministers began to look into their own affairs, it was soon perceived by the cabinet at Stockholm that Sweden had lost in Finland a valuable province, but had not gained one in Norway. Nothing was talked of but the amalgamation of the two nations; and this became the favourite object of the Swedish court. If there be any meaning in the word amalgamation, it must be to render Norway an integral part of the kingdom of Sweden, governed by the same laws, with the same constitution, and subject to the same taxes. It was forgotten by the Swedish ministry, that the very structure of society and property in the two countries is founded on totally different principles: in the one on the feudal, and in the other on the udal principle; so that even if both desired it, they could not assimilate their institutions without such a total subversion of all social arrangements and rights of property in one or other, as would exceed the most violent revolution of modern times. The Swedish legislative body consists of nobility, clergy, burgesses of towns, and peasantry, forming distinct chambers, and voting by chambers, at a general diet. To give to a legislative body or diet, so constituted, the power to impose taxes and frame laws affecting the property of a nation having no representatives in such a diet, and no similar classes of the community in its social structure, could not be attempted by the most arbitrary government, in an age when property, especially in a commercial country connected with others as Norway is, must be respected. To find in Norway what was lost in Finland, was no doubt the object of the Swedish cabinet; and when it is considered that in Sweden and Finland together, before

the disjunction of the two countries, there were reckoned 1500 noble families in a population of 3,000,000, or one in four hundred, and each noble family had to seek for one or more of its members an office or function yielding a subsistence suitable to their rank, it is not difficult to understand what was sought for in Norway. That country had for four centuries been a kind of nursery for the Danish court, in which the young nobility and candidates for office found appointments and a living, until they could be provided for at home. It was forgotten that Norway could not be amalgamated in this sense, and her native administration transferred to Swedish functionaries and bureaux at the court of Stockholm, without a deliberate breach of one of the most solemn compacts ever entered into; without a breach of faith which would be deemed infamous through all generations. It was forgotten, too, that however advantageous such an amalgamation might be to the Swedish nobility or nation, it was adverse to the true interests and wise policy of the family on the throne. Since the year 1560, that is, in the course of 275 years, the Swedish nation has made away with five sovereigns: viz. in 1568, Eric XIV. deposed and imprisoned; in 1599, Sigismund driven from the throne; in 1718, Charles XII. killed, and, as now generally believed, by the hand of an assassin; in 1792, Gustavus III. assassinated; in 1809, Gustavus IV. dethroned. The reigning dynasty should wish to avert, as far as human prudence can, the recurrence of such calamities, by acquiring an independent stronghold to fall back upon; a distinct kingdom, in which the political circumstances which may in the course of human affairs agitate the Swedish nation, should not necessarily find a corresponding feeling. If the ex-king Gustavus IV. had possessed such a resource, it may be doubted whether the exclusion of his dynasty from the Swedish throne would have been so complete and permanent. Norway, as Norway is, as a nation beginning its independent existence with a new dynasty, whence it dates all the prosperity and good government enjoyed under a constitution which it justly and enthusiastically cherishes, is of a value vitally important to the present reigning family, should foreign wars or domestic troubles ever shake the Swedish throne. It appears, then, like infatuation, to endeavour to amalgamate this country with Sweden; to separate the king's name in Norway from that pride in the national independence, and that enthusiasm for the constitution, which are the ruling feelings in every Norwegian mind. A

dynasty scarcely warm in the regal seat cannot expect from its subjects, in the present age, the same kind of affection and loyalty which is hereditary, as it were, in the European mind, towards the more ancient and historical dynasties. These sentiments are not less ardent or less efficient, but of a more rational character. They are founded on compact, — on benefits given and received. The people and the sovereign of the new dynasties are two solemnly contracting parties ; and it is upon the reason, not upon the senses, of mankind, that the power of new monarchs is founded. It was the mistake of all the Buonapartean dynasties, that the new monarchs wished to be old monarchs ; and it was not in human nature that they should be so considered by their subjects. Men who twenty years before had pulled on their own boots and breeches, added nothing to the stability of their power by surrounding themselves with all the attendance, etiquette, and pomp of sovereigns born and bred to royalty. They neglected that bond with their subjects of rational and mutual support in their respective rights, on which alone constitutional power can be founded, and attempted to reign on the principle which the old dynasties in this age find scarcely sufficient. The Norwegian people did not at all enter into the views of the Swedish ministry. They were beginning to flourish under the wise legislation of their Storthings. They were paying off their national debt, diminishing their taxes, controlling the expenditure of their own revenue, and applying it only to objects within their own country. Trade, agriculture, fisheries, mines, and the national bank of Norway, were all prospering ; and the nation was happy, and enthusiastically fond of its constitution. This was not a period to talk of amalgamation with a country notoriously in a bankrupt state, its currency depreciated, its legislation in the hands of a privileged order of needy and dissipated nobility and of time-serving clergy. Sweden is still under its ancient regime ; while Norway is practically in advance of the age in the enjoyment of institutions favourable to political liberty.

The attempt to introduce measures of amalgamation was begun at the meeting of the Storting of 1821. It is fixed, as before stated, that the executive power has not a final veto, but only a suspensive faculty, till the law is passed by three successive Storthings. It had been proposed and passed in both chambers of the Storting of 1815, to abolish hereditary nobility for ever in Norway. The feeble remains of this class were of foreign, and

almost all of very recent, origin ; and, with few exceptions, had no property to maintain a dignified station in society. Owing to the law of the division of land among the children, large estates, entailed upon the possessor of the family title, could not exist ; and a body of titled and privileged persons could only subsist as placemen or pensioners. The royal assent was refused to the proposed enactment in 1815, and again in 1818, when it passed through a second Storting. In 1821, if it passed through the third Storting, it would become law, with or without the royal assent. Every means was used to induce this Storting to abandon the measure. It was considered the struggle which was to decide the future existence of the Norwegian constitution. The king repaired in person to Christiania. Four thousand Swedish, with two thousand Norwegian, troops were marched to the neighbourhood of that city ; and it was reported that they were furnished with ball cartridges, as if in an enemy's country. The irritation was extreme. At this critical moment, when the Swedish cabinet was on the point of sacrificing their sovereign's coronation oath, and his future reputation, and of kindling a civil war in the Scandinavian peninsula, the Russian minister at the court of Stockholm, and the American chargé d'affaires, unexpectedly drove into the city of Christiania. Their sudden appearance, the altered tone of the Government, and the withdrawing of the troops, gave rise to reports that these powers had interfered in favour of Norway. It is extremely probable that Russia, having, in conjunction with the Allied Powers, guaranteed the articles of the constitution formed at the union of the two kingdoms in 1814, might interpose in support of this guarantee. She might do so the more heartily, because it was not her interest that Sweden should derive any additional strength from such an amalgamation. It is probable that the interference of the United States of America was not official ; although the appearance of their minister was useful to Norway, by showing the sympathy felt for a people about to struggle for the preservation of rights solemnly guaranteed to them. The Swedish cabinet gave way. The Storting passed the measure for abolishing hereditary nobility for the third time ; it became law ; and Norway remains a democracy, federally united with the monarchy of Sweden.

The concession was made with an ill grace. A proposition was immediately made to the Storting, in sixteen articles, tending to effect an entire change in the constitution. If that constitution

was adopted in haste, it had not been hastily framed. It bears in every provision the mark of profound deliberation, and the most careful consideration of every possible circumstance which might affect its stability. The hand of power may overturn it violently ; but it is not to be shaken by any action within itself which human foresight could have provided against. One of the fundamental principles or ground-laws is, than an enactment which affects its existing form cannot be passed by the same Storthing in which it is introduced. It must be propounded in one regular and ordinary Storthing, and must stand over for decision in the next, after an interval of three years ; and as there exists not merely a toleration of the freedom of the press, but the printed publication of all proceedings of Storthing is made imperative, the nation can never remain in ignorance, or send representatives uninstructed as to any such proposal. The propositions laid before the Storthing, to be considered and adopted by that of 1824, appear to have been hastily drawn up, and ill adapted to the existing state of property and social relations in the country. Of this nature was the establishment of an hereditary nobility, the power to be vested in the king of removing all public functionaries from place to place, and of depriving them of office (judges excepted) *ad libitum*. An hereditary nobility could not exist along with the udal law, by which all land and other property is governed ; and by which estates, and titles themselves, if they were a beneficial property, must first go to the survivor of the two parents, and then be divided among the children. The Danish government, although feudally constituted, and invested with an absolute legislative power, never was able, during nearly 400 years, to make a nearer approach to the establishment of a feudal nobility, than to empower such large landholders as chose, to entail their estates, or settle them *in fidei commissi* on the heirs to the titles they possessed, or might obtain ; and so little was this power valued, so little analogy had it to the way of thinking and spirit of the people, that at the end of 400 years an entailed estate, or one taken out of the odelsbaarn-ret, and placed upon the footing of a feudal property, was scarcely to be found in Norway. The proposition that functionaries should be removable at the pleasure of the executive power, was equally incompatible with the state of society in Norway. It is probably a remnant of the state of things when the Hanseatic towns possessed a predominant influence there, that almost all trades and profes-

sions, both in the towns and country districts, are exercised by privilege. The lawyer, the apothecary, the inn-keeper, the retail shop-keeper, the wholesale dealer, the fishcurer, the shipmaster; in short, those in every calling exercise it by a privilege empowering them to do so in their peculiar districts; and these persons might, under this law, be included as functionaries, or embedsmænd, and be removable from place to place, or be deprived of their functions or privileges at the pleasure of government. By the udal law, also, the property of a deceased person is taken charge of by a public functionary, the sorenskryver, to be divided among the heirs; thus the property of his whole district, by the course of mortality, comes in trust for a time under his official charge. The highest respectability, and independence, and minute local knowledge, are required in such functionaries. To make them removable at the pleasure of ministers residing in Stockholm was evidently not a proposition founded upon any due knowledge of the business of the country. The other propositions were, to give the King an absolute veto on all acts of Storthing; to give his ministers alone the right of initiative, or of proposing laws; to limit the business of the Storthing to such acts as the King should submit to it, before other business could be taken up; to give the King the nomination of the presidents and secretaries of the two chambers of Storthing; in short, to reduce that assembly to a mere form, similar to the states in some of the smaller German principalities. It could not be seriously expected that a nation would abandon constitutional rights under which it was flourishing and contented, and which were the conditions upon which the King received the Norwegian crown. The next Storthing, in 1824, took into consideration these propositions, and appointed a committee to report upon them. The report of this committee is perhaps the most able paper that has emanated from a legislative body in our times. It never, in a single expression, loses the respectful and proper spirit due to propositions coming from the sovereign; while it leaves not a single principle upon which the proposed alterations are founded unexamined. It overturns, one by one, the reasons given for them; and does so with such coolness, temper, and apparent absence of all feeling but that of investigating and referring to the principles of the constitution, that it may justly be held as a model of a state paper. The Storthing unanimously adopted the report of its committee, and rejected

each of the alterations in the ground-law of the constitution proposed by the King's ministers.\*

The advantages, even to the sovereign power itself, of a free representative constitution were strongly marked during these transactions. The late monarch was never blamed, his popularity was never diminished, the loyalty and affectionate respect of his people were never in the slightest degree shaken even among the most ignorant of the community, by events which, under a government differently constituted, might have kindled an excitement in the public mind injurious to the royal authority, and, perhaps, to the peace of the country. The nation was already imbued with that first principle of all representative government—that the ministers are alone responsible for acts done in the name of the King. It was perfectly understood throughout Norway that, in an aristocratical country, like Sweden, the monarch cannot always choose his ministers. Only a limited number of individuals have the family connexion, influence, and power, to carry on the machinery of such an aristocratic government; and among these few, the chance is small of finding men acquainted with the state of society and property in a nation destitute of nobility. The confidence of the Norwegians in the judgment and character of their late sovereign was unlimited; and they were not deceived. When the real state of any point of national interest had been developed, and it is to be remembered, that every measure had to go through two foreign languages, the Swedish and French, before it can come to the late King's understanding, he invariably took the right and liberal course. With ministers, who from their rank and station in Sweden, from being bred up in a totally different system of social arrangement, and perhaps, too, from the prejudice of caste, were supremely ignorant of the state and feeling of their high spirited neighbours, it is wonderful with what prudence and tact he struck in when needful, and prevented violent collision. The reign of Carl Johan will be a fine theme for the future historian, when time has unlocked the secrets of cabinets, and given to the world the hidden springs of state measures.

The Norwegian constitution, since these transactions, has gained strength by repose. Its principles have been unfolded and fixed

\* Constitutions Committeens Indstillinger angaaende de paa 3 ordentlige Storthinge fremsatte Constitutions forslag der vare udsatte til afgiørelse paa det 4 ordentlige Storthing. 1824.

by practice ; in successive Storthings men of great legal eminence have directed their attention to its development. It has outlived that dangerous period in the existence of a free constitution, when first principles and natural rights are referred to and reasoned upon. The constitutional or ground-law, as it stands, its expressions and meaning in each clause, are alone referred to, in explaining or discussing political points. The commentary on it by Stang is a work conceived and executed in this spirit ; and is deservedly held in high estimation as a model of close reasoning.

The liberty of the press is one of the articles of the ground-law. It is free for every man to print and publish what he pleases. There cannot consequently be any censorship, or any suppression of publications. But every man is responsible for what he chooses to publish. For treason or blasphemy he is amenable to public justice ; but the ground-law defines that to constitute the offence, it must be open and intentional. Defamation or libel also on private character must be *open, intentional, and false*, to constitute the offence.

The state of the periodical press in a country gives a true measure of the social condition of the people, of their intelligence, their ripeness for constitutional privileges, and even of their domestic comforts. The newspapers, since I came here, have been my principal and most instructive reading. In Norway there are upwards of twenty ; but some only give the advertisements and official notices of the province or town in which they appear : even these are not without interest to a stranger. It is curious to see what is to be sold or bought, and all the various transactions announced in an advertising newspaper. Of those which give also the foreign and domestic news, the most extensive circulation appears enjoyed by a daily paper called the *Morgen Blad*, published in Christiania. The cost of a daily paper sent by post is seven dollars, or about 28s. sterling, yearly. There is no duty on newspapers ; and as there are six or seven published in Christiania alone, this price is probably as low as competition can make it. In paper and type, this journal is superior to any French or German one that I have seen ; and its articles of foreign news, and its editorial paragraphs, are often written with great ability. From the importance attached in all these newspapers to little local affairs, it is evident that the mass of the people, not merely an



educated few, are the consumers. There being no tax on advertisements, the most trifling matter is announced, and a publisher appears to have a kind of brokerage trade at his counting-house, and to be empowered to sell or buy for parties, or at least to bring buyers and sellers together. I have seen it advertised, with a reference to the editor's counting-house, that there was a turkey cock to be sold, a cow in calf wanted, and such trifles as show, that the class to whom they are no trifles, read and have the benefit of newspapers.

The most entire freedom of discussion exists. Public men and measures are handled freely, but I cannot say injuriously or indecorously. The Norwegian newspapers, and especially their numerous correspondents, are much occupied with objects of local interest, and keep a watchful eye over the conduct of men in office, from the lensman of a parish to a minister of state. No neglect or abuse passes unseen and unnoticed; and if the accusation, even of an anonymous correspondent, appears well founded, the highest functionary feels himself morally obliged to bend to public opinion, and explain the transaction. If he is unjustly or unreasonably blamed, he finds pens drawn in his defence without trouble to himself. The public functionaries have been made to feel that they are the servants, not the masters, of the public. Under the absolute government of Denmark, although authority was mildly and judiciously exercised, the functionary naturally felt himself the delegate of the master. The interest or accommodation of the public was a secondary consideration. The old functionaries, bred in this school, cannot understand the influence of public opinion, and feel rather awkward when summoned before this tribunal, perhaps by an anonymous writer, to answer for real and obvious errors in their official conduct. The temperate but firm spirit with which these controversies are carried on, the absence of any outrage on the private feelings of public men, even when their public conduct is attacked or exposed, do honour to the good taste and good sense of the nation, and prove that a press as free as that of the United States, may exist without scurrility or brutal violation of the sanctity of private life. Such newspapers as the American people read would not find editors or readers in this country. The people are advanced beyond that state, in which nothing is intelligible to them that is not mixed up with party and personal feelings. This sound state of the public mind, and of the

press, may be ascribed in a great measure to the influence of the leading newspapers.

The only restriction which the executive government attempts to exercise on the periodical press—and the attempt shows a great want of tact—is that some conceived to be in a strain friendly to the views of government are allowed by special royal permission to be sent free of postage, whilst others, without such permission, must pay that tax. It was proposed in the last Storthing, that all periodical publications should be allowed a free circulation through the post-office; and the measure was only negatived by a small majority, for a reason that does honour to the Storthing. They had already voted the post-office revenue *in toto*, as part of the ways and means applicable during the ensuing three years to the purposes to which the executive government applies this branch of revenue. The majority then did not consider it fair to burden, or render less productive, any branch of these ways and means, by conditions not contemplated when previously voted. They have shown themselves thus a right-thinking, fair-dealing people. It is not doubted that the next Storthing will burden the post-office with the free conveyance of all newspapers before granting its revenue. It seems, therefore, ill judged to make a matter of favour of what will probably soon be made a matter of right.

In Sweden, the press is under a very strict censorship. It is somewhat amusing to see published in the Norwegian newspapers the articles for which, in the sister kingdom, the publisher has been prosecuted, his newspaper suppressed, his business, and the bread of many depending on it, interrupted, as if the peace of empires had been violated; yet here the same articles are, as matter of course, given at large, commented on, circulated, read, and forgotten, without producing the slightest ill consequence. Prosecutions at the instance of government have been attempted, as in other countries, against the editors of newspapers; but the ground-law is distinct, as to what constitutes an actionable offence against church, state, or individuals, in printed and published matter; and a peculiar principle in the jurisprudence of this country, which I shall endeavour to explain at another time, makes the judge responsible for, and obliged to defend, as a party, the correctness of his legal decision before the Supreme Court, and that court, a constituent part of the state, independent both of the executive and legislative, rendering it impossible, which it is

not, perhaps, in Great Britain, that judges, in their decisions upon political offences, should be swayed by political feelings and party-spirit. Such prosecutions have, accordingly, in every instance, been determined in this country on the most impartial principles, without any leaning either towards government or towards popular feeling.

Besides newspapers, there are a considerable number of periodical and occasional works published. There is a Penny Magazine in great circulation; the matter, and even the plates, I believe, taken, or borrowed, from its English namesake; and there is another weekly magazine upon the same cheap plan. There are several monthly journals on literary, antiquarian, agricultural, and military subjects; and in almost every newspaper there is the announcement of some new work or translation. This gives a favourable impression of the advance of the mind in this country. The literature that can be strictly called Norwegian may not as yet be of a very high class, compared to the standard works of other countries; but there are attempts which at last may reach excellence, — and literature is but young in Norway.

#### CHAPTER IV.

Theatrical Representations. — Holberg. — Winter. — Sledge-Driving. — Snow-Skating. — Laplanders. — Reindeer Venison. — Reindeer Farming — Expensive Weddings. — Betrothals. — Checks on Population. — Housemen — Illegitimate Children. — Their Condition in Norway. — Light and Darkness in Winter sublime. — English Poor-Rates. — Use of Coal instead of Wood for Fuel. — Effect on the Condition of the Poor. — Family Room or Hall of a Norwegian House in the Morning. — State of Manners among the People. — Forms of Politeness. — Station of the Female Sex in Society. — Female Employments. — Small Estates. — Number of Landholders in Scotland and Norway compared. — The Effect on the Condition of the Females of the small Estates. — Berend Island. — Coals. — White Bears. — The Fair. — Sobriety. — Crimes. — Yule. — Norwegian Entertainments. — Arrival of a Sledge Party. — Ease and Uniformity of Living. — Norwegian Church. — Incomes. — Education. — No Dissent. — Confirmation. — Sunday. — Observance in the Lutheran Church. — Educated Labourers in England in a worse Condition than Uneducated. — Remedy.

*Levanger, October, 1834.*—The Norwegians are fond of theatrical representations. They are in that state of mental culture in which

the drama flourishes. In the modern state of society in Europe it has lost its importance ; and the present generation, when reading the works of writers of the last age, can scarcely comprehend, how men of sense should then have treated it as an important national object, exercising an extensive influence on the morals and character of a people. This influence was probably always over-rated. In the days of Louis XIV. the court, and the city in which it resided, were considered, both in France and in other countries, to be the only intellectual part of the nation, where the soul of the people was centred ; and the interest excited there was supposed to extend through the most remote ramifications of society. Yet it must, even at that period, have appeared a ridiculous assumption, that dramatic representations, witnessed, perhaps, by some ten or twelve hundred individuals frequenting the theatres in the capital, could have such vast influence on the morals or character of the nation. The truth seems to be, that such representations afford a kind of intellectual enjoyment to the uneducated, who without it would perhaps remain in a state of mental torpor ; and therefore it was, in a certain stage of society, a valuable means of civilisation, or of cultivating the public intellect, so far as it extended ; not from the influence of any morality or wisdom inculcated by the drama, but because it furnished intellectual enjoyment at a period when there was no other. It withdrew at least a small portion of the people of a few towns, for a small portion of their time, from ordinary occupations and mere physical enjoyment. In proportion to the diffusion of education, and of the means and pleasure of reading, the demand for the pleasure of scenic representation necessarily declined, and became confined to a smaller portion of the public ; to that portion which can only follow written ideas with some difficulty and without any amusement. Rare talent in an actor collects crowded audiences, even at the present day ; but it is to witness the art of the representation, not the matter represented. The quantity and quality of the amusement furnished by our periodical publications and our novels at a vastly cheaper rate, account sufficiently for the decline in the demand for theatrical amusement. Excitement more intellectual, of longer endurance, and more easily accessible, may be had for a shilling by a person of ordinary reading habits, in the shape of a periodical work, than he could obtain for five shillings in the best appointed theatre that ever existed. It is thus a proof of only a moderate advance in

mental culture among a people, when their theatres are very flourishing. It is in Italy, in Austria, in Denmark, in Norway, and in the great commercial towns, Hamburgh, Liverpool, or Bourdeaux, that theatres are well attended; and not generally in England, Scotland, or France. The Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and Blackwood's Magazine, have emptied the benches of Covent Garden and Drury Lane, and ruined all country theatres in England and Scotland. In Norway, although the national literature is rich in Danish works of the highest merit, books are rare, owing to the expense and difficulty of transmission. The drama holds, therefore, a high place. Besides the public theatres, there are societies of amateur performers in all the towns. There is even in this village, of five or six hundred inhabitants, a party sufficient to attempt the representation of short dramatic pieces. This shows that the middle class are at their ease, and possess leisure.

Holberg is the oldest and most prolific of their dramatic writers. He was a native of Bergen, and died about the middle of the last century. His comedies, especially the shorter ones in three acts, are full of life and bustle; and many would require very little adaptation to act well on our stage. He was the first who gave an impulse to Danish literature. For the quantity and variety of his writings, and his influence on the literature of his country, he is compared by the Danish critics to Voltaire; but there is something more required than quantity, variety, and influence in the literature of Denmark to make a Voltaire.

*November 14.*—Winter is come: the snow falls incredibly fast. The whole cloud seems to come down at once upon the land; and in a few hours everything but trees and houses and precipices seems brought to one common level. Sledges are jingling in all directions; the horses have bells on the harness, such as are used on waggon harness in the west of England. All the world seems gay, and enjoying the sledge-driving as if it were a novelty to them. There is some peculiar pleasure in the uniform smooth motion of sledging, skating, sailing, swinging, or moving in any way over a smooth surface. We see sailor boys, by themselves, enjoy the pleasure of this motion in a sailing boat on smooth water: the novelty can make no part of the pleasure to them; and parrots and monkeys appear to have pleasure in swinging. Sledging is horse-power applied to skates. Of our English or Dutch skates I

see very little use made, even by the children ; and the nature of the country, with the quantity of snow, must make our kind of skating an amusement not generally enjoyed. But snow skating is going on briskly, at every farmhouse, with young and old. The snow skates are slips of light thin wood, about the breadth of one's foot, and about six feet long, gently curving upwards at each end. There is a loop in the middle, into which the foot is slipped. On flat ground the skater shuffles along pretty well, much better than he could walk, as his feet do not sink in the snow. Up hill he has slow and fatiguing work, and on hard snow and steep ground would slip backward, but for the resistance of the hair of a piece of hide which is bound under the skate in climbing steep ascents. Down the mountain he flies like an arrow. He has only to guide his flight with a pole, so as not to run over a precipice. It seems to require great dexterity and practice to run well on these snow skates. On a road with the ordinary variety of surface, a good skater will beat a horse in a sledge. There was formerly a militia regiment of these snow skaters, consisting of the young men who lived nearest the Fjelde, and were accustomed for eight months of the year to this exercise. It was dropped, as the only peculiar service of such a corps, that of conveying orders as estaffettes, is one for which every common soldier bred in the district was equally fit. The Laplanders begin to make their appearance on snow skates. A family of them came sailing down the hill the other day to our village, the men trailing little sledges, with their children and goods packed in them : they came to sell reindeer skins, which are used as coverlets of beds by the common people, and for mittens, and fur boots, and to beg and get drunk. At the great fairs held in this place in December and March, a considerable quantity of the staple article of their products, frozen joints of reindeer venison, is sold to the inhabitants of the lower districts. Every family lays in a considerable stock, which will keep sweet for several months, and is the best meat which the country produces. The beef and mutton, although small and fine grained, are not in general fed for the butcher, and not good after the cattle are housed. Poultry are not numerous, partly because there is no waste or spilt grain for them, partly because a woodcock or capercaillie at 48 skillings or 1*s.* 6*d.* sterling, a woodhen at 16 skillings or 6*d.* sterling, a Ptarmigan at 10 skillings or 4*d.* sterling (and these are the town prices), make cheaper and better food. At and after

Christmas reindeer venison is the only good meat, and is the principal dish at all entertainments. These animals form, therefore, a valuable stock ; and at present one is worth between four and five dollars, which is more than a third of the price of a good cow. When one considers that it would be easy to draw a line through this peninsula of eight or nine hundred English miles in length, by an average breadth of fifty, with scarcely any interruption from cultivation ; and which space produces such a valuable stock, with pasture fitted to it, and within reach of markets for its sale ; one cannot help asking the question, whether such an immense and evidently not worthless territory can possibly be turned to the best account, for human wants, and to the country to which it belongs, in the hands of about 6000 Laplanders (for this is supposed to be their total number), actuated by no motives but the love of brandy and the fear of the wolf. A century ago, the Highlands of Scotland, which now contribute so large a supply of animal food to the community, were less valuable than this tract is now. A sheep stock, the Fjelde probably never could carry to advantage ; but surely, intelligent active men like our Scotch shepherds, studying the nature of the domesticated reindeer, and obtaining extensive and defined pasturages for them, would learn to turn them to better account. As practical shepherds, these poor Laplanders are so imbecile that they will not shoot the wolf, which in one night may tear a flock to pieces, but seek only to frighten or fly from him ; and not from cowardice, since they will shoot the bear, but from a superstitious prejudice. As flocks both of rein and red deer exist wild in the Fjelde, the devastation of the wolf on tame flocks, properly attended, cannot be so destructive as to prevent reindeer-farming from being carried on like sheep-farming in the Highlands of Scotland. The Laplanders pay a trifling scat or rent to the Crown, according to the number of the flock. I have heard of 1500, and even in one instance of 4000 head, as belonging to one person.

*November, 1834.* — The family I lodge with went to a wedding some days ago. The feasting will continue the whole week. The same custom of expensive weddings and funerals, among country people, prevailed formerly very much in Scotland ; and was discountenanced, perhaps not very wisely, by the clergy. It is in fact beneficial for society when, either to be married or buried with respectability, some considerable expense must be incurred, and,

consequently, a certain previous saving and industry must be exerted. It is true that a young couple, who spend on their marriage day what might have kept their house for twelve months, do what people in a higher station consider very imprudent; but in acquiring what they then spend, they have acquired what they cannot spend—the habit of saving for a distant object, and not living from day to day. By this one festivity, too, they form a bond of connexion with the married people of respectability in their own station, and which those of good disposition and intentions retain through life. They are transferred out of the class of the young and thoughtless, into the higher class of the steady and careful. The penny or subscription weddings, common in the south of Scotland, deserved much greater reprobation. Among the secondary checks upon improvident marriages in this nation, the most powerful is, that in the Lutheran Church marriage includes two distinct ceremonies; the betrothal, and the final ceremony. The one precedes the other generally for one, two, and often for several years. The betrothed parties have, in the eye of law, a distinct and acknowledged status, as well as in society. It is to be regretted that a custom, so beneficial to society, should have fallen into disuse in the English Church. It interposes a seasonable pause,\* before\* young parties enter into the expenses of a family and house. It gives an opportunity of discovering any cause, such as drunken or idle habits, or poverty, which might make the marriage unsuitable; and perhaps, as a sort of probationary period, it is not without its good effect on the character and temper of both sexes. If we reckon the prolific age of a female at twenty-two years, or from eighteen to forty, the interval of a year (and in the less opulent classes it is often several) alone reduces to the amount of between four and five per cent. the increase of population.†

\* It may be news to the sentimental reader to be informed that the English expressions “true love” and “true lover” are not derived from the sentiment or passion Love, or from the fidelity of the Lover, not from the Scandinavian synonym to Amor, but from the synonym to Lex. Our word love is derived from *Lov*, Law; and the true from *troe*, to contract, plight; so that “troloved” or “trolov” meant originally contracted or pledged in law: and in old times a man might be a “true lover” to his bond for ten pounds, as well as to his sweetheart.

† The betrothal of parties long before the actual celebration of the marriage appears to have had its origin before the introduction of Christianity, from the custom of all the young men going out on piratical expeditions to distant



Agricultural labour, also, especially on the simple footing on which it stands in Norway, carries within itself a preventive check on the excess of population; which labour applied to other branches of industry has not. It is evident at once, whether the land upon which the labourer is employed is sufficient, under ordinary circumstances, to yield him subsistence. The Norwegian farmer does not pay a rent; nor is he usually employed in prospective improvements, but simply in raising food, so that he can see at once whether the land is sufficient to produce subsistence for himself and his labourers. The labour in husbandry is carried on principally by housemen. These have a house and land, generally in life rent, for which they pay a rent principally in working so many days upon the main farm, the day's work being valued at a fixed rate. No proprietor having, for instance, four such housemen, and finding them sufficient, would build a house, and give away land to a fifth, for work which he did not want; and no labourer would enter upon land and work which he saw would not give him subsistence. Manufacturing labour has not this advantage. The weaver or cutler is producing, without himself or his employer seeing whether his labour is to produce a subsistence. The more he produces, the more he may counteract his object by glutting the market. Where agriculture is carried on as a manufacture, a succession of good crops may also glut the markets, ruin the tenants, and even reduce the money wages of the labourer: but, in the simple Norwegian system, to live on the produce of the

countries. Its practical effect on society at the present day is similar to what is so beautifully described by Malthus in the chapter on the effects which would result to society from the prevalence of moral restraint (See chap 2. book iv of *Essay on the Principle of Population*) The female has at an early age her certain known and fixed station in married life, although that station may not be entered into for several years. Each party has rights in law over the other, which cannot be broken like a simple private engagement. In society each enjoys the consideration which the actual marriage would give. The suavity of manners towards each other in domestic intercourse, which I have so often remarked, may perhaps be caused by this often long state, not of courtship exactly, for there are no fears or doubts, but of desire to please and be agreeable to each other, which becomes habitual at last, and continues after the parties have passed over from this into the married state. But every good has its evil. Among the unmarried servants in husbandry, who are waiting for a house and land to settle in, as housemen, it too often happens that the privileged kindness between betrothed parties is carried too far, and the betrothed is a mother before she is a wife. But these are the exceptions. The general effect is undoubtedly good on the morals, manners, and numbers relative to subsistence, of the community of Norway.

land is the main object ; and the labourer is paid in land ; a good crop is an unmingled blessing : neither good nor bad crops, however, affect the proportion of population to the land that can in ordinary seasons subsist it. It is amusing to recollect the benevolent speculations, in our Agricultural Reports, of the Sir Johns and Sir Thomases in our midland counties of England, for bettering the condition of labourers in husbandry, by giving them at a reasonable rent a quarter of an acre of land to keep a cow on, or by allowing them to cultivate the slips of land on the road-side outside of their hedges. Here respecting an estate not worth, perhaps, forty pounds sterling a-year, — I shall quote the first description that comes to hand in the *Morgenblad* newspaper, of land to be sold, — “houses for housemen, with enclosed land to each, that extends to the keeping of two cows and six sheep all the year, and to the sowing of one and a half ton of corn (the ton is half an imperial quarter) and six tons of potatoes.” This I conceive to be the average condition of the agricultural labourers in Norway ; and I do not think any are without two cows, or an equivalent number of sheep or goats. If the main farm is too small to require the full value in labour, the houseman pays the balance in money earned by working for other people, and by the sale of his surplus produce. From four to six dollars is the general rent of such holdings ; and they are usually held on leases for the life of the houseman and his wife. The standard of living for the labourer’s family being so high, the minimum of accommodation for a working man’s family, according to the notions and customs of the country, being so considerable, the unmarried must wait, as house servants, until a houseman’s place falls vacant, before they can marry.

These checks against excessive population, which society in every state seems to form, as it were, for itself, are attended in every state of society with nearly the same evil consequences. In London and Paris, the expense of a family, and the high standard of even the lowest mode of living, are a check upon improvident marriage ; but with the evil of a greater proportion of illegitimate births. One-fourth, or between one-fourth and one-fifth, of the children born in these cities are illegitimate.\* In Norway, the

\* Stockholm, whatever may be the cause, has the pre-eminence over all cities or assemblages of mankind in which marriage is held to be a religious or moral institution, in the disregard shown to it. In the year 1834, the pro-

same causes produce the same effects. The proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children is about one in five. In one parish, Sundal, in Nordmor, it was, in the five years from 1826 to 1830, one in  $3\frac{2}{13}\frac{6}{8}$ ; and this proportion, though I have not here the means of verifying the conjecture, exceeds probably that, in the same period, of the most dissipated manufacturing parish in Manchester or London: yet it was in a country parish of 2,400 inhabitants, without a town, or manufacturing establishment, or resort of shipping, or quartering of troops, or other obvious cause. What should be inferred from these facts? Simply that the conventional restraints upon marriage happened to be in too strong operation during that period; that houses and assured subsistence, according to the habits of the country, for a family, happened to be as scarce as in any parish of London or Paris, and produced the same effects. The following were the proportions of houses and land to inhabitants in this parish in 1825. It will give some idea of the distribution of property:—Number of inhabitants, 2,465; number of estates entered (matriculated) for scat or land tax, 95; number of actual proprietors cultivating their own land, 121; number of tenants cultivating land, for rent, 47; number of housemen with land, 114.

The evils of illegitimacy are alleviated to the offspring by the state of the law in Norway. Children are not only rendered legitimate by the subsequent marriage of the parents, as in the Scotch law; but the father may, previous to his contracting a marriage with any other party, declare, by a particular act, that his children are to be held legitimate. This is very generally done; and these children enter into all the rights of those born after marriage, and share in his property. I believe there are no instances of children being left to the miseries of illegitimacy if the father has property.

*December 10.*—There is something sublime in the long darkness of these northern nights, and the short intense snowy light of day suddenly breaking it for a few hours, and again all is darkness. The contrast is so great in so short a time, that one might fancy

portion of illegitimate children, born in Stockholm, to the total number of births, was as 1 to 2·26; and the 5 years from 1824 to 1830 showed a proportion very little different. What may it have been in Otaheite in those years? There must be something very peculiar in the moral condition of the Swedish nation, or in that of the lower classes, with regard to the means of subsisting a family.

the roll of the planet from light into darkness was felt as well as seen. He must have been a bold man who first inhabited a northern latitude in winter.

*December.* — In talking of the pressure of the English poor-rates upon landed property, and of the system of supporting even the able-bodied pauper in some counties out of the poor-rate, we forget to take into consideration, that this evil is in a great measure inherent in the very nature of English landed property ; and, enormous as it is, has its compensating good. England is the only country in the world which draws its whole supply of fuel from below the soil. In all other countries the extent of land producing fire-wood is very large. It has been estimated that one-fifth of France is so occupied. When we consider that a crop of trees can scarcely be cut oftener than once in twenty years, so that the wood consumed by twenty-five millions of people in a year is but a twentieth part of what necessarily occupies the soil, the proportion of one-fifth seems not over-rated. The effects, upon the condition of the labouring classes, of this difference, are very important : the English poor-rate, and the support of even able-bodied paupers, is one of them : a smaller evil accompanying an incomparably greater good. All the land occupied in other countries in the growth of fuel crops, be it less or more, is necessarily scattered over the territory. Every parish, every farm, must have its fire-wood within itself, or at an easy distance, it being too bulky for distant carriage. The preparing of this fuel, the felling, lopping, cross-cutting, drawing out of the woods, barking, sawing, cleaving, carting, measuring, storing, are operations going on the whole year round in every neighbourhood and every household. It is not labour of skill confined to any particular class, like the mining and water-carriage of coals ; nor is much of it hard labour, fit only for the young and able-bodied. It is a general labour-fund for all the working class, to which, in every neighbourhood, the poor can turn at all seasons, and which is at every man's door ; and to which even the poor themselves, in the wood-burning countries, must contribute. It is in effect a poor-rate. We are not fully sensible in England of all the advantages we enjoy, from being so richly provided with a fuel drawn from below the soil. We generally consider it only with reference to our manufactures ; not to our household affairs. Wood is very expensive firing, even if got for nothing. The labour and expense of preparing it for fuel, the perpetual chop, chop, chopping,

all day long in every family, amount to a tax heavier than a poor-rate. In this neighbourhood, where every farm has either wood within itself, or has the right to take it from the common forest within a mile's distance, the fathom of six cubic feet of billets for the fire costs six orts, or 4s. 6d. sterling. This value of coals in a coal country would go farther than the same of wood here: that is, if coals were used in stoves, and with the same economy.

In Dronthiem, firewood of fir costs in general eight or ten orts, and birchwood one-third more. In a small house of the middle class of people there, the year's fuel will cost from seven to ten pounds sterling. In other wood-burning countries, as in France, the cost of keeping one room comfortably warm, on an average of situations, is estimated at about fifty francs a-year. In this neighbourhood, I consider the price to be the minimum, owing to the abundance of wood and of cheap labour. The greater part of the cost, by far, is the wages of ordinary labour, laid out in the neighbourhood where the wood is consumed. It is perhaps too moderate an estimate, that in every parish in Europe, excepting in England, every fire that smokes all winter pays fifteen shillings to the working poor, and generally to those in its immediate neighbourhood. Taking cities into the account, it is probably much more. This is the poor-rate of those countries. England enjoys the inestimable advantage of her coal fuel; but must take with it the accompanying evil of a poor-rate to support even the able-bodied labourer in husbandry who is out of work. If we can imagine every country parish and every town in England using wood fuel only, we see at once that there would be a never-ending supply of work in every district, which would supersede all poor-rates, excepting for the infirm. The fuel of England certainly employs a much larger capital, and a much greater proportion of the population, directly and indirectly, taking into account the manufactures existing by its agency, than if the fuel, as in other countries, was wood only; but the employment is differently distributed. It goes to the support of branches of the population bred to their particular lines of business, and living in particular districts; and not to the support of the ordinary working population all over the country, as in wood-burning countries. The distribution of the wealth and employment of a country has much more to do than the amount with the well-being and condition of the people. The wealth and employment of the British nation far exceed those of any other nation;

yet in no country is so large a proportion of the inhabitants sunk in pauperism and wretchedness. We may conceive two communities, consisting each of ten individuals, one possessing a capital of 1000*l.*, the other of 10,000*l.* There can be no question but the most wealth and the most employment is in the latter society; but if the 1000*l.* of the first are so distributed that each individual has 100*l.*, and in the latter the 10,000*l.* belong entirely to one individual, and the other nine are working to him for subsistence at the lowest rate to which competition for his employment can reduce their labour, which is the best distribution of wealth for the happiness of these communities? which is the best constituted state of society? The distribution of the employment of providing this necessary of life, fuel, is by nature so determined in England, that only particular classes of labourers in particular districts can partake in it; and as a small counterbalance to the immense advantages which property derives in all other ways from this gift of nature, we may reckon the necessity of finding work, or subsistence if work cannot be found, for a considerable number of able-bodied labourers in the nation. The general use of coal as fuel, and the suppression of monastic establishments in England, took place in the same generation; and it seems more reasonable to account for the pauperism which the introduction of the Poor Law in Queen Elizabeth's reign attempted to remedy, by the abstraction of this general branch of labour from the ordinary occupation of the labouring poor, than by the loss of a few porringers of victuals from the doors of the suppressed monasteries. Be that as it may, the institution of a poor-rate in England is coeval with the general introduction of coal as fuel. The finding of work for able-bodied labourers, or subsistence if work cannot be found, seems a necessary drawback attached to the additional value given to all property by this valuable fuel.

*December.*— There is something pleasing and picturesque in the primitive old-fashioned household ways of the Norwegian gentry. The family room is what we may fancy the hall to have been in an English manor-house in Queen Elizabeth's days. The floor is sprinkled with fresh bright green leaves which have a lively effect; every thing is clean and shining; an eight-day clock stands in one corner, a cupboard in another; benches and straight-backed wooden chairs ranged around the room; and all the family occupations are going on, and exhibit curious and interesting con-

trasts of ancient manners, with modern refinement, and even elegance. The carding of wool or flax is going on in one corner; two or three spinning wheels are at work near the stove; and a young lady will get up from these old-fashioned occupations, take her guitar in the window seat, and play and sing, or gallopade the length of the room with a sister, in a way that shows that these modern accomplishments have been as well taught as the more homely employments. The breakfast is laid out on a tray at one end of this room, which is usually spacious, occupying the breadth of the house, and lighted from both sides. People do not sit down to this meal, which consists of slices of bread and butter, smoked meat, sausages, dried fish, with the family tankard, generally of massive silver, full of ale, and with decanters of French and Norwegian brandy, of which the gentlemen take a glass at this repast. This is the breakfast of old times in England. The coffee is taken by itself an hour or two before, and generally in the bed-room. While the gentlemen are walking about, conversing and taking breakfast, the mistress is going in and out on her family affairs, servants enter for orders, neighbours drop in to hear or tell the news, the children are learning their catechism, or waltzing in the sunbeams in their own corner; and the whole is such a lively animated scene, without bustle or confusion, all is so nice and bright, and the manners of people towards each other in family intercourse are so amiable, and with such a strain of good breeding, that the traveller who wishes to be acquainted with the domestic life of the Norwegians will find an hour very agreeable in the family room.

*December 20.* — The good manners of the people to each other are very striking, and extend lower among the ranks of society in the community than in other countries. There seem none so uncultivated or rude, as not to know and observe among themselves the forms of politeness. The brutality, and rough way of talking to and living with each other, characteristic of our lower classes, are not found here. It is going too far for a stranger to say there is no vulgarity; this being partly relative to conventional usages, of which he can know but little: but there is evidently an uncommon equality of manners among all ranks; and the general standard is not low. People have not two sets of manners, as we see in England among persons even far above the middle class: one set for home use — rude, selfish, and frequently surly; and

another set for company—stiff, constrained, too formally polite, and evidently not habitual. The manners here are habitually good, even among the lower ranks. It is possible that the general diffusion of property (the very labourers in husbandry possessing usually life-rents of their land) may have carried down with it the feelings, and self-respect, and consideration for others that we expect for ourselves, which prevail among the classes possessing property, although of a larger extent in other countries, and which constitute politeness. It may also be ascribed to the naturally mild and amiable character of this people; and, perhaps, also to their having retained in their secluded glens many usages and forms of politeness which once prevailed generally in the good society of ancient Europe, but have been properly discarded as unnecessary restraints upon the intercourse of the educated and refined classes of modern society; although when these forms and usages are, by the spirit of imitation, banished from the secondary classes also, among whom there is sometimes a want of the refinement and cultivation that renders them unnecessary, the improvement is not always happy. Among these usages, exploded now in other countries, that which first strikes the stranger is, that, on getting up from table, each person goes round the whole company, and shakes hands with every one, with the complimentary phrase, “Tak for mad,”—thanks for the meal; or “Wel bekomme,”—may it do you good. This form is universal. The infant is taught to make its bow or curtsy to its mother, and say, “Tak for mad.” The husband and wife shake hands and, say “Tak for mad” to each other. In a large party it has the appearance of a dance around the table, every one going round to pay the compliment. I have observed that it is paid to the smallest child at table, as gravely and ceremoniously as to grown people. In the treatment of children, they seem not to make that difference which we do between the child and the grown-up person; and which divides life often into two parts, little connected with each other. The children seem, from the first, to be treated with consideration and respect, like grown persons. They are not, on that account, little old men and prim little ladies; but are wild, romping, joyous creatures, giving as small annoyance or trouble as children can do. “Tak for sidste” is another exploded form of politeness, still universal here. It means, “thanks for the pleasure I had from your company the last time we met.” It is a compliment of re-



cognition, which it would be extremely rude to neglect. The common people give, *Tak for sidste*, to the Swedish peasants of Jemteland, who have come across the Fjelde, and whom they have certainly not seen since the preceding year's snow; and then possibly only in taking a dram together. A labourer never passes another at work, or at his meal, without a complimentary expression, wishing him luck in his labour, or good from his meal. In addition to these, perhaps not altogether useless, forms, there are the ordinary inquiries after friends at home, and compliments and remembrances sent and received, in due abundance.

This high estimate of the state of manners in this country may appear inconsistent with the statements of other travellers, representing females, even in the highest classes, as holding a lower position in society than in other parts of Europe. Dr. Clarke mentions, that they do much work which, with us, in any class of society above the lowest, would be considered servant's drudgery, such as not sitting down at entertainments, but waiting on the guests; and one lively traveller in Norway, Derwent Conway, reckons the life of a Norwegian fröken, or young lady of rank, little better than that of an English chambermaid. He tells of one fröken sending an apology for not accepting of an invitation, as it was slaughter month, and she had to stay at home to make the black-puddings. If we inspect the arrangements in Norway with regard to property, this apparent inconsistency will disappear; and the female sex will be found to have in fact more to do with the real business of life, and with those concerns which require mental exertion and talent, than women of the same class in England.

In Norway the land, as already observed, is parcelled out into small estates, affording a comfortable subsistence, and in a moderate degree the elegancies of civilised life; but nothing more. With a population of 910,000 inhabitants, about the year 1819, there were 41,656 estates. We must compare this proportion of population to landed property, with the proportion in Scotland about the same period, in order to form any just idea of the different state and condition of the middle and lower classes, in these two small countries. The population, in 1822, of Scotland was 2,093,456, of whom those holding landed property, as freeholders, amounted to 2,987. Of these, also, many did not actually possess land, but held fictitious votes, two or three on one estate.

On the other hand, many estates afforded no freehold qualification; and therefore 2,987 cannot, perhaps, be taken as the exact number. Suppose we triple it, to cover all omissions. We should still have only 8,961 estates of land in Scotland. But if the population of Scotland of 2,093,456 had held the same interest in the soil which the 910,000 of Norway have in the land of their country, there would be 95,829 estates in Scotland — one for every 22, instead of one for every 700, of the population. In a country in which soil and climate are so unfavourable to agriculture as in Norway, the income of these small estates cannot be considerable; and as the produce is consumed in the family, unless to the extent required for paying taxes, and buying groceries, — and much is done by bartering, — the owners themselves cannot perhaps tell the yearly worth of their estates. The salaries of such public functionaries as must, from the nature of their offices, be rather above than below the ordinary scale of income of the gentry of the country, will probably give the best idea of what is a sufficient income in the higher class. An Amtman, who, like the French *Préfet*, is the highest officer in the province, and ranks with a major-general, has a salary of 1600 dollars, or 320*l.* sterling. He has also a house and land generally in his province, attached to his Amt, but, as he must keep at least two clerks at his own expense, his income cannot be reckoned above 1600 dollars. A *Foged*, who has the charge of the police, of the collection of taxes, of the Crown estates or interests, and of all public concerns in a district of from 10,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, has a salary of 800 dollars. A member of *Storthing* is allowed, as a suitable maintenance when attending that assembly, two dollars and a half daily; which is at the rate of 900 dollars yearly. It may be concluded from these incomes, that 800 or 900 dollars are about the incomes of the highest class of landed proprietors. These small estates are scattered on the sides of glens, and lakes, and fiords, over a vast extent of country, and are at great distances from towns, or even the nearest country shop. Every article, consequently, that can be required in a twelvemonth must be thought of and provided. The house, like a ship going round the world, must be victualled and provided for a year at once. There is no sending to the next shop for salt, or tea, or sealing wax, or whatever may be wanted, as the next shop is probably forty miles off. It requires no ordinary exertion of judgment to provide out of a small income all that

may be required in a family for that period, and not too much. The lieutenant of a ship of war prides himself on doing this for a twelvemonth's cruise; the female who does it for a household, varying from ten to thirty, and with limited means, cannot stand in a low position in society; her mental powers and intelligence cannot be less awakened than those of the female of Britain, who has only to think for the week, and send to the next street for what is wanted when the want occurs. In the real business of life, in their influence on those concerns which occupy the male sex, the female sex in Norway stands on higher ground than among the upper ranks in Britain, and has a more active and important part to perform. The question is not whether the females of families in Norway of the higher class, with incomes not generally exceeding 800 dollars, have the luxuries and refinements of females in England, whose families have not in general under perhaps 2000*l.* a year. Such a question answers itself. But the question is, whether, in the very peculiar state of society in Norway with regard to property, the females hold a just position in society, have that influence and participation in its affairs which develope their mental powers, and place them as intelligent beings in a suitable relation to the other sex. If one considers how little of the real business of life in Britain, owing to the complicated and extensive nature of the different kinds of property, is ever understood by the females of any family above the middle class, and how entirely their time is occupied with objects of amusement only, the advantage, as intelligent beings having business and duties to perform, is clearly on the side of the Norwegian females. In the secondary objects of music, dancing, dressing, they are not deficient. They have naturally pleasing voices, and in every family, in every station, singing and dancing are going on all the winter evening. Music is taught in the country by the organists attached to each parish, and seems, as well as dancing, to be more generally understood and practised than in England or Scotland. In taste and mode of dressing, the best account that can be given is, that they dress so much in our taste, that a traveller from Britain, unless he is a man-milliner travelling for orders, would not be struck by any peculiarity. In France, Germany, or any other foreign country, the most unobservant is struck with something in the arrangement of the hair, in the colours worn, in the kind of taste and style of dress, different from what his eye is used to at home: but a Norwegian lady, young or old, might walk into a room, in Scotland or

England, without attracting any notice on account of her dress or appearance.

The observation of Dr. Clarke, that at the entertainments in Dronthiem and Christiania, the ladies waited on the guests, and did the offices proper to servants in England, was naturally suggested by his seeing only the entertainments given to him by a few of the wealthy mercantile families of those towns, at which, very probably, the profusion and luxury of foreign habits and modes of living, may be blended not very harmoniously with the simplicity of the Norwegian. In this back country, the incongruity would not have struck him, because every thing is in keeping with that simplicity of living, which would make it not at all remarked, except for its spirit of hospitality, that the ladies were attending on their guests.

*December.*—Norway possesses an island, Berend Island, situated between Spitzbergen and North Cape, about two hundred and eighty miles from the latter, which would be very interesting to the geologist, and is not altogether so inaccessible as he may suppose. It is about thirty English miles in circumference, and presents a formation totally different from the primary rocks of which the Norwegian peninsula, and, it is understood, Spitzbergen and other polar lands, are composed. The whole island appears to be a mass of coal. It is not the fossil wood, brown coal, or surturbund, found in Iceland, Germany, and some parts of the west of England, but mineral coal. The merchants of Tromsø and of Hammerfest send out vessels occasionally to the ice in pursuit of the white bear and walrus; and they sometimes bring back a quantity of these coals, which crop out in the very cliff, and are got at without any difficulty. Attempts have been made to leave a few men to winter in this island, in order to kill the white bears which come there on the icebergs; but in two or three instances they have been unfortunate, the whole party having been found dead on the return of the vessels. This is supposed to have been the effect less of extreme cold than of scurvy; and of the people not being under discipline, indulging too freely in strong food and spirits, and taking no exercise. The very respectable proprietor of Steenkjær Gaard, with whom I am acquainted, wintered about fourteen years ago in Berend Island with a party of five men. He was then a clerk to a merchant in Hammerfest, and was sent out with the party on speculation for the purpose of killing white bears during the winter. They took with them a hut and pro-

visions, and were left on the island in September, and taken back next July. The speculation did not succeed, as they killed only seven white bears. I thought at first it must be the walrus that the merchants sought to catch, the white bear being described by our voyagers as too formidable an animal to speculate upon. But these descriptions appear incorrect. Almost every year vessels go to the ice on this business; and two men, with lances can always despatch the animal without difficulty, one taking him in front, and the other on the side. They sometimes use small dogs, as in attacking the common bear in Norway. In all the ursine tribe the most tender parts are those behind, exposed when they walk, and are vulnerable even by the smaller animals. When the dogs bark, and attack the bear behind, he sits down instinctively to cover his hind parts, and to defend himself with his fore paws.

The proprietor of Steenkjær told me that, excepting for three days, they did not find the cold intolerable, or much beyond what they had been used to at Hammerfest. The coals, which they took from under the soil within a foot of the surface, were exactly like our small Newcastle coals, but what is quarried out of the cliff is in large pieces, like Scotch coal. It is very sulphurous. They tried to burn it in their stove, but were nearly suffocated one night in their beds, by the vapour escaping into their hut, and having plenty of drift wood for fuel, they did not use it again. This coal has been occasionally used by the English company which is engaged in a mining concern of copper ore at Alten. It has also been occasionally brought to Dronthiem. The locality is remarkable for such a mass. It is a treasure totally useless in an economical point of view, but it might furnish the naturalist with valuable facts.

*December.* — This has been a busy month in our little town. The fair, to which it owes its existence, is held during the first three weeks of December. Small vessels arrive daily with bales of dried fish (the sethe or gadus virens), pickled herrings, and goods of all kinds, from Dronthiem. The country proprietors from the remote glens come down with horses, cheese, butter, and other produce of their farms, which they sell or barter for their year's supply of fish and groceries; but the peculiar feature of the fair is the constant coming and going of long strings or caravans of covered sledges, thirty or forty together, which in shape exactly resemble large coffins. These belong to the Jemtelanders, in-

habiting the Swedish side of the Fjelde, about the heads of the rivers which fall into the Bothnian Gulf. They cross the Fjelde, when snow has made sledge-travelling practicable with the heaviest goods, and purchase cottons, tobacco, groceries, and all kinds of manufactures, and colonial produce, and fish, and transport these to the different winter fairs in the interior, as far as the Russian frontier.

The distillation of spirits being unrestricted in this country, and carried on in every farmhouse, renders the price very low, — about 14*d.* sterling the gallon. I expected to have seen a great deal of drunkenness and disturbance in an assemblage of four or five thousand people of two distinct nations. This proved not to be the case. In the morning I have not seen one intoxicated person. In the evening the country people returning home appear elevated or in liquor, as at our fairs, but not so as to be unable to take care of themselves. I have not seen one of the soldiers, a subaltern's party of whom are here during the fair, in the slightest degree affected with liquor, either on duty or off; yet the discipline is any thing but strict. The only individuals I have seen thoroughly drunk, or in the state in which well-clad artizans may be seen staggering through the streets of Edinburgh every day, are the Laplanders. They are selling skins, gloves, and such trifles, and run to the spirit shop with their friends the moment they dispose of an article. Yet these people have something manly about them. I wished to buy a pair of snow-boots of reindeer skin to draw over my own in travelling. A Laplander having asked three orts for them, I offered two orts twelve, thinking he had two prices, like other dealers abroad; but the man instantly walked away evidently hurt at such a supposition. I have had an opportunity, from being acquainted with the local authorities, of ascertaining the amount of delinquencies committed during the fair. There has been one case of theft, one of driving a sledge without bells, and thus injuring a woman, one of bringing a diseased or glandered horse for sale. This is not a formidable catalogue for such an occasion. The division of property among the children has not, in the course of a thousand years, brought the fair-going people in Norway to the state of the fair-going people in Ireland.

If the distillation of spirits from potatoes were allowed to the Irish people as here, where every one may distil without restriction, what would be the consequence? The whole nation would

be drunk for the first fortnight; but the permanent consequences might possibly be beneficial. It would give a positive value to a vast mass of property, the potatoe crop, which has now only the kind of negative value of being consumed by man and pig, in place of other more transportable kinds of food. It would make potatoes, like grain, a saleable product. The growers would not consume it, as now, in breeding curly-headed boys and girls; but would distil part of it for use or for sale. If all restraints on the use of spirits were removed — and the artificial price occasioned by duties and excise regulations is perhaps the most exciting one — it is very possible that, after the novelty of the situation was over, the consumption would be less considerable than it is now. There would be no treating, no public-house drinking; for there would be no rarity nor difficulty in getting the liquor, which could be had at home at little cost. It would undoubtedly improve the condition of the Irish people, by giving a valuable property to the poorest cottar, out of a product which is now only applied to the rearing of a superfluous population; and notwithstanding the evil consequences of placing, as it were, the glass brim-full in the hands of the people, the good might counterbalance the evil.

*January, 1835.* — The fair was quickly followed by Christmas, or Yule, as it is called here, as well as by the Scottish peasantry, which was kept in great style for fourteen days. Each family is in busy preparation for three weeks before, baking, brewing, and distilling, and the fourteen days of Yule are passed in feasting and merriment, giving and receiving entertainments. In this neighbourhood there are about thirty families, who, from station, office, or education, form the upper class of society. In this hospitable and amiable circle, I have received during the winter such attentions as a stranger, without letters of introduction, would only receive in Norway. I was fairly knocked up in Yule by a succession of parties, which seldom ended before five or six next morning.

There is something indelicate, and perhaps not very honourable, in describing minutely private societies and modes of living of families in a foreign country, where the stranger is invited in the kindest spirit of hospitality, and not that he should make his remarks, however flattering they may be to his entertainers. This difficulty, however, need not be felt here, because the mode of

living is so simple and uniform in every family, or party, that our description can have nothing peculiarly referable to any one.

You are invited by a list carried round by a man on horseback, and, opposite to your name, you put down that you accept or decline. You are expected about four o'clock, long after dinner, for which twelve or one is the usual hour. The stranger who will take the trouble to come early will be much gratified, for there is nothing on the continent so pretty as the arrival of a sledge party. The distant jingling of the bells is heard, before any thing can be seen through the dusk and snow; and sound rapidly approaching, is one of the most pleasing impressions on our senses. Then one sledge seems to break as it were through the cloud, and is followed by a train of twenty or thirty, sweeping over the snow. The spirited action of the little horses, with their long manes and tails, the light and elegant form of the sledges appearing on the white ground, the ladies wrapt in their furs and shawls, the gentlemen standing behind driving in their wolf-skin pelisses, the master of the house and the servants at the door with candles, form a scene particularly novel and pleasing. Coffee and tea are handed round to each person on arrival; and the company walk about the room and converse. It appears to me that there are never any of those dismal awkward pauses in company here, nor of that reliance on one or two good talkers, or hacknied subjects, such as wind, weather, and news, which characterise our ordinary society in England and Scotland. Everybody seems to have something to say, and to say it; and conversation does not flag. This arises probably from the temperament of the people; and the total absence of pretence in their character, that is, of wishing to appear more or less important, more or less rich, more or less learned, or more or less any thing, than they really are. After the party is all assembled, the *Mellem-maalid*, or middle repast, is brought in. This is a tray with slices of bread and butter, anchovies, slices of tongue, of smoked meat, of cheese; and every one helps himself as he walks about. The gentlemen generally take a glass of spirits at this repast, which is a regular meal in every family. The gentlemen then sit down to cards. I have not seen a lady at a card-table. The games usually played are boston, ombre, shervenzel, which seems a complicated sort of piquet, and three-card loo. The stakes are always very small. Those of the elderly gentlemen who do not play light their pipes, and converse. The younger



generally make out a dance, or have singing and music, usually the guitar, with an occasional waltz or gallopade, or polsk, a national dance much more animated than the waltz. Nor are handsome young officers wanting, in mustachios and gay uniforms, who would not touch tobacco or spirits for the world, and seem to know how to act the agreeable. Punch is handed about very frequently, as it is not customary to drink any thing at or after supper. The supper is almost invariably the same. A dish of fish, cut into slices, is passed from one guest to another, and each helps himself. The lady of the house generally walks down behind the company, and sees that each is supplied. After the fish is discussed, the plate is taken away, and one finds a clean plate under it; the knife and fork are wiped by a servant, and the next dishes begin their rounds. They consist always, in this district, of reindeer venison, capercailzie (the male of which is as large as a turkey, the female so remarkably smaller that it passes by a different name, Tiur or Tiddur signifying the male, and Roer the female); also blackcock and ptarmigan. These are cut into pieces, laid on a dish, and passed round; and the dish is followed by a succession of sauces, or preserved berries, such as the Moltebeer, which is the *Rubus chamæmorus* of botanists, the Ackerbeer (*Rubus arcticus*), the Tyttebeer (*Vaccinium vitis idæa*). These are such very good things that there is no difficulty in acquiring a taste for them. A cake concludes the supper. The lady of the house scarcely sits down to table, but carves, walks about behind the chairs, and attends to the supply of the guests. This is the custom of the country; she would be ill-bred to do otherwise. It is not from want of servants, for every house is full of neat, handy maidens. They approach much more nearly to the nice, quiet, purpose-like English girls, than the Scotch. When one is satisfied that it is simply a relic of ancient manners, not the result either of vulgarity, or ignorance, or inferior station in society, one is easily reconciled to a custom which adds certainly to the real comfort of the guests. Three or four sturdy, corpulent footmen sweating under their liveries, behind the chairs of a dinner party, do not strike the imagination so agreeably, that one can accuse a people of want of refinement, because, by their customs, the attendance of servants is almost entirely dispensed with. Two old maiden ladies in a market town in England taking tea and toast together on a Saturday evening, would have ten times more attendance and

bustle than a party of forty or fifty here. This simplicity also brings all ranks nearer to each other in the manner of living, which is a better and safer condition of society, than where rich and poor are like two distinct bodies, inhabiting the same land, but different in habits, customs, and modes of life. There are not such important and essential divisions in the structure of society here. The rich are the exception, not the rule. In their houses, servants, entertainments, way of living, and all that distinguishes wealth with us, they appear to follow, not to lead, the general usages; and these are all moulded upon what is suitable to the ordinary scale of incomes in the country. There are individuals in this circle who would be deemed rich in any country; one gentleman's income is supposed to exceed 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* sterling a year. The public functionaries and the clergy have also comparatively considerable incomes; but in no respect do their houses, either inside or outside, or their entertainments, depart from the ordinary style of the country, as now described. This is the natural result of the partition of property. The present possessors have been bred in the simple habits of the ordinary class of proprietors; and their children, or at farthest their grandchildren, must return to that class. There is however a perfect distinction in society, although it is not founded upon income. There is no admixture of the rude and uncultivated with the good society, as appears to be the case in America. Each person seems naturally and quietly to fall into the circle most congenial to him, and into his proper place.

All the people seem to be feasting and making merry during these fourteen days of Yule. The country at night seems illuminated by the numerous lights twinkling from the houses of the peasant proprietors. The Christmas cheer with them is exactly the same as with others; ale, brandy, cakes, venison, game, veal, and pork. The servants have their full share in these festivities. In this farmhouse, I observed their table set out as nicely, and with exactly the same provisions, as that of the family during the whole fourteen days; and in the evenings they sing national songs, and dance. The herdboy is, *ex officio*, the musician on every farm. When he is attending the cattle in summer at the seater, or distant hill pastures, he must make a noise occasionally to keep off the wolf; and that of the clarionet is as good as any. It seems the favourite instrument, and is generally played well enough for

the servant girls to dance waltzes and gallopades to it. I was surprised to see them dance so well; but in their roomy houses they have, from infancy, constant practice during the winter evenings.

This festival was considered, at the introduction of Christianity into Norway, as heathenish, and not connected with Christianity. The Yule feasts were not only prohibited, but those who gave them were punished with death or mutilation, by King Olaf the saint; and the cruelties committed by that tyrant in suppressing them led to the revolt against him. It is supposed not to correspond to the actual period of our Saviour's birth, but to have been adopted to commemorate that event, because it was already established universally in Europe as a religious festival, and came at a time of the year when it did not interfere with agricultural labour in any country. In the fragment of an old saga of the Norwegian kings, translated into Norse from the Icelandic, by P. Munch, and published in the second volume of "*Samlinger til det Norske Folks sprog og Historie*," Christiania, 1834, the reason is given why, in that age, Yule feasts were considered heathenish:—"Here it may be proper to answer the question which Christian men make, what heathens could know about Jule or Yule; seeing that our Yule is derived from the birth of our Saviour. The heathens had also a festival in honour of Odin. Now Odin had many names: he was called Vidrir, also he was called Haar and Thridje, also Jolner; and Jule is called after Jolner."

*January, 1835.*—The Norwegian Church is an establishment not uninteresting in the present times. In principle and doctrine it is more purely Lutheran, perhaps, than the Church of England, as it has never been touched by the hand of power, nor altered by the spirit of innovation, but remains as it was originally moulded after the subversion of popery. It is interesting, because if the Church of England should, as far as regards the machinery of her establishment, and without touching her efficiency or doctrines, be ever remodelled by those who are now occupied with plans of reforming Church endowments, she would probably much resemble this Lutheran Church.

There are in Norway 336 prestegिल्ds or parishes. Many of them are exceedingly large, extending, in this part of Norway, from the sea coast up to the Swedish frontier; and containing from 5000 to 10,000 inhabitants. In considering this low provision for religious instruction, it must be remembered that the

pure Lutheran Church, as it exists in Norway, is essentially ceremonial; as much so almost as the Roman Catholic. The altar is decorated with crosses and images. The priest, arrayed in embroidered robes of velvet, on the back of which a large and rich figure of the cross is conspicuous, celebrates high mass under that name, which sounds strange in a Protestant church, before the altar, on which candles are lighted, as in the Roman Catholic churches. The Lutheran, in short, appears to Presbyterian eyes a Catholic translated into his own language, with a few abridgments. To support this ceremonial with decent splendour, so that it should not fall into the ludicrous, there are several expensive appendages necessary, which it would exceed the means of a small congregation to support. A clerk to deliver certain parts of the service, and an organist or singer, or both, are necessary for performing the ceremonial with decent solemnity and effect. It is also to be considered that, although the country be poor, the property is distributed among the people. Every man generally has a piece of land and a comfortable house, on which he no doubt values himself. It is not as in Scotland, where the mass of the population of a country parish is without any property, and consequently, a moderate income is sufficient to place the clergyman and his family far above the station of the many, and no income that could be raised in his parish would, even if that were desirable, place him in the situation of the rich few. Hence in Norway it is, perhaps, necessary that the income of the clergyman should be decidedly high, to maintain him in a suitable station in society; and that could not be the case, from whatever source his income may be derived, if his parish was small.

It is not foresight, or wisdom, that produces these political or economical arrangements in a country, but the accumulating experiences of time, working upon statesmen ignorant, perhaps, themselves of the true causes and results of their arrangements; and this it is which makes prudent men dread the meddling too freely with old institutions.

The incomes of the clergy run, in country parishes, from 800 to 1600 dollars. The bishops, I understand, have about 4000 dollars. 800 dollars, or 170*l.* sterling, is sufficient for a family living in the best way according to the fashion of the country, and in its best society. In Bergen, Christiania, and other towns, there are, of course, large incomes, and a more expensive scale of

living; but the towns are too small, and the large incomes acquired in commercial or professional pursuits too rare, to have such influence upon society as in England; and the division among the children necessarily makes frugality and moderation the prevailing principles of living. Hence Norway is a cheap country; a circumstance which, as it is justly observed by Arthur Young, depends not so much upon the prices of provisions and other articles, as on the prevailing mode of life among the inhabitants.

The incomes of the country clergy are derived from a small modus or payment of grain, in lieu of tithe, from each farm. Tithe of fish is paid in Finmark and Nordland, and some parts of Bergen Amt, as there is no other produce. But tithe of agricultural produce is commuted into a payment of grain, not reckoned burdensome, as it is not above two or three bushels for the largest farm; yet, from the great number of farms in a parish, it makes a considerable income. There are *fiar* prices, as in Scotland, by which payments in grain may be converted into money. In every *prestegild*, also, there are several farms, besides the glebe, which belong to the living. These are let for a share of the produce, or for a fine at each renewal, and a trifling yearly rent, or *feu-duty*. One of these farms is appropriated, in every parish, to the minister's widow for her life. A third source of income is from Easter and Christmas offerings, and pretty high offerings or dues for marriages, christenings, and funerals. Those presented at Christmas and Easter are voluntary; but it seems there is a kind of pride among the *Bonder* to make a handsome one, a dollar or two, at Yule. The mode of presenting it is not very decorous. The clergyman, in his embroidered robes, is on his knees at the altar, after the service is performed, apparently absorbed in meditation and prayer. The people go round the altar in procession, and, as each deposits his offering on the altar, the clergyman makes a little nod of acknowledgment. It is proposed, instead of these offerings, to establish a fixed payment by law, as a more economical and agreeable way of paying this not inconsiderable part of the clergyman's income.

It will give the most precise ideas, perhaps, of the extent, population, and means of instruction in Norwegian parishes, to state such information as I have collected on these heads in this *fogderie*. A *fogderie* is a bailiwick, or district, under a *foged*, who has charge of the collection of taxes, police, and all executive

functions in his district. There are five parishes in this fogderie. The largest is about fifty-six miles in length, and fourteen in breadth ; the smallest about ten miles square. The population of the five parishes was, by the census of 1801, 18,346 persons ; by the census of 1815, 18,495 ; and by the census of 1825, 22,880.

The remarkable increase in the population during the ten years from 1815 to 1825, in a district in which there is no town or manufacture, may be ascribed, I conceive, to the general prosperity of the country, the increase being general over Norway, under its new constitution, and to the improved condition of the people by having the free use of their agricultural produce in every shape. The distillation of spirits from potatoes has given the arable lands the benefit of a kind of rotation of crop, or, at least, of a large portion of every farm being carefully worked and well manured ; and has afforded to every farm a supply of manure within itself, as the cattle are fed on the distillery refuse,—a supply unknown under the former system, when distillation by the farmer was prohibited, or was a trade monopolized, as now with us, by a few large, capitalists. The land is producing, in consequence, more food, and supporting in more comfort this great additional population. It is a striking instance of the benefits of a free legislation.

In these five parishes, inhabited by 22,880 persons, there are fifteen churches, the largest having five, and the smallest two. It may also be interesting to the curious in statistical details, and may show the state and distribution of property, to be informed that in these five parishes there are 1184 estates paying land-tax ; and that these are occupied by 1370 farmers, of whom 773 are udal proprietors of the land they occupy, and 597 are life-renters, or tenants ; and these farmers have 1474 housemen, holding land in life-rent for their own and their widows' lives, and paying rent in work, and 278 unmarried farm servants not holding land. Of the lands held by tenants, several belong to the Church, of which the clergyman has the benefit : some to the State ; and the public functionaries, the amtman, foged, sorenskriver, and military officers of the districts, have official residences, with land, as part of their emoluments, and which they may cultivate or let ; finally, some to private proprietors, who possess more than one estate, and let, generally on life-rent with a fine, the land they do not occupy.

The regular income of those five parishes is enjoyed by five

ministers ; but to do the duty in the most extensive of them, they are obliged to have an assistant, or chaplain. There are seven clergymen at present to minister to the 22,880 inhabitants. These chaplaincies, which are equivalent to English curacies, are the appointments which candidates, or young ministers who have passed the examinations and are ordained, first obtain. From these situations they are promoted to the more laborious and least lucrative of the regular church livings ; those situated in Finmark, Nordland, or among the islands ; and after serving for some years in these toilsome and inferior charges, they are considered to have a claim to be translated, when vacancies occur, to the more desirable and valuable livings. The effect of this arrangement, although just and considerate as far as regards the clergyman, is bad for the people. In Finmark and part of Nordland there are three languages, the Norwegian, the Finnish, and the Lappish ; and the clergyman, with a prospect of removal in eight or ten years, has little inducement to overcome the difficulties of two barbarous tongues, in order to be in a state to instruct his flock. The want of efficient religious instruction among the Laplanders, and the slow progress of the translation and use of the Scriptures in their language, may be ascribed to this cause.

Among the regular clergy, there is one who has a superintendence over the concerns of four or five of the adjoining parishes ; and the state of the church property, buildings, and regular discharge of clerical duties, come under his cognizance : he communicates with the bishop of the diocese, and has a small allowance for performing these services, as dean or probst. It appears to be the only dignity in the church, except that of bishop. There are five bishoprics in Norway. The income of a bishop, as already stated, is about 4000 dollars, which practically is, in this country, equivalent to as many thousand pounds sterling in England, viewed in comparison with the salaries of the highest functionaries in the country. The patronage is in the hands of the bishops and of the Norwegian council of state, of which a committee has charge of all the affairs of the church. The bishop recommends, and the council presents, to the vacant livings ; but every appointment, with all the candidates' applications and certificates, with the grounds of preference of the party to whom the living is given, must be inserted in the protocol of the committee of the council of state, which is examined and revised at each

Storthing by a committee appointed for church affairs. There is a superintending power in Norway, also, of the public, exerted through the press, which checks any abuse of patronage in civil or clerical appointments. There being no party spirit, as in England, confounding right and wrong in every question, there is but one opinion, decidedly but temperately expressed, on public questions, which no individual in office, however high, could resist. This influence is more sound and effective in Norway than in any country in Europe in the present day.

It is a peculiar characteristic of the Norwegian Church, that there is no dissent from it; no sectarians. A few years ago, a person of the name of Houghan had a few followers; but his doctrine on religious points did not differ from that of the established church. It was his object to inspire a more religious spirit, and more strict observance of the church doctrine; so that his followers were similar to what is called the evangelical part of the community of the Church of England. But even this slight attempt at a division, within the pale of the church itself, appears to have had no success.

There are several reasons for this peculiarity of the Norwegian Church. The principal, perhaps, is, that it has no temporal power; no political existence as a part of the state; no courts, or laws, or interests of its own jarring with those of the other classes of the community, and raising animosity between them and the clergy. The clergy are, in political rights or privileges, on the same footing as any other class of the community. The Lutheran religion is part of the state; but not the ministers who are employed to teach it. They are represented in the Storthing like other citizens, and, having no separate interests as a body of clergy, enjoy individually the confidence of the people, and an unity of interests with them. They are often sent to the Storthing as their representatives. This unity of worldly interests prevents dissent in spiritual matters.

Another cause of the great influence of the clergy, and of the total absence of religious dissent, is the great consideration in which the rite of confirmation is held. It is not here, as it practically is in the Church of England, a mere ceremony in which the bishop knows nothing personally of the parties he is admitting into the church, and the parish priest knows little more than that they were baptized and are of due age. There is here a



strict examination by the bishop, or the probst or rural dean, into the young person's knowledge of his moral and religious duties, his capacity, acquirements, and character; and it is only after a long previous preparation by his parish minister, equal almost to a course of education, the confirmants being instructed singly as well as in classes, that the individual is presented for this examination. I was present lately at a confirmation of about twenty young persons in our parish church by the probst. The examination, in presence of the congregation, occupied nearly two hours. It was not merely asking and replying, by a string of set questions and answers from the church catechism. It resembled more the kind of examination used in teaching the reading classes in the Sessional School in Edinburgh. It was a sifting trial to know if each individual attached the real meaning to the words he was using, and actually did understand what he had been taught on the subject of religion. It was evident that considerable pains had been taken with the instruction of each individual. To pass such a confirmation, implies that the young person is well grounded in the principles of his moral and religious duties, and is of good character and understanding. It is, in common life, equivalent to the taking of a degree in the learned professions, being in fact a certificate of capacity for discharging ordinary duties and trusts. It is accordingly so considered in Norway. "A *confirmed* shop-boy wants a place,"—"Wanted, a *confirmed* girl who can cook,"—are the ordinary advertisements to or from that class of the community; and the not being confirmed would be held equivalent to not having a character, either from want of conduct, or of ordinary capacity. Something similar prevailed formerly in Scotland, but not to the same extent. A young man, of the labouring class, usually took a certificate of his good character from the minister when he removed to a distant parish. The confirmation in Norway certifies much more, as, in the face of the congregation, the confirmant has shown that he can read, and has the use of his mental faculties to an ordinary degree, according to his station, and has moral and religious principles to direct him. It is extraordinary that the Church of England has not, like this Lutheran sister in the north, kept fast hold of a rite which connected her so closely with society, its education, and its business. This simple discharge of an unexceptionable duty shuts out dissent from the Norwegian Church.

When we consider the great extent of the Norwegian parishes, the merit of being laborious, zealous, and effective, cannot be denied to the Norwegian clergy. The church service is the smallest part of their duty, although the sermon is long, and delivered, as in Scotland, without papers. They have school-examinations, Sunday-schools, meetings of those who are in preparation for being confirmed, often at great distances from their dwellings, and a superintendence of the probst, or bishop, which prevents any neglect or indolence in attending to those duties.

It is my impression, that the Norwegian clergy are a highly educated body of men. As far as my experience goes, the clergy and students of divinity are acquainted with the literature of Europe, have read the standard works in the French and German languages, and are at least as well acquainted with English as our clergy in general are with French.

The study of the great works on divinity, philosophy and church history, which have been written in the German language, is a necessary part of the course here for the student of divinity. The classical studies are also carried on to a later period of life than in Scotland, by those intended for the clerical profession, and under teachers of a high scholarship. There are five high schools in the principal towns in Norway, in which the rectors and teachers are men, such as Holmboe, Bugge, Fresner, of known eminence as classical scholars: the student of divinity must be prepared in these schools for his professional studies, and is seventeen or eighteen years of age before he is considered fit to leave them for the university. In proportion, also, to the other professional classes in the community, the clergy of Norway are richly endowed, and the church has always been the highest profession in the country, that to which all talent is naturally directed. Law and medicine do not, as in Scotland, withdraw youth of promising abilities from the clerical profession. It is a necessary consequence, that candidates are educated up to its value, and estimation in society.

In this part of Norway the most eminent preacher is Bishop Bugge. His manner of delivery is singularly impressive, even to a stranger who can but imperfectly follow his discourse. It is calm, very earnest, yet almost conversational; and is a style of public speaking very similar to that of Dr. Chalmers: his reputation as a preacher is similar.

It is a peculiarity in all Lutheran countries, which strikes the traveller, especially from Scotland, that the evening of the Sunday is not passed, as with us, in quiet and stillness, at least, if not in devotional exercises. He must be a very superficial observer, however, who ascribes this to a want of religious feeling. It arises from the peculiar and, in the pure Lutheran Church, universally received interpretation of the Scriptural words, that "the evening and the morning made the first day." The evening of Saturday and the morning of Sunday make the seventh day, or Sabbath, according to the Lutheran Church. This interpretation is so fully established, and interwoven with their thinking and acting, that entertainments, dances, card parties, and all public amusements, take place regularly on Sunday evenings. A Lutheran minister gives a party on Sunday evening at his house, at which you find music, dancing, and cards, without more scruple, or conception that there is anything objectionable, than a Presbyterian minister has when he eats a slice of mutton for dinner on a Friday, and would equally think it superstitious to object to it. We are very apt, in religious concerns, to measure our neighbour's judgment by our own.

Yet, whether this interpretation of the Scriptural words defining the Sabbath, be theologically right or wrong, it is politically wrong, and injurious to society. The half-day of Saturday is little regarded. The labourer cannot leave his work, make himself clean, and go to a distant church, for a portion of a day. The half-day of Sunday, also, is more liable to be encroached upon than if the whole were, as with us, a day of rest, on which no manner of work was to be done.

The progress of education among the working classes in Britain will probably make it necessary to unite the two plans at no distant time; to make the half of Saturday a period of rest by political institution, as well as the whole of Sunday by divine institution. The educated working man in Britain is, at present, in a worse condition, in consequence of his education, than the untaught labourer, who has only his animal wants to supply. Take the most simple case. The educated working man generally wishes to read a portion of the Scriptures daily in his family. This is surely the most simple and immediate result of education. He must occupy some portion of time in doing so, over and above the time which his family, in common with the families of all the ignorant

and uneducated of his fellow-labourers, must take for the ordinary business of life, for sleeping, cooking, eating, washing, marketing, and such household occupations. But this time will cost him money, or money's worth. It cannot well be less than half an hour, including the assembling of the family, if he is to read at all. Now half an hour a day comes to three hours a week, and in half a year, of twenty-five working weeks, it comes to no less than one week, of six working days of twelve hours; and by so much, by one week's work in twenty-five, can the untaught labourer undersell the educated one in the labour market. It is this advantage of uneducated labour which it seems to be the object of trades' unions and combinations to exclude. The educated labouring man of the present day is, in fact, well entitled to say to the rest of the community, — You have educated me, you have given me the wants, and tastes, and habits of a moral, religious, thinking being; you must give me leisure to use these endowments without prejudice to my means of subsistence; otherwise, you have sunk my condition below that of my fellow-labourer, who requires only what is indispensably necessary for existence. It is very possible, that when the formation of trades' unions, for raising their rate of wages, lessening the number of working hours, and such objects as are scarcely compatible with the unrestrained productive power of capital employed in manufactories, is traced to its causes, these will be found to be intimately connected with the wants and habits of a people advancing in mental culture. It is very possible, that a day may come when it will be necessary to decide whether the education of the people of Great Britain shall be abandoned, as incompatible with the utmost productive powers of labour; or those powers, as called into action by capital, shall be regulated by laws. The uneducated man can work fourteen hours a day, having no demands upon his time, but for food and rest; while the other cannot exceed twelve hours, if he is to enjoy any benefit or gratification as an educated man. This dilemma, in fact, exists now; although Lord Brougham, Mr. Hume, and the other friends of the education of the people, are afraid to look it in the face. The uneducated labourer reduces the educated labourer to work the same number of hours that he works, in every trade; and that number is not compatible with any of the purposes or uses of education, not even that of giving religious or moral instruction to his own family. If the Church of England were to make good a claim on

the half of Saturday, preserving at the same time the whole of Sunday as at present, and make it a period of rest from all work, it would be a remedy for the hard fate of the educated working man.

## CHAPTER V.

King's Birthday. — Manners of the Middle Class. — Ball and Supper. — Loyalty. — Jealousy of National Independence. — King's Style. — Carl. III. or Carl. XIV.? — Budstick. — Hue and Cry. — Remarkable Landslip. — Peasantry. — Udal Property. — Udal Laws. — Early Maturity of Udal System. — Civilisation of the Northern Invaders. — Scalds. — The Grey Goose. — Its Enactments. — Jury Trial. — Its Origin in Udal Law. — Present Administration of Law. — Court of Arbitration. — Sorenskrivers' Court. — Jury Trial. — Christian V. — Law Book. — Liberal Institutions for 1687. — Ireland and Norway. — England and Denmark. — Punishment of Death abolished. — Loss of Honour an effective Punishment. — Stifts Amt Court. — The Hoieste Ret Court a part of the State. — Peculiar Principle of Responsibility of Judges.

*Levanger, January 1835.*—I was invited to join an entertainment given on the 26th of this month, in honour of the King's birthday. I was glad of the invitation, as the party consisted of the tradesmen and dealers in the little town; a class distinct in society from the gentry of the country. These distinctions, although not founded on birth or privilege, there being no nobility or privileged class — nor on fortune, as the peasant proprietors have estates, and houses and means of living, equal to the highest of the community — are, notwithstanding, as exactly observed here as in the most aristocratic countries. Education, manners, the belonging to the class of *people of condition*, that is, to the cultivated and educated part of the community, appear to form a natural division without any effort, exclusive spirit, or feeling of jealousy. Individuals seem naturally to congregate with those who suit them best. There is nothing of the mixture of persons of incongruous stations, habits, and education, which, even according to the most favourable accounts of society in America, must be repugnant to the taste and comfort of individuals bred in the classified society of Europe: and there is no mixture in the same individual of manners and habits drawn from very different sources and situations,

and which do not at all harmonise together—a mixture more commonly found among the English than any other people. There is nothing to pretend to, and therefore no pretence. The one class has no preference above the other, in power, or wealth, or comfort, or influence; and to appear to belong to the one class rather than to the other, could never enter the mind of any one. The ease and similarity of manners in all persons, rich or poor, and their habitual civility to each other, arise from this equality. They mix together as little as in other European countries. The clergy, the public functionaries, the half-pay officers, the rich, the educated, do not habitually associate with the peasant proprietors, or the retail dealers in the country. It is a matter of taste and congruity, however, not of any feeling of superiority.

Our entertainment consisted of a procession of about forty sledges, in which we drove a few miles into the country, and had tea and coffee at a public-house, and we returned to a ball and supper in the village. It was six o'clock in the morning before our gay doings concluded. We had abundance of wine and punch, yet I did not see a single instance of excess among the sixty or seventy persons present. If I had not known that the company was composed entirely of the tradesmen and dealers of the little town, their journeymen, apprentices, wives, and daughters, I should not have discovered it from their appearance or deportment. The ladies were as well dressed, and danced as well, and the gentlemen as considerate and well-bred towards each other, as in any other society. It was evident that it is habitual to this class, as well as to the higher, to behave with propriety in their ordinary family intercourse, and that they had not to assume a set of manners foreign to their usual habits. This class in Norway, not being pressed by competition to give that unremitting attention to business which the same class must give with us, have in fact more leisure, enjoy more social intercourse, and are more polished. Good manners go deeper down through society than in other countries.

The Norwegians are unquestionably a loyal people attached in the highest degree to their sovereign and his family. There is, however, an excessive jealousy among all ranks of the slightest infringement of their national independence by the sister kingdom of Sweden. This spirit, which was probably excited by the weak and abortive attempts to amalgamate the two countries, displays

itself sometimes on the most trifling occasions. The great coats lately issued to a Norwegian regiment happened to have yellow buttons instead of white, as formerly. Yellow is the national colour of Sweden; and this was seriously noticed as an attempt at amalgamation. On the official seal of some Swedish department, and on some coins lately struck in Sweden, the arms of Norway, a lion, are quartered with those of the province of Gothland, a flowing river, under the arms of Sweden; just as the Hanoverian horse and Irish harp are quartered on some of our coins under the English arms. This, which probably arose from the fancy or taste of the seal engraver and designer, was reported and resented from one end of Norway to the other, and will probably influence the spirit of the next Storthing. The Norwegians use a distinct commercial flag, but daily regret that they have no separate commercial relations and diplomatic representatives abroad. The inferior place which their national devices, as the flag, the arms, and the style, occupy in all situations in which the junction of the kingdom with Sweden brings them together, is a subject of constant annoyance. The Swedish government shows many childish and impotent indications of dislike to the constitution and independence of Norway. It is not by such a spirit that the amalgamation, even if desirable, could be promoted. The 17th of May is the anniversary of the adoption of the Norwegian constitution. It is celebrated at home and abroad by every Norwegian; but the troops, and the public officers immediately under the control of the executive government, exhibit on that day no appearances of public rejoicings; the officers, however, not under the control of the executive, as those of the custom-houses, display then the national flag. The glaring opposition and disrespect to the national feelings is deplored by all wise and moderate men, who are the more firm in resisting even the smallest innovation proposed from such a quarter. This spirit displayed by the Swedish cabinet has consolidated the Norwegian constitution more perfectly in twenty years, than could otherwise have been done in two hundred; for opposition naturally begets opposition, and when applied fruitlessly, begets an increased determination to hold fast to rights. It is an idle dream on the part of Sweden to expect that, by such means, a nation consisting of but one class of people is to be amalgamated with, and governed by, one in which a

numerous aristocracy and a corporate body of clergy are the legislators.

Among the subjects of great discontent to the Norwegians is one not altogether so unimportant as may at first sight appear. In all public acts, monuments, seals of office, &c., the King is styled Charles XIV. He is undoubtedly Charles XIV. of Sweden, but of Norway, Charles III. A case in point is that of James VI. of Scotland; who, upon the union of the crowns, became James I. of England, and after his accession all deeds or acts were under the title of James VI. of Scotland and I. of England. The Swedish cabinet appears, therefore, to be wrong, as far as precedent should regulate such matters. If Norway were a feudal country, in which all title deeds to estates ran in the name of the king, such a misnomer might produce in time very great confusion. If even His Majesty had occasion to sue a party in an English court of law, as Napoleon sued Peltier, and sovereigns often prosecute loan contractors and other parties, and if such suit were entered under the style of Charles XIV., king of Norway, it would, probably, occasion the loss of the case. Nay, if a Norwegian subject had occasion to file a bill in the English Court of Chancery, with affidavits made before a Norwegian consul, or other competent authority, whose commission to take such affidavits ran in the name of His Majesty Charles XIV., King of Norway, very great delay and expense, at least, might result to the Norwegian subject. The act of union of the two crowns, and the proof that Charles XIV. of Sweden was also XIV. of Norway, would be required. In the event of naval war in Europe, in which, as in the last, neutral vessels had often claims for detention, unjust capture, &c., pending in the English Admiralty Courts, it might occasion great delay, as no court of law could repel such a weighty objection as a mistake in the commission under which the affidavits and certificates that determine the case were taken.

*February, 1835.* — There is a very simple and very ancient way of assembling the people in this country for public business. A *budstick*, or message-stick, of the size and shape of our constable's baton, is painted and stamped with the royal arms, and made hollow, with a head to screw on upon one end, and an iron spike on the other. The official notice to meet, the time, place, and object, are written on a piece of paper which is rolled up and placed in the hollow. This is delivered from the public office or



courthouse of the district to the nearest householder, who is bound by law to carry it within a certain time to his nearest neighbour who must transmit it to the next, and so on. In case of two houses, equally distant, it must be previously determined by the foged at which he shall deliver it. If the owner is not at home, he is to stick it "in the house-father's great chair, by the fireside;" and if the door be locked, must fasten it to the outside. Each is bound to prove, if required, at what hour he received, delivered, or stuck it. He who, by his neglect, has prevented others from receiving the notice in time to attend the meeting, pays a fine for each person so absent. There are fixed stations at which the budstick rests for the night; and it cannot be carried after sunset, or before sunrise. The householder to whom it comes last takes it back to the office. In a country so extensive, with its population scattered in valleys, divided by uninhabited Fjelde, and with few paths of communication, this primitive sort of gazette is the most expeditious mode of publication. In the Highlands of Scotland, the stick, burnt at one end, and with blood on the other, was a similar device for assembling a clan in arms.

It is probable that the haro, or cry used in Normandy for assembling the people to repel invasion, or to prevent violence, and from which we derive our ancient legal term, still in use, of raising the hue and cry, was something of the same kind; some peculiar cry, or shout, to be passed from mouth to mouth, on hearing which all were bound to assemble at appointed stations; and to raise which haro, without causes of the nature fixed by law, was a highly punishable offence. Our term of hue has puzzled the antiquaries. Probably the word meant, what it now does in the Norse language, a cap, hat, or covering of the head, whence our English word hood is derived. To raise the hue and cry was, probably, to accompany the cry by raising, or waving, the cap; a custom still universal in England, when people shout. These circumstances are trifling, but they give an idea of the state of society at a time when, from the absence of effective law, the whole community was obliged to give protection to property and to the safety of individuals by active interference.

*February.* — A very remarkable accident occurred on the 23d of this month, about twelve miles from this place. A farmhouse, with forty or fifty acres of land, was suddenly swallowed up, or sunk in the earth, and three people perished. I walked to the

spot next day, and am at a loss to account for the event. The farm, called Gustad, was situated upon an alluvial bank, sloping gently towards the fiord, which formed a small round bight, or creek, before it. Behind this bank rises a pretty steep hill, or rock, of chloritic schist. This steep slope, on which the bank rested, has, I imagine, been continued under water in the little bight, in which, as the fishermen told me, there was formerly a depth of ten fathoms. As there is a considerable quantity of snow on the ground, and not frost enough beneath to freeze running water, it is conceivable that water from the hill behind has circulated between the bank and the rock on which it was resting, and the farm and bank, being thus loosened, have slipped forward over a precipice below the surface of the sea. But there are difficulties in this explanation. Two hundred mælings, or about forty acres, of land would be an enormous landslide, to be occasioned by such a trifling rill of water as the background could produce ; and the slope of the land towards the sea appears, from what is left, to have been so gentle, that such a mass could scarcely have slid forward, even if loose ; and the soil is not of the nature of what is called a running sand, — it is vegetable mould upon a blue tenacious clay. There is, also, no chasm between the edge of what has stood and what has given way ; which one would expect, if one portion of land had projected and slipped forward from another portion. There is a difference of level, of about fifteen feet, between a little attached part of the house, standing on its original site, and the ruins of the rest, sunk, but appearing in the rubbish ; yet there is no change in the horizontal distance between the two. A slip of one portion of land from another would have left a chasm, I conceive, between ; or, at any rate, the house upon the land that had slipped should have been found launched forward from its original situation. It appears more like a perpendicular sinking, than a slipping forwards. Another circumstance difficult of explanation is, that the side of the round creek, opposite to this slipped land, was formed by a flat spit or tongue of land, not above two hundred yards in breadth, and running out into the fiord. This little peninsula had no background to throw down rills or springs, but was merely connected by a small ridge with the mainland ; it was quite flat, and but very little elevated above the level of high water. The side of this peninsula next to the creek, into which the land of Gustad descended, has also slipped inwards, as it were,

towards a common centre. These circumstances suggest rather a sinking of the fundamental rock itself, upon which the land rested, than a slipping off from the rock by the force of water beneath.

*March, 1835.* — The peasantry of Norway have always been free. From the earliest ages they possessed the land in property, and were subject only to the general jurisdiction of the country. They were never *adscripti glebæ*, as in the feudal countries of Europe, or subject in person or property to local judicatories. The small kings who were expelled, or their independence annihilated, by Harald Haarfagre in the ninth century, appear never to have attained the powers and privileges of the great feudal lords in other countries, but to have always depended in some degree upon the great Things or meetings of the landholders, in the enactment of laws. Property and power necessarily go together; and, by the udal laws, the land was always the property of the people, not of a feudal class of high nobility: this gave them at all times, even under the nominally absolute government of Denmark, much weight in legislation. The very different state of the peasantry in the rest of Europe during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, being mere slaves, attached to the soil, under the feudal lords and barons who possessed the whole property, sufficiently accounts for the extraordinary success which then attended the enterprises of the most inconsiderable bodies of the northern pirates called Danes. The people of other countries had nothing to defend against these Norwegian invaders.\* Rolf Ganger, the great great grandfather of William the Conqueror, was aided by the peasantry in the conquest of Normandy. It would probably be found by those who should follow out such researches, that this was the true cause of that extraordinary supineness, at which the reader of the history of the middle ages wonders, that allowed in repeated instances a few hundred men landing on a coast to dictate conditions, levy tribute, and conquer territories from a whole nation. It was only the classes of nobility and clergy who had any real stake in the country.

It is not surprising that the people of Norway have in all ages clung tenaciously to their udal system and rights. During the four hundred years that Norway was under the Danish crown,

\* *Histoire des Expéditions maritimes des Normands et de leur Etablissement en France au dixième siècle*, par G. Depping. Paris, 1826.

that government deemed it wiser to respect that system, and even to collect and give effect to the ancient laws regarding it, than to attempt its subversion, and amalgamation with her own feudally constituted state of society and property. Hence the folly of the Swedish cabinet in making such a proposal within ten years after the union of the two kingdoms. The attempt, like every one that fails, has only strengthened what it proposed to overturn. It has led the Norwegians to think upon and to estimate their peculiar social state, as compared to that of the sister kingdom and of the rest of Europe. It has developed the principles on which they had to legislate in unison with their udal system of social arrangements; and the conviction that they had nothing to envy or to adopt, is a result, it must be allowed, which the Norwegians may fairly come to, on comparing their social condition with that of the Russian, German, Swedish, or English peasantry.

Udal or odel, as a term applied to land, to landholders, and to privileges attached to udal land, appears to have been originally the same word as the German word adel, signifying noble; and it carries an equivalent meaning in all its applications. Udal land is noble land, not held from or under any superior, not even from the king, consequently paying no acknowledgment, real or nominal, as a feu-duty or reddendo; but held, as it has been proudly expressed, by the right by which the crown itself is held. Udal land is possessed, consequently, without charter, and is subject to none of the burdens and casualties affecting land held by feudal tenure direct from the sovereign, or from his superior vassal. It is subject neither to fines on the entry of new heirs or successors, nor to escheats, nor forfeiture, nor personal suit and service, nor wardship, nor astrictions to baronial courts or other local judicatories, nor to baronial mills or other feudal servitudes, nor to any of the ten thousand burdens and vexatious exactions which in the middle ages, and even in some degree to the present day, have affected all property held under the feudal tenure. There being neither superior, nor vassal, nor feudal service connected with such land, there existed no legal necessity for the law of primogeniture. It is well known that, in all countries feudally constituted, the right of the sovereign, or feudal superior, to have a vassal of an age to perform the military service in consideration of which the land was granted, was the foundation of the rule of primogeniture. The eldest son alone could, generally, have attained the age to per-

form this service. This right was even superior to that of hereditary succession, and in virtue of it a *delectus personæ* was, in the earlier ages, exercised. The fiefs were not hereditary of right; and even at the present day this principle is, by fiction of law, so far effective and acted upon, that female heirs are, in many feudal cases, excluded from succession; and in all feudal countries the eldest male heir has to pay an acknowledgment to the feudal superior, on his entry as vassal in the land. Udal land not being held for military service to any superior, no *delectus personæ* as to who should inherit it was competent to any authority, and consequently no preference of the eldest male heir could grow into the law of succession to land. On the contrary, all the kindred of the udalman in possession are what is called *odelsbaarn* to his land, and have, in the order of consanguinity, a certain interest in it called *odelsbaarn ret*. Hence, if the udalman in possession should sell or alienate his land, the next of kin is entitled to redeem it on repaying the purchase-money; and should he decline to do so, it was in the power of the one next to him to claim his *odelsbaarn ret*. It is only of late that this right of redemption has been limited as to time; it must be exercised within five years of the sale: and it has been also determined, that the value of all improvements, as well as the original price, must be paid. The effect of this *odelsbaarn ret* is evidently to entail, in a certain degree, the land upon the kindred of the udalman. This same right exists, in fact, in Hungary, where land is held in large masses by a nobility, as well as in Norway, where it is held in small portions by a peasantry; and necessarily has the same effect of continuing the land in the class which at present possesses it.

It appears to me not improbable, that the peculiar class of persons among the Scandinavian people called Scalds or Bards, arose out of this *odelsbaarn ret*. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the colonies of military emigrants which issued from Scandinavia had spread over Iceland, the Faro Islands, the Orkney and Zetland Islands, and Hebrides, the kingdom of Northumberland extending over a third part nearly of England, Normandy, and many districts between the Seine and the Scheld. Roving parties of these Northmen appeared, occasionally, on every coast, from Constantinople to the White Sea. Some made permanent settlements under their sea kings; others only scoured the coasts as pirates for a few years; but each had some *odelsbaarn ret*, or

interest connecting him more or less with land at home. To transmit from one generation to another, before the art of writing was in use, the memory of family descents and relationships, was a business essentially connected with the preservation of rights of property, where *odelsbaarn ret* existed; and among a body of military emigrants, enriching themselves by the plunder of the fairest provinces of Europe, the rights of succession to property by redemption were of high importance. It is probable that the Scalds were not merely the wandering bards or minstrels, witnessing and singing the warlike exploits of those whom they accompanied on distant expeditions, but were a class of men whose business it was to witness and record all events affecting claims of property,—the writers to the signet of their day. We probably hear only of the poets among this class of those who attended the courts of the Scandinavian monarchs, and have transmitted to us saga of important historical facts; and we conclude that the class of Scalds consisted of poets entertained at court for the honour and pleasure of the sovereign: just as if we were to conclude that the clerks of the Court of Session in Scotland are a class of poets, because Sir Walter Scott was a clerk of that court. The class of recorders of the ordinary events of births, deaths, marriages, and other circumstances affecting property, must have existed in a state of society in which property was not, as in feudal countries, entirely in the hands of a small number of nobles, and the succession to it regulated by simple rules, and confined to a few individuals. This class, before writing was in general use, must have been numerous, and important in society where udal law prevailed.

It is possible that we estimate erroneously the state of society in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Scandinavia. We take our ideas from the narratives of the monkish historians of the period, who represent the heathen Northmen, who ravaged the coasts of England and France, sparing neither churches nor monasteries, and conquering provinces from the supine inhabitants, with numbers apparently the most inadequate, as barbarians little better than wild beasts, without law or religion. There must be exaggeration, as there is evident inconsistency, in these representations. These barbarians were evidently the only people in Europe, at that period, possessed of the arts connected with the navigation of vessels on distant voyages. If we consider all that is included in this art, all that must have been set to work before

two or three hundred men could be transported to the coast of Normandy or of Kent, the ship building, rope making, sail weaving, iron forging, watercask making, provision curing, all of which arts, and many more, must have reached considerable perfection before bodies of men, however enterprising, bold and hardy, could by any possibility have undertaken and accomplished such voyages; if we consider, too, that there must have been effective social arrangements by which such bodies of men were collected, and held together and made available for attack and defence, as well as for navigation; we must conclude that the term barbarism was more applicable to the invaded than the invaders. The inhabitants of England and France must have been behind those of Norway in the exercise of the useful arts, the enjoyment of property, and the operation of general and equitable laws. If the state of law among the people be a measure of barbarism, these followers of Odin appear to have stood on a much higher step of civilisation than their Christian contemporaries. Private wars had been abolished by Harald Haarfagre in the ninth century, 250 years at least before the right of the great nobles to wage war against each other had ceased in other countries. The local judicatories and privileges of the nobles had also been abolished, and the whole country governed by general laws adapted to the four great divisions of the kingdom in which the Things were held, from the period of the same monarch's reign. These were advances towards civilisation which the Christian countries of Europe had not made at that period. The judicial combat between individuals, or Holmgang, as it was called by the Scandinavian people, from the parties going to small uninhabited islets, called holms, to fight out their cause without interruption, was subject to regulations or laws not introduced until long after the tenth century in the judicial combat of the other countries of Europe. A party challenged to the Holmgang could, in the tenth century, appoint a substitute to fight for him; and the party worsted could ransom his life for three marks of copper, or for a consideration previously agreed on. The duel, the point of honour, the spirit of chivalry, the science of heraldry, all which are generally considered to have been the genuine offspring of the ancient feudal constitution and modes of thinking, appear really to have had their origin among these northern invaders, and to have been engrafted by them on the feudal system which they found and adopted. The internal ar-

rangements in Norway for calling out the whole force of the country for military purposes, appear to have been much superior to those of any of the countries they invaded. Haco, foster-son of Athelstan of England, had divided Norway, about the year 956 or 960, into land and sea districts, with subdivisions, which were required to furnish each a ship, a certain number of men, certain arms, certain quantities of provisions, according to the local capabilities of each division of the district; and these arrangements appear to have been effective and perfect, long before any similar arrangements for the defence of their coasts were adopted by other nations. In countries where the feudal lords maintained a kind of independent rule within the state, such a general arrangement for a common object was scarcely practicable; yet without it a country could scarcely be said to exist in security and civilisation. Such various and complicated arrangements being matter of fixed law among the northern people, and the various arts which must have been exercised generally, and with some degree of perfection among them, before they could have fitted out such distant and frequent expeditions by sea, may well justify the doubt, whether the monkish historians who represent them as barbarians, destitute of the habits, ideas, or arts belonging to civilised life, were not themselves more barbarous as to all that regards law, liberty, and security of person and property.

It may surprise those who are full of preconceived ideas of the rude state of the northern freebooters who ravaged the coasts of Europe in the tenth century, to find that law was in a more advanced state, and its power much more effective, among them, than in the countries they were ravaging. They were not merely in that state of civilisation when its first principles are acknowledged and acted upon, unless where power or violence interfere, which was the state of the rest of Europe at that period. Among the Scandinavian people the forms of law were fully established, and any flaw or irregularity in the forms of procedure before the courts produced the loss of the case in the first instance. This was a development of law of which England, France, and Germany could not then boast. Before the year 885, the power of law was established in Norway over all persons of all ranks and classes, while in the other countries of Europe the independent jurisdictions of the great feudal lords were not broken down till after a contest of ages. The power of the small kings, as they are aptly termed



in Scandinavian history, to set law at defiance, or to perplex its regular march by local jurisdictions, was completely annihilated by Harald Haarfagre, who subdued and expelled that class entirely from Norway, and remained the sole sovereign of the country; a position which other European kings attained only four centuries later. These small kings themselves appear never to have held the same full jurisdiction within their own dominions as the great feudal nobility of other countries: they were subject to laws established at the general Things or courts of the people, of which four were held in Norway yearly, in the different districts into which the country was divided. Each district was governed by the code of laws given out from these Things, as best suited to the peculiar local circumstances of their division of the country. The "Grey Goose"\* is the somewhat whimsical name given to the ancient Icelandic law book compiled for the use of that oldest of modern colonies, from the edicts of those Things, and principally of that of the Gule district, as these Gule Things' laws stood in the reign of king Haco, the foster-son of Athelstan of England. Haco began his reign in the year 936. Iceland had been discovered in the year 874, and colonised by the nobility and their followers, who fled from the persecution of Harald Haarfagre who died in 934. It appears from the Grey Goose, that, so early as the year 1004, law was so firmly established, and its procedures so regular and defined, that a special court of justice was established, for disposing of such cases as had been adjudged in the first instance, on defects in the technical forms of procedure before the ordinary courts of law, without reference to the law or merits of the cases. Law and its administration must have been long settled before its forms could have grown into such importance and intricacy. It also appears from the Grey Goose to have embraced, before the eleventh century, subjects which probably no other code in Europe, at that period, dealt with. The provision for the poor, equal weights and measures, police of markets and of sea-havens, mutual rights of succession to property situated in Norway or Iceland for the natives of each country, punishment of beggars or vagrants, provision for illegitimate children, wages of servants and support of them in sickness, inns for travellers, roads and bridges, pro-

\* Nordisk Tidskrift for Oldkyndighed, 1 h. 1 B., 1832, om Graagaasen ved Schlegel.

tection of pregnant women and even of domestic animals from injury, are subjects of which the Grey Goose treats. In the short period which had elapsed from the first colonisation of Iceland, society could not have advanced to such a state as to produce a necessity for such a code of laws in that island. They are the laws of the mother country, adopted, as far as circumstances might be expected to require them, by the colony. These laws were collected into one code by Magnus VII., Lagabæter, or the law improver, who died in the year 1280. They were again collected, improved, and published in a general code, in the year 1604, by Christian IV. In 1687, the present code, drawn up from all the older and previously existing ones, and adapted to the changes which time had produced, was given out by Christian V. It is comprised in one pocket volume, and is to be found in every peasant's house in Norway. It has evidently been intended for the use and understanding of the common man. The arrangement is simple and distinct. Each law occupies a single paragraph of a few lines. The professional lawyer only can be acquainted with the numerous modifications and additions to this body of law by subsequent enactments, or with the application of the law to special cases; but, generally, no man in Norway can be ignorant of the laws affecting his property, or of his legal rights or duties. It appears at first view a singular anomaly, that throughout all this code, emanating from and sanctioned by absolute monarchs, some of whom were even despotic and tyrannical, there runs a perpetual strain of reference, in all matters affecting person or property, to that which is the main protection of all civil liberty, the trial by jury. It may be doubted whether England does, — certainly Scotland does not, — at this day, enjoy all the essential advantages of jury trial in matters regarding property, so fully as Norway has done from the earliest times. The anomaly disappears when we consider, that a reference to a jury is, in fact, an unmeaning excrescence, when engrafted on the feudal law, in which there is positive rule and principle to be referred to in every matter respecting property; and that it is the natural emanation of the udal system, from which both England and Norway derive this mode of trial. In the administration of the laws relating to udal property, under the principle of partition among children, and under *odelsbaarn ret*, the boundaries, extent, and value of the property to be inherited, and also of each of the portions into

which it has to be adjudged to the several heirs, are essential points in almost every case; and these cannot possibly be determined without a reference to skilful men, locally acquainted with the subject, and having no interest or favour for any party, — in short, to a jury. This udal law causes a great variety of interests, and of adjustments among heirs, which cannot be brought under any fixed rule. When an individual dies, for instance, his estate must be valued and divided among his lawful heirs: but one may wish to have it sold, and its price divided; another, to have a portion of the land itself; one may be willing to buy the shares of the others, but only able to pay by instalments, or by yearly portions of the produce of the land: all these are adjustments in equity, to which law can only be applied in a very general way; and which a jury, or what is equivalent to one, the finding of impartial skilful men, can alone determine. A reference to the judgment of such men is, accordingly, the basis of all law proceedings in Norway, as fixed by Christian V.'s law book; and, from the very nature of the law of succession to udal land, it evidently must be coeval with the existence of such property. Whatever might be the form of the government, it could not cease while the rights of property were acknowledged. In the administration of the feudal laws respecting property, this necessity of a reference to a jury totally falls away. The rule and application is the same, be the extent or value great or small. There is no necessity for any local knowledge; nothing to determine by rules of equity. A jury could only be called upon to find that an heir bears the relationship he claims to stand in to the deceased; which is a question seldom doubtful. To this source, probably, the English jury trial owes its origin. It is far-fetched to ascribe it to imaginary principles, handed down from the ancient Germans, by which every man was considered entitled to a trial by his own peers. A much more pressing necessity than any connected with criminal justice arose daily under the udal law, of adjusting the value, extent, and other circumstances of property to be inherited. The Northmen, for several generations before the reign of Canute the Great, possessed a large proportion of England; and the conquest by their descendants under the Norman was not likely to alter the tenure of land, and the institutions and laws arising out of it, which were common to both

divisions of these military emigrants, at no very distant period, in their native land.

The administration of law in Norway is on a good and simple footing. There are points in it which deserve the consideration of those eminent men who consider the British courts susceptible of some improvement.

The court of first instance, the lowest in Norway, if it can be called one, is the parish court of mutual agreement. This is a modern institution, which does honour to the wisdom and liberal spirit of the Danish government. It is the first great and decided improvement upon the old modes and forms of administering justice which has been attempted by any of the ancient governments of Europe with success. It is a legacy from her former masters, for which Norway should be grateful. In every parish, the resident householders elect, every third year, from among themselves, a person to be the commissioner of mutual agreement. He must not practise law in any capacity, and his appointment is subject to the approval of the amtman, or highest executive officer of the district. In towns, or large and populous parishes, there are one or more assessors, or assistants to the commissioner, and he has always a clerk. He holds his court once a month within the parish, and receives a small fee of an ort (ninepence) on entering each case. Every case or lawsuit whatsoever must pass through this preliminary court in which no lawyer or attorney is allowed to practise. The parties must appear personally, or by a person not professional. Each states his own case, and his statement is entered fully, and to his own satisfaction, in the protocol of the commissioner who must then endeavour to bring the parties to an agreement, by proposing some middle course upon which both may agree. He acts, in short, as a private arbiter would do, and gives his opinion or judgment accordingly. If both parties agree to his finding, or advice, it is immediately taken to the local court of law, or Sorenskrivers' court, which is also held within each parish, to be sanctioned, revised as to rights of any third parties, and registered; and it has, without expense, the validity of a final decision. For instance, if a person owes a simple debt, he must be summoned by the creditor to the court of mutual agreement. The debtor may explain that he cannot pay the claim in money, but will pay it in corn or goods, or against a certain time, or has counter claims which extinguish part of it. All the statements of both parties

are entered fully by the commissioner in his protocol, and to their own satisfaction. He then proposes what he conceives may suit both parties; such as a reasonable time to sell the corn or goods, or a reasonable deduction for the counter claims. If both agree, the proposal is immediately registered. If one agrees, but the other does not, the party not agreeing appeals to the local or Sorenskriver's court, which sits once, at least, in each parish in every quarter of a year; but he will have the expense of both parties to pay, if the terms of agreement proposed and rejected are judged not unreasonable. In this higher court, but which is, properly speaking, the lowest legal one, the parties appear, if they choose, by their law agents, or procurators; but in this, and all the subsequent or higher courts through which a case may be carried, nothing is received but the protocol of the court of mutual agreement; no new matter, statements, or references to evidence, but what stand in the commissioner's protocol. This is the best part of the institution. It confines the lawyer to his law, and brings the facts of the case, as understood by the parties themselves, before the court, without trick or disguise. Much legal talent is expended in our courts in cross-examining witnesses, brow-beating the dull and honest, involving in contradiction the equally honest of quicker temperament, and working on the personal temper of witnesses, in order to bring out such an appearance of a case as may deceive the judgment of an ordinary jury. This is all a very fine display of talent, but altogether inconsistent with the substantial ends of justice. It may happen that the practised judge himself cannot always disentangle the truth from the contradictory statements which the ingenuity of the lawyer has contrived to twist round it. All this chicanery, which is the glory, and ought to be the shame, of the British bar, is cut off by the simple Norwegian arrangement, by which the only facts admitted to proof, or to legal argument, are those stated, together with the evidence on which they rest, in this protocol.

A multiplicity of small courts of law is undoubtedly an evil, and an evil so great, that Mr. Macculloch, a high authority on all points of political economy, proposes that, in England, no small debts, or no sum below a certain amount, such as 50*l.*, should be recoverable at all by legal process, excepting wages and similar obligations. This, to be sure, would be curing the evil of giving undue credit, the thralldom in which the workman is thus kept by

the master manufacturer, and the ruinous expense to the labouring class in suing or being sued for small sums; but it would be curing it as cutting off the head would cure the tooth-ache. It would be monstrous, and opposed to all improvement in the social condition of a country, that the capitalist alone should have the benefit of law and justice, while the poor should be cut off from it, and brought back to that barbarous state in which, from the want of law, credit cannot be given or taken in the daily transactions between man and man. It is true that the improvident, and even the provident, workmen were kept in a state of thralldom by their employers while the system of paying wages with shop goods, or with a portion of the manufactured article, was legal; but it is equally true, as was ably stated by Mr. Hume, that to put down that system by positive legal enactment was a direct violation of the very first principles of free trade. It was a glaring inconsistency, as labourers in many of the most important branches of productive industry, as in husbandry, were still paid, and could only be paid, in the way that was declared illegal. It was also a prohibition against small capitalists engaging in any branch of manufacture, as they require this double use of their capital,—the producing the goods, and the securing purchasers, in their workmen, to carry on business with their moderate means. It is also true, that the multiplicity of small courts of law, and the cheap and easy access to them, foster a spirit of litigation, furnish a kind of excitement, similar to that of gaming, which is, perhaps, as pernicious to the character and happiness of a people as the denial of law itself would be. When Lord Brougham wished to see the day when cheap law might be had at every man's door in England, his Lordship probably meant a cheap equitable adjustment of differences—cheap equity, not cheap law; some establishment, in short, similar to the courts of mutual agreement, which would obviate the recourse to law, and repress, not encourage, the spirit of litigation. The small debt, or justice of peace, courts in Scotland, however useful, do not answer this end. They are courts of cheap law only, administered in general by the same local judge, the sheriff substitute, who on other days deals out the same commodity in his own court, but at a greater expense. This has a very different effect upon the spirit of a people from an institution in which an arbiter of their own appointing, who has nothing to do with law, endeavours to reconcile them before they go into

a court of law, and whose office is of so much weight that they cannot pass it by, and can go into a court only with the statements made to him. In this institution, probably,—modified and altered, of course, to suit the different circumstances of the country,—may be found the true remedy of the evil complained of by Mr. Macculloch.\*

The next court is that of the Sorenskriver, or sworn writer, which is the lowest legal one. This judge sits under appointment from government; but, like all other public functionaries, is not removable at pleasure, even from one district to another. He must have taken a degree in civil and in Norwegian law; and licensed procurators practise in his court. Norway is divided, for the administration of law, into four provinces, or stifts, and sixty-four sorenskriveries. Each sorenskriver's district comprehends several parishes, or prestegields, and each prestegield generally has a court-house, in which the sorenskriver holds a court at least once every quarter of a year. The sorenskriver, like the Scotch sheriff, is the criminal, as well as civil, judge of his district: but the police, the arrest and keeping of prisoners, and all executive functions, form the duty of the Fogeds. Norway is divided, for this purpose, into four provinces, or stifts, being the same as for the administration of the law, and into eighteen amts, and forty-four fogderies. In Scotland, there is a very awkward mixture of the duties of judge and executive officer in the sheriff. The same individual whose feelings, or passions, or vanity, perhaps, have been excited in the discharge of the executive duty of detecting and securing a criminal, has immediately to sit as judge in the case, although in that capacity he ought to be divested of all feeling or personal knowledge of matters brought before him. In civil cases, that, for instance, of a nuisance, or encroachment on public property, the sheriff has first to order the matter to be brought judicially before him, and then delivers a judgment upon his own indictment. This awkward admixture of the incompatible duties of the executive and administrative, is avoided in Norway by the fogeds,

\* In 1831, the number of cases brought before the parish courts of mutual agreement in Norway was 65,446; in 1832, 63,507; in 1833, 55,083: of these, two-thirds were settled by the arbitration court. In 1834, the number was 52,440: of these, 32,393 were settled by the arbitration court; 19,258 were taken out, to be referred to the courts of law, but of these, only 2,876 were actually carried by the parties into a court of law.

who, being resident in their fogderies, exercise all executive public functions in them. They collect the national and local taxes, take charge of the crown property and all public concerns, and report to their immediate superior, the amtman of the amt, who again reports to the stift's amtman, or amtman of the province to which the amt belongs. The sorenskriver's court is of great importance. Besides judging civil and criminal affairs, it is also the court of registration for all debts affecting property in his district, and for ascertaining the value of, and the succession to, all property of deceased persons, according to the udal law of succession. It is necessarily, therefore, a jury court. The following is the constitution of the Norwegian jury, as established by Christian V.'s law, and as it has existed since the year 1687. The amtman, or the foged and sorenskriver under his authority, in the open court-house, on the last court-day of the year, names eight resident men in the parish (each parish being a thing-laug, or court-district), to be the law-right men, and to attend all meetings of the court in their district during the following year. The eight are to be taken, without selection, as they stand in the list for the payment of scat, or tax, in the parish; and others can only be named in the same order from the list, to replace any of them who may be incapacitated by having an interest in the matter to be judged, or other legal cause. This standing jury acts under oath, and judges along with the sorenskriver in all matters relating to life, honour, property, and udal rights; but in all inferior cases, excepting those specially appointed by law, the sorenskriver alone judges, like our justice of peace, but they attest his judgment, as forming a constituent part of his court. In judging with the sorenskriver, it is to be observed, this jury does not merely give in a verdict, or finding, under his direction, as judge, but the plurality of the voices determine, he himself being only one of the number; and instances are not wanting of his opinion being over-ruled.

These are liberal institutions\* for the year 1687, and for a mon-

\* The present Danish monarch, with great good taste, made a parting present to his former subjects in Norway, of the manuscript of Christian V.'s Law Book. It is splendidly written on folio parchment, and bound in massive silver; the boards of that metal, finely adorned, folding back on concealed hinges. Whether we consider the book itself, altogether a most magnificent piece of workmanship, or its contents, the period at which it was compiled and promulgated, the spirit of freedom in which all its enactments are conceived, and



arch invested with absolute legislative power. We may well ask where is the boasted superiority or priority of the English jury trial? Denmark, in truth, has little to reproach herself with, in her government of Norway during a period of nearly four hundred years. She may well turn to England, by whose influence, or with whose sanction this long-established connexion was dissolved, and ask whether Ireland, which has stood for about the same period in the same relation to England as Norway to Denmark, would be left at the present day by the English government in the same state in which Norway stands; the people in the enjoyment, almost universally, of property, of the most perfect domestic tranquillity and personal security, and of ease, and comfort, and exemption from great poverty or crime, having ancient laws and institutions conceived in the very spirit of liberty, and carrying all the blessings of liberty and of justice, cheaply administered by the people themselves, to the very fire-side of the common man, and so well adapted to the condition of the country, that now, when the people have obtained the power of legislating for themselves, they know no better use to make of that power, than to confirm, hold fast, and defend by its means the civil rights, distribution of property, social arrangements and laws, which they inherited from their ancient masters. It is the highest and most striking tribute of praise ever paid by a nation to its rulers, that, after a change from a pure uncontrolled despotism to a government in which the legislative power is lodged entirely in the hands of the people, no essential change has been thought necessary or desirable by the people in the civil establishments, social arrangements, or code of laws left in operation in Norway by the Danish monarchs. Is this very striking fact in political history to be considered a tribute of approbation only to the former government of Norway? Is it not also a satire on the undue importance which we attach, in the present age, to the mere forms of government? Does it not show that all these operate according to the state of property and enlightenment of a people; that a nation may practically be in the enjoyment of civil rights, free institutions, property, security, and all the blessings of liberty in all that affects the well-being of the many under an absolute monarch, and may practically be destitute

the udal principles of property and judicial procedure established, it is the most valuable gift ever made to a nation. It is preserved in the library of the University of Christiania.

of all these advantages of liberty, as for instance in Ireland, although living under a form of government in which the people elect their own legislature? Is it not a speaking illustration of the text, that "property is power?" Where property is vested in the body of the people by a just distributive law of succession, there, also, will be found that mass of power which secures to the people civil rights, just laws, and all that belongs to the free use and secure enjoyment of property, whatever be the form of the legislative portion of the government. Where property is not generally diffused through the body of the people, but, by the operation of the feudal law of succession, is exclusively possessed by a few classes, there civil rights, just laws, free institutions, and all that belongs to liberty, are secured by a smaller mass of power, and are enjoyed by a smaller proportion of the people. To the main body of the nation, who are destitute of property, the free use and enjoyment of it is but a name; and the form of government is only a question of power between parties. The diffusion of property through society must precede the diffusion of political rights. The latter have nothing to work upon but the former, and can have no existence independent of it. There were undoubtedly many and great faults in the Danish administration of Norway, but these were not of a nature generally to affect the condition and well-being of the great body of the people. The preference almost exclusively given to natives of Denmark for offices in Norway, and the constant denial of an university in the kingdom, were serious and heavy grievances; but they affected directly only a small proportion of the community. The errors producing the most extensive evil consequences, that of running all branches of industry into monopolies in favour of different classes, and that of legislating too much, and putting the hand of government to concerns which might fairly be left to the free operation of private interests, were the faults of the age, and not of the Danish government in particular: even at the present day they are committed and defended by almost every government.

The *sorenskriver's* is the court of registration of all deeds, contracts, and debts affecting personal or heritable property within its district; and this register is open to all. The property of minors, the interests of absent parties in the succession to *udal* and other property, the valuing, realising, and dividing it according to law among heirs, come to its charge. The whole proceedings are revised by the next superior one, which is the *Stifts Amt-court*, or

that of the province. It consists of three judges, with assessors ; is stationary in the chief town of each of the four stifts or provinces into which Norway is divided ; and is the court of appeal from all the sorenskrivers' courts in the province, and has also the revision of their administration. In all criminal matters whatsoever, the sentence of the sorenskriver's court is sent up to it before it is pronounced, to be revised and sanctioned.

The punishment of death was abolished in the Danish dominions about the end of last century. Slavery in chains for life, or for shorter periods, according to the nature of the crime, is the punishment for all crimes in Norway. It may be doubted whether this be either wise or humane. If all crimes are visited with the same description of punishment, the ignorant, whom it is the great end of public punishments to deter from crime, will naturally consider them all as alike, — murder not worse than robbery, nor robbery than petty theft. It is not wise to confound, even in appearance, the distinction between different degrees of guilt. The object of punishment is to deter others, as well as the delinquent himself, from crime. Slavery in chains presents always the same appearance : its longer or shorter duration is a part not seen, and not impressive. It affects the offender in due proportion to his guilt, but not those who are to be deterred by his example. They can see only the same degree of suffering dealt out to the greatest and smallest offender. The contamination of mind, also, to the offenders themselves, from the comparatively innocent and the most atrocious being subject to one common punishment, cannot be very favourable to their amendment. It may also be doubted, whether the system is really humane to the offender. If slavery in chains for life be really made a state of punishment, it is only inflicting a protracted instead of a speedy death. It is not humanity to starve a criminal to death, or to keep him in a state of half-starvation until nature gives way, instead of hanging him. It is not humanity to work or to flog him by degrees to death, or to chain him in a standing posture every night, after over-working him all day, or to drive him to madness by solitary confinement and silence. All these ingenious modes of torturing criminals to death are practised in those countries in which capital punishment has been abolished ; but the humanity of the slow instead of the summary death may be questioned. It is humanity to ourselves. We are spared the sight, or knowledge, of the infliction of death

on a fellow-creature ; but the infliction is not the less certain. The benefit of deterring others, by an impressive punishment, is lost ; and the control over its severity is lost, as the lot of the slave must depend on the personal character of his keeper or task-master.

In this nation of small proprietors the sense of honour is more developed, and more generally diffused, than in the countries feudally constituted. Loss of honour has been, from the earliest times, a specified effective punishment in the criminal law of Norway, standing next in degree to loss of life. The possession of property naturally diffuses through all classes the self-respect, regard for character and public opinion, circumspection of conduct, and consideration for others, which flow from or are connected with the possession of property, and render these influential on the morals, manners, and mode of thinking of the whole body of the people. The Norwegian peasant has never, like the Swede, the Dane, the Russian, or the German, crouched beneath the cudgel of the feudal baron bailiff. He has the feelings and proper pride of an independent man possessed of property, and knowing nothing above him but the law. In real highmindedness he is the Spaniard of the north. Among people whose national character and social condition are so formed, who are scattered in small clusters only over the country, and whose business and occupations are of the most simple kind, the loss of honour is not an unmeaning nominal punishment, as it would be among our manufacturing population. There is, and always has been, much more of the real business of the country in the hands of the people, and transacted by themselves, than in any other country of Europe. They have not merely the legislative power and election of their Storting, which is but a late institution ; but, in all times, the whole civil business of the community has been in a great measure in their own hands. It appears to be the general spirit of the udal law, that the constituted legal authorities have rather a superintending, than a managing, power. The division of udal property among heirs, the guardianship of estates belonging to minors, the settling disputes by the commission of mutual agreement, the provision for the poor, the support of roads and bridges, the regulations for the fisheries, the charge and conveyance of prisoners (as gaols are only in the chief town of each province), the attendance on the courts of the district as valuers, arbiters, or jurymen, are among the affairs

which devolve on the people under the superintendence of the legal authorities. The exclusion from these affairs and functions, which of course the legal sentence of loss of honour produces, is a punishment so severely felt, that there are instances of culprits, after that portion of their punishment consisting in slavery for a certain period had been completed, returning to their chains, committing on purpose some petty offence, rather than live as outcasts under the sentence of dishonour among their former friends. It is also a remarkable trait of the open, simple, manly disposition of this nation, that a criminal very rarely, when arrested, attempts to deny or conceal any part of the fact, and usually at once makes a full avowal of all particulars, even of those which could not be proved.

From the Stift Amt-courts, cases criminal as well as civil may be carried by appeal to the final and highest court, that of Hoieste Ret, which sits in Christiania. The military sentences even of courts martial, if they involve a punishment exceeding three months' imprisonment, may be appealed from, and carried to this tribunal in time of peace; and it is provided by the ground-law, that in such cases the court shall add to its numbers a certain proportion of military officers. The Hoieste Ret, by the ground-law, is one of the three estates of the constitution, and is independent of the executive and of the legislative branches. It is provided, however, that it must keep a protocol of its proceedings and decisions, which is to be laid before the legislative branch or Storthing on its meeting; and the judges of this court, who are seven in number, may be severally impeached by the lower house of Storthing before the upper, which, in such case, is to form a court, along with the remaining members of the Hoieste Ret, for trying the party impeached.

A peculiar principle is adopted in the jurisprudence of this country, totally unknown in the feudal law, or in that of England. It deserves the consideration of those who are capable of giving such subjects a philosophic consideration, as the principle is not one of theory only, but is and has been in operation in this country from the earliest ages, being probably coeval with the administration of the udal law itself. The judge is responsible for his legal decision. Upon an appeal from it to a higher court, he must defend it there, and is liable in damages for a wrong decision. This principle is so opposite to all theory and to all practice in our

courts of law, where judges are entirely irresponsible for error of judgment, ignorance of law, or even for carelessness, partiality, or prejudice, however obvious and gross, that it may be interesting to give the precise words of this peculiar udal law from Christian V.'s code, as republished, in 1833, in Christiania, under the inspection of the juridical faculty:—

“Should any judge deliver a wrong decision, and that happen either because he has not instructed himself rightly in the case, or that the case has been wrongly represented to him, or that he has done it from want of judgment, he shall make good to the party whom he has wronged by such decision, his proven loss, expense, and damage sustained; and can it be proved that the judge has been influenced by favour, friendship, or gifts, or if the case is so clear that it cannot be imputed to want of judgment, or wrong instruction upon it, then he shall be displaced, and declared incapable of ever sitting as a judge again, and shall forfeit to the injured party what he has suffered, should it be to the extent of fortune, life, or honour.”\* It is also provided, in a subsequent clause, that if a judge die during the course of an appeal from his decision, his heirs are responsible for the damages; but with the benefit of the consideration in the higher court, that the defunct's decision cannot be suitably explained, and defended, on the grounds on which he himself might have explained and defended it. It is provided that the decisions given in the lowest court, that of the *sorenskriver*, shall be defended by the *sorenskriver* and two of the jury or law-right men, who shall be empowered by the rest to appear for them, and they shall be bound to defend their decisions before the higher court. This peculiar principle in the administration of law is by no means a dead letter. I find a report of a law case in the newspapers of this very month, in which the *Stifts Amt-court* of the province of Christiania is condemned by the *Hoieste Ret* to pay sixty dollars of damages to a private party, in a question of succession to heritage not rightly decided, upon its appeal from the *sorenskriver's* court; the decision being of course reversed, and that of the lower court affirmed. A case recently occurred of an estate being sold, under authority of a decision of the *sorenskriver's*

\* Kong Christian den Femtes Norske Lov, 1687. Bog. i. cap. 5. art. 3. Christiania, 1833, ditto cap. 7. art. 1.

court, at a price admitted to be highly advantageous to all concerned, and with the concurrence of the trustees of the property, and all the heirs interested in it. The party in trust, however, was an insane old woman, incapable of giving a legal assent; and on the appeal of her personal curator, the decision of the soren-skriver was found wrong, and he was adjudged to purchase back the estate, and re-invest the party in it at his own expense. The trustees who sold, and the purchaser who bought, had done so under authority of a legal decision; they, therefore, were not the parties to be called on to defend the sentence in the higher court; it was the judge who gave it. This is the ordinary course of law; and it is certainly a very straight-forward course. Since 1687, when Christian V. published the code now in force, from the old laws then in use, this principle of the responsibility of judges has been rather sharpened than blunted. The inferior judge is subject to a fine, in cases where he would have no damages to pay for injury from his wrong decision; and if his decisions in the judgment-seat have been reversed three times from his want of instruction on the cases, he is displaced. The undue delay in giving judgment, which this heavy personal responsibility of the judge for his decisions might almost excuse, is provided against by law. He is obliged to give his decisions within six weeks after the record is closed, unless both the parties agree to crave a further time, or any special lawful obstacle, of which the superior court would be cognisant, interposes a delay.

If we consider fairly this peculiar principle of udal jurisprudence, it appears, in truth, no more than reasonable that the man who, voluntarily and by his own seeking, holds the office of judge in the community, should, like every other member of society, be answerable for the evil he may occasion to others by his incapacity, want of industry, and careful research into the business before him, even for want of sound understanding, legal knowledge, or any other cause. There is no foundation in reason for the kind of sanctity, derived from the middle ages, with which our judges, to the present day, envelope their office, and claim irresponsibility for the mischief they may occasion by professional ignorance, folly, or incapacity. It is derived from the same period of civilisation, and stands upon the same principle, as the exemption of the clergy in the middle ages from responsibility to the ordinary laws and

courts of the country, or of the clerk who could read his breviary from its legal punishments. The king can do no wrong ; but it is rather too much, in the present state of society, to hold that all who are in authority under him, as judges, can do no wrong also ; and that judges in all those inferior courts from which it is competent to appeal should be totally irresponsible for their ignorance, carelessness, or partiality. If one of two parties is to suffer by a wrong decision, it appears in common sense much more reasonable that it should be the judge who delivered it, and who had voluntarily accepted of his office, than the innocent client or party wrongfully adjudged, who had no option but to bring it before his court. But who would accept of the office of judge under such responsibility ? This question naturally arises on a slight consideration of the great variety of interests, the intricacy of the rights, and the uncertainty of the laws, which in a wealthy and commercial nation affect property. What may be practicable in a poor country like Norway, in which law and property are in the most simple state, seems totally inapplicable to countries in the state of England or Scotland. Yet, as matter of speculation, without reference to what is now practicable, the subject, as far as regards Scotland at least, admits of a different view. At the beginning and down to the middle of last century, Scotland was a poorer country than Norway is now ; her trade less extensive ; her commercial transactions, both domestic and foreign, far less important or complicated ; and property of all kinds in as simple a state as it was then, or at least is at present, in Norway. If the same principle of the responsibility of judges for their decisions had been law in Scotland from the same period when it was adopted in the code of Christian V. in 1687, would not all the variety, intricacy, and uncertainty in the laws regulating property have been diminished instead of increased in the course of time, and the responsibility attached to the functions of judge have grown less instead of greater ? Every decision given would have been, to a certain degree, a fixed and incontrovertible point in law ; and a great mass of erroneous, conflicting, and contradictory decisions, which involved injustice at the time, and remained as the elements of future injustice, could not have come into existence. In Scotland, at no very remote period, the appointment to this sacred function of irresponsible judge of life and property was



unblushingly claimed as the proper perquisite of political influence, and the office bestowed as the reward of political subserviency. While such was the nature of the patronage, would not the country have been better served and its jurisprudence in a better state if all its judges had, since 1687, been appointed with such a principle of responsibility before a higher tribunal for their decisions? There would have been no want of able judges. The sound lawyer, conscious of possessing the legal knowledge, judgment, and industry which entitle him to take his place among the foremost of his contemporaries, would treat with scorn the idea of being intimidated from accepting the office of judge by the risk or responsibility of having his legal decisions revised or reversed by any other professional man. The weak creature, indeed, who has crept from behind into the judgment-seat by the aid of political influence, conscious that he ought not to be there, and that he wants the qualifications to come to sound legal decisions unless by chance, would necessarily want the moral courage to accept of such an office with such a responsibility. In Norway there is no want of able lawyers as candidates for judicial function, with all its responsibilities. Procurators seek to be sorenskrivers. Advocates aspire to be judges in the Stifts Amt-courts or Hoieste Ret court. Why should it not have been so in other countries, as in Scotland, if the same principle had come into operation at a period when property was in a similar state? Good government would gain a steady basis by the adoption, even now, of such a principle, with the modifications which the different state of society and property in different countries might require. The administration of justice would never be converted into an instrument for serving the temporary views of political power, and could never be unduly influenced by the spirit of party, even in times of the greatest excitement, in a country where the judge might be called upon to defend his decisions before a higher court, and be liable for the injury occasioned by a wrong one; where the higher court, too, is a constituent branch of the state, independent of the executive and legislative, its members irremovable and elevated above local or party feeling. In Norway, in prosecutions connected with the abuse of the freedom of the press, and in many cases in which the executive government had apparently a strong feeling, this highest court of final resort, the Hoieste Ret of the Norwegian constitu-

tion, by the calm independence of its judgments, has proved itself neither influenced by the spirit of the cabinet nor by that of the people, but to be truly and effectively a third estate in the body politic.

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DURING  
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COUNTRY, AND THE CONDITION OF ITS INHABITANTS.

BY SAMUEL LAING, ESQ.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Another Fair. — Skins — Dogs bred for Fur. — Books at the Fair. — Bible Society's Operations counteract the diffusion of the Bible in foreign Parts. — Laplanders. — Peculiar Race. — Present State. — Numbers. — Language. — Value of Stock required to subsist a Laplander. — The Fjelde Life. — Its Attractions. — Corn Banks. — Thrashing-Machines — Probably a Norwegian, not a Scotch Invention. — Fences in Norway. — Description. — Advantages. — Economy. — Russian Population. — Power. — Policy. — Value to Russia of a Sea Coast. — Northern Provinces of Finmark and Nordland. — Their Connexion with Norway — With Russia — Probable Views of Russia on that Part of Scandinavia north of the 62° of Latitude. — Importance of such an Acquisition. — Indications that it is contemplated.

*Levanger, April 1835.* — WE had another fair in our little town in the beginning of March, which lasted a shorter time, but was more lively than the December one. The Jemtelanders, with their coffin-shaped sledges closed with lids, making not bad beds for a snowy night on the Fjelde, for which purpose they seem constructed, appeared in great numbers. They purchased horses, fish, manufactured and colonial wares, for the Swedish and Russian fairs. Young, sound, and very handsome horses were sold for 40 or 45 dollars. I expected to have seen more skins of wolves and bears at a market so near to their homes; but such furs find a better sale among the nobles of Sweden and Russia, than among the Norwegian udallers. Those brought here were principally of the reindeer and goat, which are dressed with the hair on, and are used as blankets by the labouring class. There were two skins of the beaver in the fair. The animal, although not extinct, is rare in the Fjelde, and lives solitary, not, like the American beaver, in society. The fur or skin used for their winter pelisses by the Fjelde people is really handsomer, although much cheaper, than that of the wolf or bear. It belongs to a particular kind of dog with a remarkably fine, soft, and glossy fur. These dogs are bred for the sake of their skins; and it appears to me that many of the best of the dark-brown or black muffs and tippets of our English ladies are merely well-selected skins of these Fjelde dogs. A pelisse of such fur costs about 18 dollars, while that of wolf-skin

costs 40 or 50. A fur pelisse is not however indispensable in this climate. The great majority, four-fifths at least, of every assemblage of people wear great-coats of good substantial home-made blue cloth. A few wear great-coats made of goat skin prepared so as to be perfectly water-proof and light. It is lined with cloth, made like a modern great-coat, and would be a comfortable, dry, useful coat for a rainy night outside the mail coach.

From what I have observed at the two fairs in this place, which are among the most considerable in the Peninsula, I am satisfied of the correctness of the observation I made at Dronthiem, that the great subscriptions and exertions in England for printing and distributing the Scriptures in foreign countries, are counteracting their own object, as far as respects those countries in which the printing and selling of books are established trades. At this fair several thousand people are assembled, many of whom dwell in the valleys high up in the Fjelde, remote from other men, and scarcely within the verge of civilised society, and with little opportunity, except at these yearly fairs, of supplying their wants. There appeared to be a considerable inclination among the common people to buy and read whatever came in their way in the shape of a book, and to take home something of the kind from the fair, just as we see at our country fairs in Scotland. Almanacks and ballads seemed in considerable request; the old folks buying the former, and the girls with their sweethearts very busy over the latter. There were school-books, cookery books, the law book of Christian V., the ground-law of the Norwegian constitution, the transactions of the Storthing of 1824, to be found in the shops; also a reasonable supply of the catechism, and of the book of common prayer, as used in the Norwegian church: but there was not a single copy of the Bible or New Testament. The Scriptures have evidently been driven out of the market\* by the Society furnishing them greatly cheaper than could be afforded by those who have to live by the printing and selling of books. The natural distribution through every corner of a country of all that the inhabitants use or may require, is by the hands of traders stimulated by their own interest to bring supply to every door at which there is any chance of finding a demand. It is dangerous to interfere with this natural

\* In the year 1816, in the bishopric of Bergen, there were found to be 3906 Bibles in a population of 146,999 persons. *Budstikkens tredie aargang.*

course. The trader is actuated by the fear of loss as well as by the hope of gain. If he have no capital at stake, no loss to dread as well as profit to hope, his exertions will only be half of what are necessary for supplying a country. The application of this to the present question is obvious. The British and Foreign Bible Society may print a sufficient stock of Bibles to give one to every family, or even every grown person in a foreign country, at half of the ordinary price. They may send this stock to the principal towns, and even the parishes; but still the question remains, How are these books to be distributed? If they are delivered to the trader at even half the ordinary price, he has just so much less inducement to bestir himself in getting them sold as he has less of his own trading capital embarked in them, and less loss or inconvenience to apprehend by a tardy sale. Give him the copies for nothing, or for a trifle, and it is evident he would not be at the expense and trouble of packing up and transporting to distant markets, fairs, or other places of sale, goods which occupied little or no portion of his trading capital. If trade then be the means adopted by the Society for its Bible distributions, they are depriving that means of half the stimulant which urges it in supplying mankind with their other wants. If, on the contrary, they trust to the good-will and zeal of agents, either paid, or actuated by christian charity, it is incumbent on the good and able men who direct its affairs to satisfy the world that this is a permanently effective means, and that the channel of trade would be imperfect and temporary compared to distribution by their agents. In our small parishes in Britain, zealous agents, well-disposed persons, and the clergy, may undoubtedly effect for a time, and perhaps even permanently, a very wide distribution of the Scriptures, and may outstrip the slow, but sure and ever returning pace of the trader. In foreign countries, population is scattered over a much larger space. Parishes in the north of Europe approach very often the extent of English counties. The clergy are overwhelmed with duties, which render it impossible that they should be the active agents for the distribution. They can only be the depositaries of the stock to be distributed around them. The scarcity of money, also, is so great, that the peasant, or man of the lower class, is much more able to pay the trader who brings to his door the things he requires, the Bible among others, the very highest price in the way of barter, than to pay in money the lowest price to the minister

or Bible Society's agent. Money is not his usual and readiest means of payment. It is scarcely so among a large proportion of our own labouring population. It may be doubted whether there is any benefit to them, or any real advance towards the object, by a system under which that portion of the people of Europe can only get at a copy of the Bible through a medium which they have not to give for it. It may be doubted also, whether the natural principles of supply and demand on which Providence has placed the wholesome distribution through society of all that is good for man, can, in the case of religious instruction, be safely superseded by the exertions of a society's committee and agents. If there be any truth in these observations, they appear seriously to deserve the consideration of the Society, and of the thousands and tens of thousands who are yearly subscribing their mite to its funds in the purest spirit of Christianity. They are not made with any hostile feeling, but simply to intimate a reasonable, and, to appearance, well-grounded, doubt of the means being suitable to the great and benevolent end they have in view.

*April, 1835.*—In my evening walk one day this month, I fell in with a Laplander dead drunk, and fast asleep upon the snow. His wife was walking backwards and forwards, watching him; sometimes endeavouring to rouse him, and get him on his legs; sometimes sitting down close to him to warm and prevent the cold from overpowering him; but not appearing in the least impatient or uneasy. It was a curious picture. The Laplanders who come to the markets in the low country, to sell frozen venison, reindeer skins, and cheese, leave their reindeer twenty or twenty-five miles from hence in the Fjelde, and lodge in barns and outhouses like our gipsies; but, in the Fjelde, they lodge under tents, or wigwams, of a few sticks set up and covered with a piece of coarse woollen cloth, or skins, such as one may see at the corner of every wood in the parts of England frequented by gipsies. The Laplander has, certainly, beyond all other Europeans, peculiarities of feature and appearance, not easily described, but which decidedly indicate a separate breed or race. The slit of the eye running obliquely from the temples to the nose; the eyes small and peculiarly brown, and without eyelashes; the forehead low and projecting; the cheekbones high and far apart; the mouth wide, with ill-defined lips; the chin thinly furnished with scattered hairs rather than a beard; the skin decidedly of a yellow hue, as in the cross-breed of a white person



with a mulatto, — all these peculiarities strike the eye at once, as distinctive of a separate race. The structure of the body also seems different. The bones are considerably smaller as well as shorter than in other races ; and those of the thigh have apparently a greater width between them. They form a curve with the leg bone down to the foot, so that in standing with their feet close together, all above is far apart. They have also that peculiarity of a distinct race, the odour from their bodies being to our sense different from that of ours, and to us raw and wild — if scent can be so described. They are not a handsome race, certainly, but I have seen countenances among the young people of pleasing expression. The pair I found on the snow, at least the lady, could not be called ugly ; but, perhaps, her quiet patience, and visible attachment to her husband, made her appear to advantage. There is no want of intelligent expression in their countenances ; and they are far from being a stupid people. When driven by necessity to leave their Fjelde life, and betake themselves to the occupation of fishermen in the boats of the people of Nordland and Finmark, they are noted for becoming, in a very short time, expert and bold boatmen. This class of Laplanders are so far advanced in the arts of civilized life, that they are even distinguished as boat-builders in Alten Fiord, Lynger Fiord, and other places. Another class have also exchanged the wandering life for fixed habitations of turf, or even of wood ; they keep cattle, goats, and pigs, as well as reindeer ; and, like the other inhabitants of the Finland or Quan race, raise hay crops. A third class keep reindeer only, and live in tents, but roam about within a particular district or parish, and consider themselves entitled to the exclusive pasturage of their tract of Fjelde. The number of actually wandering Laplanders who have no home, but lead a true nomadic life, following their reindeer from the North Cape down to the 62d degree of north latitude, is very inconsiderable. There are as many gipsies, tinkers, and strollers in England and Scotland, without any fixed habitation, as all this part of the Lapland nation. In the year 1825, the total number of Laplanders of all ages and sexes within the Swedish territories, was only 5964 ; and of these, only 931 led a nomadic life with reindeer ; and 376 wandered about as fishermen on the lakes and rivers, servants and herdsmen, or beggars, without reindeer flocks. In Norway the numbers are not so distinctly known ; as, to avoid paying scat or poll-tax, they remove from the Nor-

wegian into the Russian or Swedish territory, and wander back again, when they find it convenient; but they are not estimated at more than 6000; and the whole of the Lappish people probably does not exceed 12,000.

The language is altogether different from the Norse, or Swedish, or from that spoken by the Quans or Finland race, who have travelled from the east side of the Bothnian Gulf into Finmark and Nordland, and form the greater part of the population of those provinces. The Lappish tongue is apparently very rich in those inflections or terminations which denote the different relations of objects. There are ten cases of nouns marking various relations of presence, absence, distance, which in other languages are denoted by distinct words or prepositions. The language appears not to have been altogether reduced to a printable state, by the adoption of proper signs for those sounds which our alphabet cannot express. It has been studied, and grammars of it published, by Leem, and by Professor Rask; but their labours were not intended for the Laplander, but for the continental philologist. In the hundred years from 1728 to 1828, all that has been printed for the use of the Laplander, is a catechism, a translation of a few of the Psalms, and the first two chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew.\* There appear to be difficulties from the difference of dialects, even among this handful of people, and from their scattered and partly wandering state, which make it impracticable to give them school instruction in reading, and consequently to convey knowledge to them by the press. The Americans appear to overcome such small impossibilities. They have given the Cherokee, instruction, religion, a printed language, and even political newspapers in it. The Europeans have not, to this day, given the Laplander the Scriptures in his language, and if the Bible were translated, it would be useless to him, as they have not taught him reading. His religious instruction at present consists in hearing a sermon in an unknown tongue, which the clerk translates, sentence after sentence, on the spot, into the Lappish.

\* The Reverend Dr. Stockfleth has, it is said, finished a translation into the Lappish tongue, of the New Testament and some of the books of the Old, and is to be in Christiania for two years and a half, with an allowance from Government, in order to superintend the printing. It is not mentioned how the Laplanders are to be taught to read, or whether that be a part of the business that will be postponed until this long-projected translation be ready for its readers.

It is curious, and, but for the serious nature of the subject, would be very amusing, to observe the inconsistency of human action, and how much imagination influences the undertakings of the most sober-minded and sincere. The Danes were among the first who sent out missionaries to distant lands, to India and Greenland, seeking, amidst dangers and privations which excite and gratify the imagination, to instruct the heathen and diffuse the knowledge of the truths of Christianity; and they forgot, in their zeal, the more obscure and easy duty of instructing the heathen at their own door — their fellow-subjects the Laplanders.

The condition of the wandering Laplander forms a singular union of real wealth with real poverty. To support a family in the Fjelde, a flock of from three to four hundred head of reindeer is necessary. He who possesses only from one to three hundred, must depend for subsistence partly on fishing in the lakes or shooting, or must betake himself to the coast, or to husbandry in a fixed situation. The value of a reindeer is about one-third of that of a cow: it sells for three or four dollars, and a cow, from nine to twelve; and the meat, skin, and horns of the one, sell as readily as those of the other. A flock of 400 reindeer, the minimum which can support a family, supposing only one-fourth of the number to be full-grown, and the other 300 to be worth only one-third of their value, must altogether be equal to a capital of 600 dollars, or about 120*l.* sterling. Yet the yearly produce of this capital, which is greater than the value of all the property possessed by three or four families of the working class in a civilised community, and with which they would be far removed from want, is insufficient to support a Laplander, even in the state of extreme privation in which he habitually lives. This is a striking instance of the real expense of living in that natural state, as it has been called, or rather that barbarous one, in which man consumes what he produces, and lives independent of the arts of civilised life, its tastes and enjoyments. The Laplander uses nothing which he does not make for himself, except the iron pot for dressing his victuals, and the piece of coarse cloth which forms his tent. He consumes nothing but what his reindeer yield him; his occasional excess in brandy and his use of tobacco, are not ordinary indulgences. Yet without the tastes, habits, and gratifications of civilised life, or any of its expenses, the Laplander, with the above capital, is in poverty, and destitute of an assured subsistence.

This shows the real expense of that half-savage life, which, from the accounts of emigrants and travellers in America, we are apt to suppose is the least costly of any, because it has neither comforts nor luxuries to pay for, and produces what it consumes. The Laplander's condition is the *beau-ideal* of that sort of life. Five shillings would undoubtedly purchase all that he uses in a year of those articles which are not indispensably necessary for existence; yet a capital which, with their own labour, would maintain three families in the enjoyment of the comforts and decencies of civilised life, according to their station, does not keep him from positive want. The Laplander, who possesses a thousand or more reindeer, and who is consequently a man of considerable property, lives in the same way as the poorest; enjoys no more of the luxuries of life, and has no higher tastes or habits to gratify. It is said, that very considerable portions of the silver currency of the country are lost, in consequence of this class of Laplanders hoarding, from generation to generation, all the money they obtain by the sale of their surplus produce; and that the spot in the Fjelde where the treasure is buried, often cannot be discovered by the heirs.

The Fjelde life appears to have its charms. The young couple of Laplanders, whom Mr. Bullock brought to England in 1819, returned thither with their share of the profits. In the year 1792, Monsieur Vivrette, a president of the parliament of Dijon, took a Lapland girl with him to France. She married a substantial tradesman in Paris, and lived happily with him; but on the death of her husband, she converted all his property into money, and hastened back to Jukasjervi Lapmark, to pass her old age as she had passed her youth. One may conceive a considerable attraction in such a life, wandering over this vast plateau with all their property around them, independent, free from care, and with the daily excitement which the various occupations of seeking pasture, frightening the wolf, tending the flock, fishing, and hunting afford. A young and clever English sportsman, especially if he had a taste also for any branch of natural history, might pass a summer very agreeably with his rifle, his fishing rod, and his tent, among the Fjelde and lakes, encamping where fancy or sport might lead him, and carrying all his accommodations on a couple of country ponies. It is not wonderful that the poor Laplander, who, although certainly never oppressed or ill-treated, is slighted by the civilised inhabitants of the country, should prefer the Fjelde, where he is

conscious of no inferiority to other men, and where his powers, such as they are, are called into action, and supply his wants.

*April, 1835.* — It is among the traveller's mortifications to discover, that while he is fancying himself very successful in obtaining information, he is passing by objects very deserving of notice. On my way to the remarkable landslip, formerly described, by which the farm of Gustad was engulfed, I observed a number of sledges transporting sacks of corn to a large red-painted building, standing by itself near Alstahoug church. On inquiry I was told the farmers were taking corn to the magazine. Was it a corn-market? No. Was it the minister's tithe? No. Tithe is only a few pecks of grain from the largest farm, and corn markets do not exist under the corporation system, which fetters all traffic. I quite forgot the subject, however, till the other day, when I saw sledges taking away corn from the magazine: I then found it was a very interesting and peculiar institution, which is common over all Norway.

There are, as observed above, no dealers or weekly markets attended by purchasers, who buy at one place and sell at another. If the farmer has any grain to spare, he can do nothing with it, unless he happens by chance to find consumers on the spot. There is no intermediate dealer between the corn grower and the consumer. Under such a system, agriculture can never flourish, nor can the country be independent of foreign supply. From the want of a certain and ready market for his farm produce, the farmer naturally wastes it. His housekeeping, with its four meals a day, its consumption of brandy, ale, butter, cheese, milk, and other farm produce, besides his keeping superfluous horses and servants, is far from frugal. A Scotch farmer's family, from the same extent of land, and from an equal crop, would have at least one-half more to sell. Norway could probably subsist its own population in ordinary seasons, if its domestic trade were free — if the agriculturist had the stimulant of ready and free markets, and his habits of living were formed upon the certainty of being able to turn into money all he could save or spare. As it is, however, there is some surplus grain, without dealers to buy it, and these magazines are very ingenious institutions for supplying the want of this intermediate agency between the producers and consumers. The farmer takes his surplus grain to it, and for the time it remains, he receives at the rate of one-eighth of increase per annum: if he

deposits *eight* bushels he can take out nine at the end of twelve months, or in that proportion for shorter periods, and he is charged at the same rate of one-eighth per annum for any portions of his quantity he may take out. If he overdraws, or had none deposited, but receives a quantity in loan, he pays for such advance at the rate of one-fourth of increase per annum; thus, if he takes eight bushels he pays back ten at the end of twelve months, or at that rate for the time he has the loan. This is a savings' bank for corn, probably the most ancient of these establishments. It often occurs that night frosts blight the crops on particular farms, even in seasons when those around, in general, are good. But for these ingenious establishments, the farmer might be in great distress for seed or bread. The small profit which occurs upon the transaction defrays the expense of a building, a clerk, and such items, and the concern is entirely under the management of the bonder, or peasant proprietors.

I am afraid we are a little too apt in Scotland to claim the merit of inventions which we never made, and which are the results of necessity producing similar contrivances in all countries. We claim the invention of savings' banks; yet here they exist all over a country in regard to the primitive materials of food and seed. We claim also the invention of the thrashing machine; yet it is diffused over this part of Norway so much more universally than in Scotland, that our right to the invention appears very doubtful. In the parish of Overhalden alone, on the Namsen river, about sixty miles north of this place, there are, according to Kraft's statistical account, sixty thrashing mills, some with grinding machinery attached, and some driven by water.

It is certainly not probable that a Scotch invention should find its way to Norway, and be much more generally diffused in its most remote districts than in any part of the country which claims the invention. It seems much more likely that, like the savings' bank, it was borrowed from our poor neighbour in the north by our ingenious Scotch inventors, although both are carried into effect with inferior materials, — corn instead of money, wood instead of cast-iron. The construction of the thrashing machine is the same in both countries; but in the Norwegian, the feeding rollers, being of wood, are necessarily of larger diameter, and the straw is consequently presented to the beaters on the drum in greater lengths; so that the heads of grain are much less perfectly

struck by the beaters than if presented to the stroke in the shorter lengths given out by feeding rollers of smaller diameter.

Civilisation and no civilisation are curiously blended in this corner of the world. In the above parish, which reckons 153 proprietors, 97 tenants, 101 housemen with land, and 60 thrashing machines, there are 30 families of Laplanders with 2800 head of reindeer.

*May, 1835.* — The fence in general use in Norway and Sweden might be adopted with advantage in many situations in England and Scotland, where small wood or thinnings of plantations can be obtained. Its advantages to the agriculturist are, that it occupies as little ground as hurdles or sheep-flakes; may be put up or removed as quickly; is as good a security against cattle as the best hedge or stone wall; and is constructed of such wood as can be put to no other use. Two hedge stakes, about six or eight feet long, are stuck into the ground opposite to each other, about four inches apart; and at every three or four feet, according to the lengths of the wood to be laid like rails between these upright sticks, a couple of them are stuck into the earth. The couple are tied together in three or more places, according to the height to be given to the fence; each tie is about a foot and a half above the other. The ties are made with the small branches of any kind of tree with the sap in them. These branches are roasted on a fire kindled on the spot, and in that state are as easily twisted and tied as a piece of rope yarn; and being charred, are much more durable. The transverse pieces of the fence, or what corresponds to the rails in a common wooden fence, consist of slab boards; that is, the outside boards sawn from round wood, or poles, or old branches of any kind. They are run in, one piece above another, between the two upright sticks, and with one end resting upon the tie or upon the piece under it, which is supported by the tie, and the other end resting on the ground. The pieces are laid with such a slant that the weight rests principally upon the ground, the ties only supporting the heads of these cross pieces in the air. The space between the ties is filled quite full with the boards or sticks thus resting with one end upon the ground. The whole length of the fence being in contact with the ground at so many points, and the uprights connected together also at so many, this fence is of great strength and stability, although composed of pieces of wood singly of no strength; and besides its formidable

appearance to cattle, it can support great weight. Snow, although of great weight, seldom breaks it down; and when broken it can be put up again immediately. In many parts of England, posts and rails cost five or six shillings a fathom, and a great deal of time and trouble is wasted besides in sinking the posts, replacing the horizontal rails in the mortices; and after all they make an imperfect fence, as cattle and horses get over, and sheep under it. Hedges take up much land, cannot be shifted from place to place, and are a perpetual annoyance from gaps and breaks. For a wooded country this is certainly the cheapest fence. It can scarcely cost two-pence a fathom. Three men will put up forty fathoms in a day.

*May, 1835.* — The population of the Russian empire, including Poland, Finland, the Caucasian and the Siberian tribes, amounted, according to the official returns of the year 1830, to 49,000,000 of people. The number of the human race existing on the face of the earth is computed, or guessed, by learned men of the present day, at 800,000,000. Of the whole human species, therefore, nearly one-sixteenth part is under the Russian government. Every sixteenth human being that is born is a Russian subject. The objects and views of a government, ruling over so large a proportion of mankind, cannot be measured by those which actuate other powers. Extension of dominion, and such objects of ordinary ambition, may fairly be admitted to form no objects of Russian policy. It is not by accession from without, that this mighty power can become more powerful. It is judging partially when we ascribe to its government a desire for additional territory, a love of conquest, and all those other motives which have actuated minor potentates. It is within herself alone, that the ambition of the most blindly ambitious monarch who ever held a sceptre would seek for the additional greatness of the Russian empire. But although extension of dominion, unless as required for internal security, and all the objects of the ordinary ambition as well as the ordinary jealousies and fears of smaller powers, must fall out of view, on fair consideration, in an estimate of Russian policy, Russia may fairly and reasonably have objects, and even positive duties to fulfil towards that large portion of mankind which depends for civilisation and social happiness on her sway, which will unsettle the world as much as the wildest ambition. It cannot be for any length of time that a power which rules over so large a portion of



the human race, and whose millions of subjects are daily acquiring more and more the tastes and habits of civilised life, should submit to be excluded from that great highway over which passes almost every article which those tastes and habits of civilised life require. Russia must have a side of her dominion on the Atlantic. We may endeavour to conceal the truth from ourselves, but it will be no unreasonable demand on her part, when she is prepared to make it, that so many millions of rational beings as dwell under her sway should enjoy, in common with the rest of mankind, that common good of nature, intended, like the air we breathe, or the water we drink, for the use and enjoyment of all the human species, — viz. the free access over the great ocean to those countries and climates of the earth which produce the objects required by man in a civilised state. The Baltic and the Black Sea are but loopholes for supplying such a mass of society with the products of the tropical climes, the sugars, coffees, cottons, tobaccos, and all the other articles, required now for their use and well-being. Russia will have reason on her side when she tells the other European powers to make room for her on the coasts of the world's great ocean; and that she requires a wider gate for her supplies, and one not shut up by nature for half the year, and liable, during the other half, to be closed by every petty power which may have a few ships of war to blockade the entrance. There is an amount of human happiness, a mass of interests, and an extension of civilisation among the human species, involved in this view, which may, if considered without prejudice or local feeling, outweigh all the advantages that mankind derive from the European system of a balance of power among small states, which, like a balance of houses built of cards, tumbles to pieces as fast as it is erected. It is therefore not among the events which could be reckoned unjustifiable in principle, if, on the first rupture of the present political arrangements of Europe by a war, Russia should urge that the supply of her vast population with all that civilisation requires can no longer be sacrificed, in order to preserve the political existence of a second-rate power connected by no family ties with any other monarchy, and by no important interests with any other state; and it is within the verge of probability that Sweden and Norway, the Scandinavian peninsula, may be the battle-field of the first great war we have in Europe. It is here that Russia will endeavour to acquire for her empire a side to the sea. It is only by the

possession of an ocean coast, that she can ever become a naval power. That great and certainly rational object of Russian ambition — rational and justifiable, when the above circumstances are considered, — can only be accomplished by the acquisition of a portion at least of this peninsula. The European powers themselves have settled the principle. Her acquisition of Finland, a country far exceeding Norway in population and fertility, proceeded avowedly upon the principle that it was too near to her modern capital, and too convenient and important for its supplies and security, to remain in the hands of any other power. The principle was admitted as valid by the other European governments. It was acquiesced in that, for the sake of its convenience to Russia, this noble portion of the Swedish dominions should be incorporated with the Russian empire. The extension of the same admitted principle will comprehend Norway and Sweden, or such portions of these countries as it may be politically convenient for Russia to acquire. The exclusive navigation of the Black Sea, the possession of the Dardanelles and of Constantinople itself, would be acquisitions very inferior in real importance to Russia to the line of the sea coast on the Atlantic side of this peninsula, north of the 62d degree of north latitude. This cut of the peninsula, which in wealth and population is insignificant compared to Finland, would place Russia at once at the head of the naval powers of Europe. It would give her innumerable harbours and fiords, open to the navigation of the Atlantic at all seasons, — for these fiords in the north are never frozen, — each capable of containing in safety all the navies of the world, and connected by sea with all navigable parts of the globe; and by land on the best of railroads, the snow, during a great part of the year, with Finland, and the centre of all Russian power and wealth, St. Petersburg itself. It would render Russia independent of other nations for the supplies she requires of trans-Atlantic productions; and would thus make her mistress, in time of war, of her own naval products, without which no European power can fit out a fleet for sea, and which now she must supply even her enemies with, in the very crisis of war, for the sake of obtaining those supplies in return through them. She would have a commerce of her own over the Atlantic. From the nature of the country and climate, the land-transport of goods across the peninsula does not encounter the obstacles which those accustomed to roads and distances in other

latitudes would imagine. When snow and frost have made all roads even, smooth, and hard, for transport by sledges, the iron railways of England do not give greater facility of draught to animal power than these winter roads. The distance across from Levanger on the Dronthiem Fiord to Sundsval on the Bothnian gulf, may be 280 or 290 English miles. The herrings, salt-fish, and dried fish of the Norwegian coast, although these are goods of which the value cannot admit of expensive land carriage, find their way regularly, not only across this part of the peninsula, but to the markets of Haparanda near Tornea, which is above 500 English miles from Sundsval. The merchants of Tornea, which is now a Russian town, frequent regularly the winter markets in Lynger fiord, and other parts of the north coast of Norway.

It would be an imputation on the good sense and ability of the Russian cabinet to suppose that it is not preparing for such an acquisition, should any of the political convulsions in Europe which may be expected in the course of human affairs put it in the power of Russia to make the acquisition fairly, and according to the now admitted principles of acquisition of territory among states. Russia fronts Europe on a line extending from Archangel to the Black Sea. The manœuvring is all on the left extremity of this line; but the real object in view may be where the real advantage to be gained obviously is, — on the extreme right of this line. That this object is in view may be inferred from other circumstances besides the desirable nature of the acquisition itself. The two northern provinces of Norway, Nordland and Finmark, east and west, are, in consequence of the monopoly system of trade in Norway, both internal and foreign, connected with the mother country by the most slender ties, and are rather colonies than integral parts of the kingdom. The inhabitants, of whom a large proportion are of Finnish, not Norwegian descent and language, depend upon Russia for all the necessities of life, — grain, meal, and the materials for carrying on the fishery by which they subsist; and by the prudent treaty which Russia concluded in 1828, regulating her trade from the White Sea with these provinces, the inhabitants are daily becoming more and more dependent upon her. The subject furnishes such instructive views of the ultimate effects of all monopoly on trade, that it deserves more particular elucidation.

The country from North Cape down to the great Namsen river

is divided into two amts or provinces : Nordland, anciently Helogaland, or Helgeland, which marches with the province of North Trondhiems Amt; and Finmark, to the north of Nordland, which is divided into East and West Finmark. These two extensive provinces, with all their islands, contain a population of only 80,941 persons. Agriculture is here but a secondary business. The crops of grain are too inconsiderable, and too precarious, to subsist the inhabitants. The winter fishery in the Lafodden islands, from the middle of February to the middle of April, and the summer fishery over all the coast, which in some branch or other gives occupation for the rest of the year, furnish the inhabitants with the means of purchasing grain and other necessities. The average value of the winter fishery is estimated by an intelligent writer, the Amtman Blom, who has filled the office of foged in the district, at 430,987 dollars, or 86,500*l.* sterling, valuing the products at the prices paid or credited to the inhabitants by the privileged merchants of Bergen, Dronthiem, and the intermediate towns. The merchants send out vessels with the articles required in the country, and receive the produce of this eight weeks' fishery in payment. This trade was originally in the hands of the Hans Towns, particularly Bremen. They had in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a factory, or rather fortress, in Bergen\*, where they exercised an authority almost independent of the government, and had subfactories in Nordland and Finmark, and possessed the exclusive privilege of buying the fish and other commodities of the inhabitants, and of supplying them from these factories with the articles they required. The Hanseatic trade with these countries was exactly similar to the monopoly now exercised by our Hudson's Bay and Canadian Fur Company in the terri-

\* The Hanseatic Association, at their great meeting, anno 1498, in Lubeck, consisted of seventy-two towns. They had four principal companies, in London, in Bruges, in Novorogorod, and in Bergen. There is a curious account of the establishment in Bergen, in Holberg's *Beskrivelse over Bergen*, 1757, at which time it was not quite extinct. It appears to have been very similar in its construction to the late Canadian Fur Company, the servants advancing through the ranks of apprentices, journeymen, overseers, factors, to be partners, and the whole living in a kind of military discipline, in houses of the comptoir or factory, and not allowed to marry. In the early part of the sixteenth century they were at the height of their prosperity, and were reckoned to amount, in Bergen, to the number of 2600 men : a powerful force on one spot in that age. The fish trade, at that period, was one of great importance, as the consumption was a religious observance, and Newfoundland had not been discovered.

tories of North America, within which they claim an exclusive privilege to trade with the Indian tribes. On the decay of the Hanseatic commerce, the towns in which their comptoirs or head factories were established, viz. Bergen and Dronthiem, succeeded to their trade and privileges, and maintain the system to the present day. Christiansund and one or two minor towns have succeeded, after a long struggle, in obtaining a share ; but otherwise the trade remains shut for the people of Norway at large. The merchants or shopkeepers who are settled and dwell in Nordland and Finmark, and in the Lafodden islands, are licensed burghesses of Bergen, Dronthiem, or other privileged towns. Each has a certain tract of coast or circle belonging to his shop or factory, within which no other person is entitled to buy or sell. These privileged traders pay a certain tax, and are obliged to receive and entertain travellers, as the sole innkeepers within their circle ; and their exclusive privilege has become hereditary, attached to the house or factory in which it may be exercised by a duly privileged trader. The state of a country or province in which every necessary and luxury must be purchased, and of which the trade is so fettered, may be guessed at. The privileged capital finds an easy and sufficient trade in supplying the coffee, sugar, tobacco, brandy, and such articles, required by the persons who fish for each merchant. Any extension of industry or of trade to or from the country, is not necessary for its employment ; and, like the dog in the manger, what it cannot do itself it will not allow any other Norwegian capital to do. The supply of these two provinces with food, and with much of the materials for the fishery, has consequently fallen entirely into the hands of the Russians from the coast of the White Sea. The privileged Norwegian traders find an easy living, and a sure profit, each in his own trading district. They are not driven by competition to engage in any new branches. They take accordingly, and pay for in brandy, colonial products, and such articles, what the industry of the inhabitants produces during the eight weeks of the winter fishery ; and leave to the Russians the beneficial trade of feeding the population, and of receiving in payment all that their industry produces during the other forty-four weeks of the year. As far as regards industry and production, these provinces may truly be said to belong to Norway only for eight weeks of the year ; and to be connected with the mother country only through a few mercantile .

houses in Bergen, Christiansund, and Dronthiem. A population\* of upwards of 80,000, raising little or no grain, deals with the mother country only to the value of 86,500*l.* sterling, or little more than 20*s.* a head. It is a striking example of the results of monopoly. If the trade had been free to all native Norwegians, as it is in every country where trade has flourished, to its own subjects at least, there would have grown up in Norway a body of traders to and from these provinces, carrying on every branch in which employment and profit could be found; and Norwegian commerce would have been conveying its own fish in its own vessels to the White Sea, and bringing back the meal, hemp, sailcloth, cordage, and other necessities now supplied by Russia. The country, instead of having a trade which employs only the yachts or tenders that now bring the fish from Lafodden, would have also had the trade which gives employment to from two hundred to three hundred square-rigged Russian vessels. It is in truth a satire upon free institutions, that under the absolute government of Russia, the farming peasant on the coast of the White Sea is as free as he would be in America to fit out a vessel, embark his farm produce, and trade with it to a foreign country; while the farming peasant under the almost republican constitution of Norway cannot exchange his own produce with those very provinces of his own country to which the Russian has free access. The free admission, without paying any duties, in any port north of Tromsøe, was gained by Russia in the treaty of 1828. It was one of necessity on the part of Norway. Its exclusively privileged merchants could not feed the country. The ordinary sluggish channel into which their trade had settled was that of sending certain quantities of goods at certain prices, and bringing back certain quantities of fish at certain prices; the prices being fixed for the season previously by themselves. There was neither spare capital nor competition to supply these provinces with the necessities of life. The Russian government is awake to the advantages of this trade,—for the considerable body of excellent seamen which it is rearing, and the prospects of naval power immediately connected with it. By an ukase published in August 1835, at a time when

\* The whole value of property in Nordland and Finmark was, according to the tax upon property for liquidating the obligations of the State, equal to three and a half per cent. only of the amount of the whole property in Norway.

the Russian cabinet apparently was occupied only with the affairs of the East or of Spain, and its negotiations at Kalish and Toplitz, the important step was taken of declaring the trade to and from Finmark and Nordland free to all ranks and classes of Russian subjects in the districts of Archangel, Cola, and other trading places on the White Sea; and granting a reduction in their favour of the import duties payable in other parts of the Russian empire on salt fish and other commodities. The ukase not only grants this reduction to the subjects of Russia, but also to the people of those two provinces of Norway who may trade to the White Sea; thus placing them in a more favoured situation with regard to trade than their fellow-subjects in the rest of the united kingdoms of Norway and Sweden. What would our government say, if a foreign power were to grant special immunity or favour to the trade of any portion of its dominions which, like Ireland or Canada, might happen to be but loosely connected with the body politic? If it be allowable to draw any inference from public measures, none other can be drawn than that Russia is preparing, by the most judicious and unobjectionable means, for any change in the connection of these two provinces with Norway which political circumstances might, at any future period, enable her to carry through.

Besides this, the disproportionate military establishment kept up by Russia in the islands of Aland in the Bothnian Gulf, almost within sight of the Swedish coast, and the disproportionate naval force of twenty-two sail of the line kept up in the Baltic, — disproportionate as compared with any possible call for military or naval defence on that point of her dominions, — clearly show that she is prepared for aggression, as well as for defence, on that point, and is ready armed to act, upon the spur of the moment, if just and reasonable grounds should be presented, either from the political state of Europe in general, or of Sweden in particular. It is to be remembered that, according to the principles of legitimacy, there exists a dormant, but not extinguished claim in the Vasa family to the Swedish throne. If the constitutional and legitimate principles should come into active collision throughout Europe, and if the Spanish peninsula should ultimately be settled upon the constitutional principle, it is obvious that a counter-balance on the opposite principle would be sought for in this peninsula. It is no absurd conjecture that the price of such a

restoration of legitimacy would be the provinces north of the 62d degree of north latitude, or of the natural mountain boundary of the Dovre Fjelde, Fille Fjelde, and Lange Fjelde, which divides Norway into north and south divisions at that parallel of latitude; and while Sweden as a legitimate instead of a constitutional monarchy would be more than compensated for the loss of Jemteland by the acquisition of South Norway, as an integral part of her dominions, the other legitimate monarchs of Europe, by rearing up at once a Russian naval power on the coast of the Atlantic, able, with its existing fleets and resources, to cope instantly with Britain on the high seas from that position, would gain an ascendancy in the affairs of the world which it is evident they must either now in this age attain, or they must lose their present power in the legislation of their respective governments, and submit to be constitutionally limited, as the Kings of Great Britain and Norway are, to executive functions only.

If these views of the political position of the Scandinavian peninsula be not altogether visionary, there is but one course for the Swedish monarchy to take: it is, to place itself in advance of the liberal governments of Europe, to engage on its side the sympathies of all nations which have or desire to have free constitutions. It would not be to uphold in Sweden the universally decaying feudal structure of government, that other people would arm in her defence: it would not be to support a constitution of king, lords, and clergy, in which the nation has in effect as little weight as it would have under the Russian government. The world is so far enlightened, that the advantages to mankind and the ultimate effects on civilisation would be weighed against the evils of a transfer of power and territory, where, as far as regards the condition and rights of the people, the transfer is but a name. If the short-sighted policy of the Swedish cabinet had proved successful in the attempt to overturn the institutions of Norway, and to amalgamate her constitution with their own, public opinion would prevent in Great Britain any effectual and popular intervention in aid of a government which had shown so little respect for constitutional rights. It is from Great Britain alone, that interposition or aid from without can ever reach these kingdoms; and it is not from the British cabinet of the day, but from the public opinion and feeling of the British nation, that these must come to be effectual.



## CHAPTER VII.

Emigrants of Small Capital. — Norway better than Canada. — Land Cheap. — Labour Cheap. — Houses Good. — Mode of purchasing Land. — Bank of Norway. — Peculiar System of Banking. — Moral Condition as affected by the general Diffusion of Property. — Physical Condition. — Lodging compared to that of the Scotch Peasantry. — Food. — Living in a Norwegian Family of the Middle Class. — Use of Spirits. — Temperance Societies. — Gravesend Smacks. — Bothy for Farm Servants. — Bed-Clothes. — Foreign Luxuries. — Cheapness. — Bonding System. — Clothing. — Household Manufactures. — Advertisement of a Farm to be sold. — Value of Money. — Climate.

*Levanger, May 1835.* — THERE is a class of emigrants from Great Britain, for whom I conceive this country is better adapted than Canada. All that land or water produces there is produced here, with the addition of good roads, good houses, an easy communication with Britain; and society in the country itself, with all its institutions and arrangements, in a more advanced state, than it can reasonably be expected to have attained in newly peopled countries. It appears also, from the accounts given by Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Stewart, Captain Hall, and other travellers, who have recently visited various parts of North America, that cleared habitable land, with good dwelling-houses and farm offices on it, and in a state of cultivation to support the purchaser's family immediately, without the privation and misery of the back-settler's existence, but with a reasonable portion of the decencies and comforts of civilised life, and with an easy access to markets by water carriage, is actually dearer in America than land possessing similar advantages in Norway. Norway is certainly not a country in which the emigrant can make money; and being peopled fully up to its resources, it could absorb none of our labouring class of emigrants. The man who can work at a trade, or even at ordinary farm work, will do much better in America; he who has a little capital and wishes to increase it, and knows how, will also, I have no doubt, do much better there. The system of monopoly in favour of particular classes, which, as I have before explained, fetters all branches of industry in Norway, would prevent the success or even the admission of foreign capital or industry into any trade or

manufacture. Norway is not a country for either of those classes of emigrants. But there is a class who can neither work nor trade, but who have a little money either as capital or as income, which they merely seek to live upon with some degree of comfort. They may have the wish, but are sensible they have not the skill, to turn their capital to any advantage. For such people it is evidently ruin to emigrate to a country where labour is dear, as it is in America; for labour is the very thing they must buy, cost what it will. From age, want of health and strength, or of practice, such persons have no physical ability to work. Cheap land is of no use to them without cheap labour to cultivate it. The dearness of labour in America makes it no doubt an excellent country for those who have labour to sell; and very good even for those who, although they must buy common labour at a dear rate, have some profession, business, trade, or occupation of their own, by which they can make others pay at a dear rate in return. But how does it answer for the emigrant who has but a small capital or income, and is out and out a consumer, not a producer, — who cannot labour himself in any way that is profitable? This is the case of nine out of ten of those who have not been bred early in life to steady manual labour. The retired officer, the man bred at the desk, or accustomed only to sedentary employment, perhaps to no regular employment at all, stands in this situation. To this class the country in which labour costs sixpence a day is ten times better than that in which it costs five shillings. Norway presents many advantages to such emigrants. Land is cheap, and labour to work upon it is cheap. A piece of ground cleared of wood, inclosed, and long under cultivation, with a space behind of half-cleared land for outfield pasture, and capable of improvement; with excellent log-houses upon it, two stories high, weather-boarded outside, lined inside, and with two goodly rows of cheerful windows; and this dwelling surrounded with barns, stables, cow-houses, and every sort of accommodation for crop and cattle, on such a clean and roomy scale, that the cow is better lodged than the cow's mistress is on many farms in the north of Scotland; near to a river, lake, or fiord, affording fish in abundance; fire-wood and building timber on the land; and the farm large enough to keep a score of cows, six horses, and a small flock of sheep and goats, winter and summer, and to maintain a family and servants in all that land usually produces, leaving a surplus for sale sufficient

to pay taxes, wages, and to provide the comforts and necessities of life to a fair extent,—all this may be bought at from ten to twelve hundred pounds sterling, or even less; and this in a country enjoying a free government, abounding in proprietors of the same medium scale, and with none of a permanently higher class; penetrated in all directions with excellent roads and navigable arms of the sea; furnishing markets for agricultural produce within itself; and with towns in which all the enjoyments of refined society may be found, and the productions of other climes and other countries may be obtained at the cheapest rate; and, lastly, the whole within ten days' journey of England. This is surely preferable to any thing that America or Australia presents to the emigrants who merely want a domicile where they can live on their small means, with as many as possible of the comforts and advantages of European life. To those helpless, handless people, the command of cheap labour is the most indispensable of their comforts. This advantage they have in Norway. The land is cultivated, as I have before explained, by a class of married farm servants who hold cottages with land on the skirts of each farm at a fixed rent for two lives,—that of the cottar tenant and of his widow,—under the obligation of furnishing a certain number of days' work on the main farm at a certain rate of wages. The ordinary rate is twelve skillings or  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  a day, with victuals; and for married farm-servants, or housemen, eight skillings, also with victuals. In many of the best cultivated districts of Scotland, a similar system prevails; but the situation of the Norwegian houseman is much better than that of the Scotch married farm servant. Land not being of such value, he has more of it; and what he holds is not merely a rig or two of potatoes and a cow's grass in summer, taken from year to year from a tenant, and depending on his good-will or on the endurance of his lease, but it is a regular little farm, keeping generally two cows and some sheep, and producing a full subsistence for a family, and held for two lives. The law of the country has specially favoured this class of housemen. In default of a written agreement registered in the parish court, the houseman is presumed to hold his possession for his own life and that of his wife, at the rent last paid by him. He can give up his land and remove, on giving six months' notice before the ordinary term, and is entitled to the value of the buildings put up at his own expense, which he may have left; but the landlord cannot remove him or

his widow so long as the stipulated rent and work are paid. By law also a regular book should be delivered to the houseman, in which his payments are entered by the landlord, which, in case of dispute, would be adjusted at the end of the year in the court of the parish. The sons and daughters of this class of housemen are the domestic servants and the ordinary labourers of the country. The territory being peopled fully up to its resources, it is only when a vacancy occurs in a houseman's place, that a young man can settle in life and marry; and his chance of obtaining the vacant house and land depends entirely upon his conduct and character. It is this check which keeps the class of servants and labourers as willing and obedient as in England or Scotland.

There are great advantages in this system of supporting and paying the labourers in husbandry. The land-owner or farmer might as well propose not to feed his horses when he has no work for them, as not to feed his labourers. By the community, and out of the general mass of its property, the agricultural labourers must be fed, whether there is work for them or not. This can only be done either by a poor-rate; or by this way of giving them means to feed themselves by their own industry, and giving them a life-rent property of their own to work upon, and fall back upon, in case of sickness, want of work, dearness of provision, or other general or local calamity. It is a very common arrangement among this class in Norway, if old age, sickness, or the death of the houseman himself, and the infancy of his children should prevent the occupant in possession from furnishing the stipulated rent and work, to give it over to a young man, reserving a living, with house-room and fuel, as long as the original life-rent interest of the parties endures. Thus the old, infirm, the widows and children subsist, without being burdensome as paupers; and the young man who works the little farm has his own living in the meantime, and the prospect of succeeding to the original life-renters.

The subject of emigration is so full of interest to the numerous class of small capitalists or annuitants, who are but little adapted for the life of labour and privation which settlers in a new colony must submit to, that any information with regard to the state of property and society in a country in which land, all things considered, is as cheap as in America or Australia, and labour and the other comforts of life cheaper, and which is comparatively at our own doors, will probably be welcome. At the risk of being

tedious, and of repeating observations over and over again, I shall give at length the views with which I have been impressed of the state of the different classes, and of property, in this country.

In Norway, the law of succession has prevented property from being accumulated in large masses. The estates of individuals are in general small; and the houses, furniture, food, comforts, ways and means of living among all classes, appear to me to approach more nearly to an equality, or to one standard, than in any country in Europe. This standard is far removed from any want or discomfort on one hand, and from any luxury or display on the other. The actual partition of the land itself seems in practice not to go below such a portion of land as will support a family comfortably according to the habits and notions of the country; and it is indeed evident that a piece of ground without houses on it, and too small to keep a family according to the national estimation of what is requisite, would be of no value as a separate property. The heirs, accordingly, either sell to each other, or sell the whole to a stranger, and divide the proceeds. The duty of the *sorenskriver*, or district judge, consists principally in arranging this kind of chancery business; and all debts and deeds affecting property are registered with him. The heirs who sell, very often instead of a sum of money, which is seldom at the command of the parties, take a life-rent payment or annuity of so much grain, the keep of so many cows, so much fire-wood, a dwelling-house on the property, or some equivalents of that kind. It is rare to find an estate without some burden of this kind. It is called the *kaar* or *wilkaar*; that is, the *condition* upon which the estate or *gaard* has been sold. The value put by the seller upon his reserved annuity is naturally, as no man supposes that he himself is to die at an ordinary age, vastly greater than its real value according to the computation of the chances of life; and a small money price over and above the *kaar* contents him. This is one cause which keeps the price of land below the value at which we would estimate good old tillage ground, producing as heavy crops of oats and bear as our best land would produce under the same imperfect management. Another cause keeping down the price of land is the *Odelsbaarn* right. By this the heir, even although he was the party who sold the property himself, is entitled to redeem the land sold from the purchaser by paying back the price. The *bonder* or peasant proprietors are

extremely tenacious of this udal right, although its effect evidently is to reduce the marketable value of their estates. The latent hope of the proprietor, that he or his family may again acquire the paternal acres, blinds him to the obvious consequence that no man will give a fair price for land which may be taken back at a future period. The time of redemption is now limited by law to five years, and the cost of improvements as well as the purchase money must be paid back. The right is practically, therefore, no real impediment to a purchaser, as he can easily discover whether the seller or his heirs can be in a situation, by any chance, in the course of so short a time, to repay the purchase money and improvements; and practically it operates in his favour, as, though only a bare possibility, it is valued as a condition affecting the property for five years, and to be reckoned against its price accordingly. To these causes of the cost of land being so moderate in Norway, must be added one which the emigrant should never forget. Land in Norway will give a comfortable living to the owner, but will do no more. No investment beyond what a man occupies and uses for his family would be profitable, because, where almost all are proprietors, tenants are scarce; and from the standard of living being high, and formed upon a state of society in which almost all are proprietors of the farms they cultivate, and are living fully upon the produce, a respectable tenant would live as well as other people of his class, that is, as well as the laird himself. It would only be a small surplus that, after taking out of the produce his own living and that of his servants, he would have remaining to pay as yearly rent. It is usual, therefore, when a person happens to have more than his own family farm, to *bygsel* the land; that is, to let it at a trifling or nominal yearly rent for the life of the tenant and of his wife, the man and wife being always joined in these leases, and to take a fine or grassum when it is granted or renewed. That quantity of land which supplies a family with farm produce, and requires no great skill, activity, or capital to manage, is all that is wanted by any individual. There is consequently little demand for land, while family arrangements among heirs often fill the market without any demand.

The peculiar, and, for the wants of the country, well-imagined Bank of Norway facilitates greatly the family arrangements with regard to land. This bank was founded on the 14th of June, 1816, and has its head office in Dronthiem, with branches in the principal

towns; and is under the direction of five stockholders, with a council of fifteen representatives of the other proprietors. Its capital was originally raised by a forced loan or tax upon all landed property, and the landholders became shareholders according to the amount of their respective payments. In a short time these shares became a valuable stock, and are at a considerable premium. The transactions of this bank are conducted upon a principle totally opposite to that of our Scotch and other banking establishments. It is there considered as a first principle that the bank should hold only available securities, as bills or bonds only at a short date, or payable at a short notice, for its issues or advances. But such a system would have been of little use to a nation of landholders. The National Bank of Norway is therefore a bank for landed property, and discounts mercantile bills and personal securities only as a secondary branch. Its principal business consists in advancing in its own notes, upon first securities over land, any sum not exceeding two-thirds of the value of the property, according to a general valuation which was taken in the year 1812, and in which the seed, corn, horses, cows, and other particulars, ascertaining the value and extent of each farm, are very particularly noted. The borrower pays half-yearly to the bank the interest of the sum that may be at his debit at the rate of four per cent. per annum; and is bound also to pay off five per cent. yearly of the principal which is thus liquidated in twenty years, and he has only the interest upon the balance each year remaining against him. The lender, the bank, has a twentieth part of its capital replaced each year, and draws four per cent. for the use of what remains outstanding. In the event of non-payment of the interest and instalment at the regular period, the bank of course proceeds, by a summary sale of the property by public auction, to realise its securities. A circulation of paper money issued on this basis is evidently next in point of security to that of the precious metals. Its profits may be low, as its whole capital is turned over only once in twenty years, and the principal benefit may be from the circulation which the notes command, in consequence of the known security on which they rest. The accommodation, however, thus afforded to a nation of small proprietors, is of very great value, as the money required to pay off the shares of brothers and sisters in the estate can be obtained, with the certainty that it will not be called up in one sum at any uncertain period. Would a

bank upon the same principle be able to support itself in England? The want of a system of registration of debts affecting land would be an impediment to such an attempt. The uncertain value of land, as long as the corn laws exist, and the poor are not provided for by any permanent system, would be another. There are others perhaps as insuperable, from the competition for circulation, and the complicated interests connected with the whole financial and banking systems in Britain, which render what is undoubtedly working well and beneficially in the simple concerns of a poor country like Norway, altogether inapplicable to a country in such a different state.

This state of property, and its general diffusion through the social body, has, I have no doubt, a beneficial effect on the moral, as it certainly has on the physical condition of the people. The former must always be very much a matter of theory and conjecture to the traveller; and his sweeping conclusions, drawn from the isolated facts which happen to come within his limited circle of observation, are of little value. As vice, however, or immorality, is not so much connected with the state of wealth or poverty as with the inordinate desire for the one and the inordinate dread of the other, a favourable conclusion may be formed respecting the moral state of a country in which wealth is the exception, not the rule by which people form their modes of living, and has consequently few of the charms which attend its possession in other societies, and no sort of consideration, political influence, or weight in the affairs of the community. The desire for it is thus considerably blunted; it is not the same actuating, engrossing principle of human action, and the spring of much that is evil and immoral is removed. The dread of poverty is also less influential where extreme destitution is as rare as great wealth, and where there is so much less difference in the comforts and consideration of the richer and poorer classes. Regarding the physical condition of the people, as to food, fuel, clothing, lodging, education, and property, any man who travels with his eyes open, and takes opportunities of discerning, may form an accurate judgment; and he may leave it to higher intellect to trace the effects upon the moral character and condition of the people. There is no nation so well lodged as the Norwegian, none so generally well provided with fuel. These are gifts of nature to the greater part of the country. In the islands, and along some parts of the coast, build-



ing timber is not produced, and even firewood is so scarce, that peat is beginning to be generally used; but these are peculiar situations, in which the inhabitants are compensated by the nearness to the fishing grounds. In the dwellings generally of the labouring class, the squalor, dampness, darkness, and total want of accommodation and comfort of the sod-built hovels which disgrace the face of the earth in Scotland and Ireland, are unknown. The meanest habitation has wooden floors, windows, apartments for the family to sleep in, besides their sitting-room; also fit places for keeping their food. It is highly characteristic of Scotland, that within sight of its Parthenon, human dens may be found in which whole families—father, mother, and grown-up daughters and sons—are lodged under one roof, without other division into apartments for the decent separation of the sexes than is made by a wooden bedstead placed in the middle, without other floor than the raw earth; the walls of sods and stones, not lined with wood inside; the roof a mass of damp rotten straw and decayed vegetable substances, supported by a few sooty rafters; the windows, a single pane or two of glass stuck in a hole in the thatch or the wall; the family provisions of meal, salt meat, herrings, milk, butter, all huddled together in the single room, in which all the wet stockings and sweaty shirts are fuming and drying, and all the exhalations of the crowded inmates, cooking, eating, and sleeping, are poisoning the atmosphere. If the cost of the architectural toys which adorn the Scotch metropolis had been laid out in forcing upon the consideration of the legislature the wretched condition of the labouring class in respect of dwellings suitable to a civilised and educated people, and the necessity, whatever financial obstacles might be alleged, of doing away with all the duties affecting the building materials—the wood, glass, brick, tile, slate—which prevent the erection of wholesome, decent, and comfortable habitations for the mass of the nation, it would have been in better taste, than the present laughable, or rather melancholy, contrast between the palace of the laird and the hut of the peasant.

In respect of food also, the lower class in Norway appears to be better provided. It is more nearly similar in kind and quality to that used by the higher class. This may appear a trifling circumstance, yet it is of some importance. It is not a sound state of society where the upper and lower classes have nothing in com-

mon; where, as in Scotland, the mode of living, dwellings, food, and even dialect, are so different that the higher class might be taken by a stranger for a distinct tribe inhabiting the same land. In England even, the gentry are more closely knit with the labouring class, from the business of the poor-rates and of the magisterial duties which necessarily produce some intercourse, some knowledge of their concerns. The distance between the two classes is more closely filled up there than in Scotland, by its more numerous middle class. In this country the difference in the way of living between high and low is small, because every man lives from the produce of his farm; and from the want of ready markets for farm produce, and the necessity of finding money to make their annual payments of taxes, or of instalments to the bank, or of portions to co-heirs in their estates, they live with the utmost simplicity and economy with regard to every thing that takes money directly out of their pockets. In their housekeeping, the only articles for which they must go to market are coffee and sugar, and similar groceries. In the consumption of what the farm produces, there appears little frugality to those accustomed to see every article sold or estimated at high market prices. I shall best illustrate this by an example of their way of living.

I was acquainted with the family of the proprietor of a farm which maintains sixteen cows, four horses, a score or more of sheep, and the same of goats. I consider this farm to be about the ordinary size of properties in this part of Norway. There are many much larger keeping upwards of forty cows, some much less keeping three or four only; but the latter are generally occupied by fishermen, housemen, woodmen, or others not depending altogether on the land for subsistence. The number of cattle which the crop can support all winter, and the grass all summer, gives to those acquainted with farming a better idea of such estates than the extent in acres; but they must recollect that the milking and working stock are kept during the long winter of seven months, or more, principally on hay, and that sown grasses, for hay not being in general use, but the land, after a bear crop following potatoes, being left to sward itself with natural grasses for four years, and to form the hay land, the proportion of grass land to arable is greater than in our farms. The servants constantly employed are two lads and a dairy maid. There are also two housemen paying their rent principally in work, and maintained on working days. In the

morning the first thing the family takes is coffee. There are districts in which even the dairymaids expect it. The work people have a cake of oat or bear meal with butter, and a dram of potatoe brandy. About nine, what we should call breakfast is set out, consisting generally of slices of meat, bread and butter, cheese of various kinds, smoked salmon, and such articles; and at this meal the Norwegians generally take a glass of potatoe brandy. Ale and sometimes tea makes its appearance. The work people have for breakfast, milk, soup, and bread and butter, or pottage and milk with oatcake, and make a substantial meal. At twelve, or in some places earlier, comes dinner. This is a spare repast compared to an English or German one. It is the custom of the country, instead of one or two heavy meals, to take food often in the day. I have seen even a table d'hôte dinner without any meat, and never more than one dish; the rest fish, potatoes, and soup. The work people have herrings, potatoes, and barley-broth with bread; or bacon, salt meat, and black puddings, instead of fish. They have meat at least twice a week in every family; bacon, and beef, and mutton, are cured and stored in autumn for this purpose: the family after dinner take coffee. In the afternoon comes a second edition of the breakfast, with slices of meat, dried fish, bread, butter, cheese, ale, brandy, and tea. The work people have again a substantial meal, similar to their first breakfast, and a dram. It struck me as a circumstance very characteristic of them and their condition, when I saw a little girl go out to some labourers who were repairing a road at a little distance, with their bread, and butter, and cheese, and the dram bottle and glass, and returning with several slices of the bread and butter left, and a portion of spirits left in the bottle. To take more than a single glass at that meal seemed not to enter their minds, although they might have used what they pleased; and they are not a sober people. Having, from its cheapness, and its being made at every farmhouse, the free command of spirits, with only the restraint which propriety and fitness impose, they use it as gentlemen in former days used their wine, that is, to excess on festive occasions; but without that diseased craving at all times, however unsuitable, which seems engendered among our labouring people, by the limited opportunities of getting liquor, produced by its high price, and the fiscal restrictions on its distillation and sale. Unable to get it when they would, they take it

when they can. This effect of restraint, as the strongest excitement to indulgence, is natural; and perhaps but for it the gratification would scarcely be thought of. The attempts of well-meaning people to do away entirely with the use of spirituous liquors among the labouring class by temperance societies, appear not altogether well considered. There are occasions of severe labour and exposure, when the human frame, by general experience, requires the temporary excitement of spirituous liquors, or some substitute for them: to moderate, not abolish, this natural desire, is alone useful and practicable. The practice of the Gravesend fishing-smacks is the most instructive lesson on this subject. When those vessels go to the North Sea fishery, a supply is put on board, of the porter sold in the alehouses of Gravesend; the very same on which every man when on shore gets drunk as often as he can afford it. There is no daily allowance served out of this liquor, which is of extremely good quality; but every man may go to the cask when he pleases, and draw what he wants. The practical result is, that even among this class, after the novelty of having the liquor at command is over, the liberty is so far from being abused, that less is consumed on the voyage than if an ordinary daily allowance had been served out. The supply laid in is often brought back not nearly consumed. The people have no excitement to take more than a draught when thirsty, as they have it at pleasure, and for nothing. The cheap access to liquor appears to have a similar effect on the habits of the labouring people in Norway. They are not a sober people; but I have remarked that I never saw one of them drunk when he was especially required to be sober. I never saw a man at work, or a soldier in regimentals, in liquor. It is not common, as in Scotland, to meet a person in the streets or on the roads in a state of intoxication. They take convenient times and places for their potations; and weddings, baptisms, burials, besides the Christmas, midsummer, hay and corn harvest home, and other festivals, give times and places enough without much alehouse or spirit-shop meetings.

But we have still another meal to get through. Supper comes at nine o'clock, and is the counterpart of the dinner, or rather the principal meal, as meat is more generally used at it than at dinner. The working people have pottage and milk, broth, potatoes, or fish, at this meal. A sort of fish dried without salt, called by us *sethe* (*gadus virens*, or *carbonarius*), is much used. It is a coarse

fish, not esteemed with us; but here it is first steeped in a ley of wood ashes, when the alkali combines with the oily matter and leaves a gelatinous, and apparently very nutritious food, formed out of a very unpromising material.

Thus four regular meals a day, with two drams, form the stated fare of the labouring class. This is a diet very superior to that of the agricultural labourers in Scotland, who have their allowance of oatmeal and milk, usually without any other kind of provision; not even butter, bacon, or fish. The food of the Scotch labourers is in one respect better,—that the oatmeal is more substantial, from the grain being shelled before grinding, and the meal sifted. Their accommodation—the bothy, which Cobbett so justly stigmatises as disgraceful to a civilised country, and which, from the total want of comfort and often of cleanliness, is ruinous to the domestic habits of the labourer—is so inferior to the accommodation of the farm servants here, that the Scotch gentleman who sees the latter must blush when he remembers how his own farm servants are lodged. There is a bothy here, as in Scotland, on every farm, called a Bortstue. It is usually a separate house detached from the main one, and better,—I speak on the authority of Scotch farm servants bred in Aberdeenshire and the Mearns,—than the dwelling-houses of many respectable farmers paying considerable rents in that part of Scotland: It consists of one large well-lighted room with four windows, a good stove or fireplace, a wooden floor, with benches, chairs, and a table. At the end is a kitchen, in which their victuals are cooked by a servant whose business it is to attend the bortstue and cook for the people. The space above is divided into bed-rooms, each with a window, and the doors lead into a kind of covered gallery, open at the side, such as we still see in some of the old inns in London; and in this gallery the bed-clothes are hung out daily, whatever be the weather. The whole house is washed every Saturday, the floors sprinkled, according to the custom of the country, with green sprigs; and in every respect, excepting an article or two of furniture, these rooms are as good, and are as warm, clean, and cheerful, as those in the main house. In this large room, the people sit and take their meals, and the tailor, shoemaker, harness-maker, and such tradesmen as go round from farm to farm, execute their work. There is a room in the main house in which the spinning, weaving, and other female work is

carried on, under the eye of the mistress. In respect of bedding and bed-clothes, the working class is better off with us. Rugs and blankets are cleaner and wholesomer than fells; that is, skins of sheep, goats, or reindeer, dressed with the wool or hair on. These, quilted together, form universally the bedding of the labouring class in Norway; and one consisting of six sheep-skins costs about a dollar and a half. It is cheaper certainly than any blanketing, as six shillings would not furnish a labouring man's bed in Britain. It is also much warmer, as the natural skin of the animal, with the hair or wool on, surpasses as a non-conductor of heat any artificial preparation of wool or hair. The Laplander in his skin dress, and in a skin bag which he puts over his head and shoulders, will sleep night after night on the snow in the Fjelde, in a degree of cold which would extinguish the life of one exposed to it in any woollen clothing. They are not hardier than other people. There is probably no very great difference between the capability of different human frames to withstand the extremes of cold. It is undoubtedly the nature of the clothing that keeps their bodies in warmth, while ours are cold. The skins, with this advantage, are however far from being so cleanly as the manufactured bed-clothes of our labouring class, which can be washed and scoured. These details may seem trifling; but gentlemen and ladies are not the only readers in the present age. There is a numerous class to whom the most minute information respecting the comparative mode of living, diet, comforts, even the bedding, fuel, and lodging, and especially the civil station in the community of the middle and lower classes in other countries, comes with a peculiar and home-felt interest.

Norway sends her produce, wood and fish, to every European country, and by the return of her vessels is supplied with every foreign article that she requires at the cheapest rate of freight. The import duties are very moderate. Articles which have been in use, and are not intended for sale, as furniture, books, clothes, or household goods, are not subject to duty.

In the payment of the duties, the merchant is allowed a facility by the custom-house system which enables him to sell his goods at a cheap rate, having no part of his capital invested in the payment of duties previous to sale. It appears to be superior to that of our bonded warehouses, being much more economical both for government and for the merchant. The importer takes his goods

at once to his own warehouse or shop, on giving security for the amount of the duties ascertained by the custom-house officers at landing, keeps a book of his sales, and pays the duty every three months upon the quantity which appears to have been sold. Government thus in fact receives its duties from the consumer, and the merchant's capital is left free for more active employment. The inhabitant of Norway receives the products of many countries, tea, coffee, sugar, manufactures, and other goods from the British, Hamburgh, and Dutch markets, wines and brandies from the French and Spanish, often at a cheaper rate than the people of those countries. Land carriage and municipal taxes make the wines for instance of France, Portugal, or Spain, dearer to the inhabitants of those countries than to the citizens of Bergen or Dronthiem.

Coffee, sugar, tea, a little French brandy, and a little tobacco (for the Norwegians smoke less than any other continental people), are the principal articles in this country which take money out of the pocket of the housekeeper; spiceries may perhaps be added, as all sorts of good provisions are spoilt by a cookery derived from the times of the Hanseatic League, when cloves, and cardamums, and sauces, and mixtures long since forgotten in England, were in high repute. Other articles are found almost all within themselves, according to the common phrase; that is, either produced at home, or some kind of substitute used; or they are wanted altogether, and from habit not missed. In the country, shoes and clothes are made at home. The shoemaker and tailor go round, cobble, and sew for a few weeks at each gaard, getting their maintenance, and being paid frequently in meal, potatoes, butter or other produce. There are looms at work in every house in the country. Carding, spinning, and weaving are constant occupations of the mistress and female servants. Woollen cloth, substantial but coarse, excellent bed and table linen, and checked or striped cotton or linen for female apparel, seem the ordinary fabrics in progress. The family of the bonder, with the exception perhaps of his Sunday hat, is generally clothed in home-made stuffs; and the country church is but little indebted to Glasgow or Manchester for any display of finery. The people, however, are well clothed. Boots, gloves, and in bad weather, great-coats, are worn by ordinary working men, and a person in rags is rarely seen. A set of clothes for Sunday is possessed by every individual. This

is the case in Scotland also; but in England it is not at all uncommon that the working man has only his working clothes, and a clean smock frock over all, to go to church in. The people of condition, or upper class, dress as in other countries; and this is perhaps the principal expense in their families beyond those of the bonder, as foreign manufactures are dearer; and it seems to be a kind of conventional distinction, there being none in living or lodging, that the one class wears foreign and the other home-made stuffs. This family manufacturing is not the most approved way of supplying a nation with cloths at the cheapest rate and of the best quality. There is unquestionably a waste of time and labour, if the production alone be considered; and the article is more costly, although vastly inferior in quality to what skill and capital aided by machinery can produce. But it is a better condition for the mass of the population of a country, that generally one man should have work of some kind or other for twelve months in the year, than that two should have each only six months' work. If the domestic manufactures of cloth, leather, utensils, implements, now carried on in every household in Norway, were superseded by the labour of distinct classes, as in England and Scotland, employed only in such manufactures, would the advantage of superior quality and cheapness compensate the great evil of labourers not having work during the six months of the year in which agriculture is totally suspended? It may be doubted if Norway would make a good exchange, if her present household manufactures, coarse though they be, which employ perhaps four persons in every family in Norway during the winter season, were exchanged for the possession of one second-rate manufacturing town, which would no doubt supply all those articles much better in quality and with much less waste of time and labour. There may be a greater national good than the cheapness, excellence, and extension of a manufacture. The wealth of a nation, that is, of its state or government, may depend much upon productive labour well applied, and upon great accumulations of manufacturing capital to apply it; the happy condition and well-being of a people seem to depend more on the wide distribution of employment over the face of a country by small but numerous masses of capital.

To the emigrant of moderate capital, it may be interesting to hear what he can get for his money within six days' sail of England.



He can compare it with what is promised him in Canada or in Australia. The following description of an estate is taken without selection from the advertisements in the daily newspaper, the *Morgen Blad*, of property to be sold. It will serve also to describe the usual accommodations and buildings on such small estates in this country.

“A two-story dwelling house, with seven apartments of which two are painted. A large kitchen, hall, and room for hanging clothes, and two cellars. There is a side building of one story, containing servants' room, brewing kitchen, calender room, chaise-house, and wood-house. A two-story house on pillars with a pantry, and store-room. The farm buildings consist of a thrashing barn, and barns for hay, straw, and chaff; a stable for five horses; a cattle house for eight cows, with divisions for calves and sheep. There is a good kitchen garden, and a good fishery; and also a considerable wood, supplying timber for house-building, for fences, and for fuel, besides the right of cutting wood in the common forest. The seater, or hill pasture, is only half a mile (that is, three and a half English miles) from the farm. The arable land extends to the sowing of eight barrels of grain and twenty-five or thirty of potatoes (the barrel is half a quarter), besides the land for hay; and the farm can keep within itself, summer and winter, two horses, eight cows, and forty sheep and goats. There is also a houseman's farm and houses. It keeps two cows, six sheep, and has arable land to the sowing of one and a half barrels of grain and six barrels of potatoes. The property adjoins a good high road, is within four miles (eight and twenty English miles) of Christiania.” — It is offered in the advertisement at the price of 4000 dollars. This is probably one-third more than the usual price of such properties, as the district about Christiania is more favourably situated for markets, and land sells considerably dearer, than in other parts of Norway. The amount of taxes, general and local, including tithe and poor-rate, would probably be for such a property not less than twenty-five dollars.

This class of emigrants should never forget that there are three different sorts of value in foreign money in all that regards their concerns and situations. One is its mercantile value in exchange, as compared with our own currency; another is its value in exchange for corn, labour, house rent, fuel, or other necessities or luxuries in the country of which it is the currency; a third is its

value in society, arising from its distribution in small or great portions. Among penniless people the man with a sovereign in his pocket is rich. In a country in which property is distributed generally among the inhabitants, and there are not the extremes of very enormous accumulations of wealth and of excessive destitution and want close to each other, the medium point of the fortunes of individuals is low; and a very little above that point is a state of comparative affluence. The emigrant family should endeavour to understand and enter into this conventional value of money in the country in which they settle, as well as its exchangeable and economical value. When a few hundred dollars are the amount of the ordinary incomes of the families of the first society, a few dollars more are of great relative importance; and the dollar is in this point of view altogether equivalent to the pound sterling with us. The emigrant should learn so to consider and value it in his expenditure, and should rub out of his recollection altogether that this dollar, which is of so much weight in social use and estimation, costs him only one-fifth of a pound sterling.

Climate, or the ordinary course of summer and winter weather, has much influence on the emigrant's comfort. In Norway the weather is in general more steady than in Britain; it is either good or bad for considerable periods. The western part, especially about Bergen and along the coast, is proverbially rainy, owing to the high mountains which collect the clouds driven from the sea. But the country behind this barrier is on that account particularly dry, perhaps rather too much so. The summer is delightful. In the sunny narrow glens it is too warm at noontide, and the air too thickly peopled with flies, midges, mosquitoes, and all those blood-thirsty enemies of human quietude; but the evening and midnight hours are delightful, and peculiar to Norway. The sun is below the horizon for so short a time that the sky retains the glow, and the air the warmth and dryness, which are grateful to the eye and to the feelings. The damp raw chill which generally pervades the air even of our midsummer midnights is not felt in the interior of Norway, where one may be out of doors all night with delight. Winter too is pleasant. The air is cold; but it is a dry, sound, exhilarating cold, which invigorates even the fireside man, and entices him to long walks and brisk exercise. It is not the damp, raw, shivering, nose-reddening cold of our sea air, which makes even the healthy draw to the chimney-corner. The in-door cli-

mate in winter is also excellent. The rooms are so large as to be in general well aired, and so equally warmed by the stoves that one feels comfortable in any corner ; and the log upon log make such tight dry walls that currents and draughts of wind and damp are never felt. The disagreeable season in this climate is spring, the transition from winter to summer, — that is, in April and May. One feels then the soft genial breath of spring, the sun shines bright and warm, the lark is in the sky ; but all the earth is white, and the eye is tired of white, and seeks in vain for the soft tender green which the feel of the air promises. The jingle of the sledge bells, so cheerful in a dark winter day, does not at all harmonise with the song of the lark in a glittering sunshine. The snow too is painfully bright to the eyes under an April sun. Where it melts, vegetation bursts forth at once ; but the patchy unpicturesque appearance of the country, with a knob of rock here and a corner of a field there appearing through the white covering, deprives us of the pleasing impressions of an English spring. The rapid advance of vegetation is more astonishing than pleasing. It is not agreeable to step thus at once from dead winter to living summer, and to lose the charm and interest of the gradual revival of all that has leaf or wing.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Fishing in Norway.—Hire a Farm.—Description.—Ancient Fresh-water Lakes.—Midgrunden Gaard.—Farming.—Rent.—Asiatic Origin of Scandinavians.—Laplanders, Celtic.—Use of Horse-flesh.—Hereditary Attachment to the Horse.—Berserker.—Peculiar Intoxication.—Domestic Servants in America.—In Norway.—Housekeepers in Families.—Provisions.—Capercaillie.—Ptarmigan Jerper.—Bear-shooting.—Hybernation of Animals.—Condition of Bonder Class.—Equality of Manners.—Excursion to Snaasen-Vand.—Ancient Sea-beach above the present Level of the Sea.—Excursion through the Fjelde.—Bark Bread.—Væra Lake.—Shjækkerhatte.—Bivouac.—Shjækker Valley.—Trees at various Elevations above the Sea.—Furu.—Gran.—Birch.

*June, 1835.* — I PASSED an agreeable winter in the district of Skogn. I have not perhaps conveyed an adequate idea of the simplicity and good taste conspicuous in the way of living, and of the

amiable manners of the upper classes, the country gentry, the public functionaries, and families of condition. It is difficult to do so without entering into detail, which, although honourable to their hospitable and kind spirit, would be violating the sanctity of that private unostentatious rational life which they lead. The winter was remarkable, though not for cold, yet for the quantity of snow which had fallen at a late period. In many parts of the Fjelde it was twenty feet deep. The torrents and rivers were rushing silent and brimful, like streams of melted metal, across the country. There was no real impediment to travelling, for the roads and bridges, and the arrangements for keeping them in repair, are admirable. But there was the impediment to the curious traveller, that he can see nothing of a country covered with snow, however far or fast he may travel. I had been seized, too, last summer, with the mania of angling. Fishing is not such a tame insipid sport in Norway as it may be in the Paddington Canal or the New River. It requires legs and eyes to get over the steep promontories which dip into deep and dark pools, from which the cry of the luckless angler who slips in would never reach human ear. The gentle fisher, also, will do well to sling his rifle across his shoulders. He may, in following the Fjelde stream, come to some green and lonely nook which foot of man never trod before, and while he is chewing the cud of sweet and bitter fancy, may pop upon a bear, which might take a fancy to chew him. Fishing, however, and snow water never go on together. The rivers were thick and heavy with melted snow; and it was evident from the state of the streams, and the snow-clad background of the Fjelde, that it would be the end of July before the half-melted snow and the dead cold waters had run out. In spring I determined for these good reasons, and as the language was no longer an impediment to doing what I pleased, to fix myself for some time where I should be near to good fishing streams, to the Fjelde, and among that class of society which is peculiar to Norway, and does not exist in any feudally organised country,—the bonder, or small udal proprietors. In May I hired one of these little udal estates for twelve months. It may amuse, and perhaps be useful, to enter into the details of my mode of living. This place is situated in the valley of Værdal, one of the main openings running from the plateau of the Fjelde into the fiord of Dronthiem. A river of considerable magnitude, as broad as the Tweed, runs through it, and the land on each side is of ex-

cellent soil, and cultivated in a continuous chain of small estates. This beautiful valley is three or four miles in breadth at its outlet into the fiord, but not above half a mile in breadth from rock to rock where my farm is situated, which is about fifteen miles up from the sea. In the middle of the flat of rich dry loam covered with the finest verdure, runs the river, abounding in all that delights the angler, — deep and silent pools, alternating with shallow gravelly beds over which the current runs briskly and musically; the banks free from the annoyance of brushwood, the water from stumps, dead branches, or weeds; and salmon and trout abundant. About three miles further up than my abode, the river falls out of a higher valley, by a cascade about sixty feet high, into that of Værdal. The former, called Helgodal, extends about twenty miles, and is occupied in a continuous chain of farms, at least on one side. The crops of grain, however, in this higher valley are not always safe from early frost. At the upper end it branches into uninhabited Fjelde glens, or seater valleys, used only for summer pasturage by the farmers in the lower tract. Each farm has its own seater, on which there are houses for the accommodation of the dairy-maids, herd-boys, and cattle, who reside at the seater generally from the beginning of June to the end of September.

It is impossible to see these valleys without being struck with the conviction that they have been chains of fresh-water lakes which have burst the barriers that retained them, and have been suddenly laid dry. On ascending the steeps which bound the flat alluvial bottom of the valley on each side, and which consist generally of banks of a gravelly soil, one is surprised to find a kind of upper terrace of excellent land cultivated and inhabited like the bottom, and consisting of the same soil, a friable loam. This terrace rests against the primary rocks of the Fjelde, which are here limestone, marble, and gneiss, or rock of the micaceous family, of which the laminæ are singularly twisted and contorted; and the terrace has evidently been the bottom of an ancient lake which has been bounded by these Fjelde ridges. This lake has probably been drained by some sudden convulsion; for the slopes to the level below are steep and sharp, which they would not have been if exposed to the long-continued action of waves or currents.

The gaard which I hired is among the smallest of the udal estates into which this valley is divided. A description of it may give more precise ideas than any general observations can do of the

condition of the interesting class of bonder, or small land-owners. My farm consists partly of a flat piece of land between the brae and the river, but safe from floods, and of about eighteen acres. This part is intersected by the public road through the valley, and fenced in at each end from my neighbours' land by a mutual wood paling. The brae rises steep behind, but is covered with good grass where it is not overgrown with brushwood. On getting to the top, about eighty feet above the river, one finds the upper terrace consisting also of good alluvial soil, but more clayey than the flat below, and also more intersected with small dells or gulleys, which appear by their steep sides to have been formed by the rush of waters at once withdrawn. The land here belonging to my gaard may be about forty acres; and some flat parts have been under crop, allowed to rest four or five years when exhausted, and again taken up. Behind it, and fenced off by a hill dyke of wood paling, is the Fjelde, or rather the forest, of which the portion belonging to each farm is marked out by a lane cut through the trees. It yields fuel, wood for fences, and building timber; but the rock, a species of marble, is so near the surface that it is incapable of any improvement. There belongs also to this farm, twelve or fourteen miles up in the Fjelde, a seater or summer pasture, with good houses. There is also a detached spot\* with a houseman's farm, and another has his dwelling and farm on the upper terrace. The steading and dwelling-house of this farm are situated on the lower flat of land by the roadside. It consists of a dwelling-house divided below into a small lobby, kitchen, and store-closet; one good and large room, of the breadth of the house, with four windows, and a small bed-room with two windows adjoining to it. The upper story is divided into three apartments. This is below the average of accommodation on such properties in this part of Norway. The servants' house, or bortstue, consists of a good sitting-room with three windows, a kitchen adjoining, and the upper story divided into sleeping apartments. Between these two houses is the appendage to all Norwegian dwellings — the store-room on pillars, with its steps, detached from the building.

\* A detached piece of meadow or arable land is called the Eng of the farm. Hence probably the name of England, which, whether applied to the original seat of the Anglo-Saxons in Sleswick, or to their conquest in Britain, was descriptive of the kind of country, and its relative position to the countries around.

It consists of two rooms, one above the other. A four-horse stable and a sheep-house, with hay-loft above to which there is a wooden bridge that admits the horse and load of hay into the loft itself; and a cow-house for twelve cows, with a similar loft and bridge. These bridges are formed of spars from the ground to the door of the loft, laid with as small a slope as the ground will admit; they are universally used, and deserve to be so; as they save a great deal of the pitching and handling of sheaves and hay which take place even on our best constructed farm steadings. I doubt if so much as twelve acres had been under crop at one time. The rest, to the extent of fifty or sixty acres, was necessary for pasture before the stock was sent to the seater, and for hay. Three horses, or at the least two, eight cows, and a score of sheep and goats, would be the usual stock of the Norwegian farmer; and besides the two housemen, who had their victuals on the days they worked, with eight skillings per day of wages, there would be a lad at the house all the year, a woman to cook and attend the cattle and dairy, and the farmer's own family to subsist out of the produce of such a property. Having no rent to pay, the farmer is less depending upon money-bringing crops than with us. Butter, cheese, and milk, enter largely into family consumption. If grain and potatoes for the use of the farm, and a little surplus for sale to pay the land-tax and buy luxuries with, can be raised by the farmer, all the purposes of farming in Norway are answered. There are not, as in other countries, considerable masses of population in towns and villages unconnected with agricultural production for themselves, and drawing their food from the adjacent land. It is obvious that the basis of all agricultural improvement is wanting in Norway — markets for what improvement can produce. This is partly owing to the state of property. Where all are producers more or less of their own food, from the Laplander on the Fjelde to the fisherman on the ocean, there can be no very effective demand for agricultural produce. Husbandry never can become what it is in Scotland and England, — a manufacture of corn, mutton, beef, and other provisions, carried on by a class of manufacturers called farmers, who have large capitals embarked in their business; and having high rents to pay for the sites and premises on which they work, and much competition to meet in some articles from foreign manufacturers of victuals, must adopt many improvements and modes of husbandry not applicable to the farming of a country in

which the farmer has only to manufacture out of his own land his own subsistence, or very little more to pay his taxes with, and where the extent of land possessed in one place by any one is too small to admit of regular husbandry on the same principles as in Britain. In which way, under which system of holding and occupying the land of the country — that of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or that of Norway — are the people of the country best off; in the best condition; best provided, natural circumstances of soil and climate considered, with the means of comfortable and civilised subsistence? That is the true question which interests the mass of the British nation, in comparing its condition with that of this handful of people in the north: not which nation manufactures most or best cotton cloth from a bale of cotton, or most or best corn or mutton from an acre of land. It will admit of no doubt, that the condition of the people in this country, possessing all the land and property among them, and subsisting from it, is a happier condition than that which the feudal system has engendered, and entailed upon the people of the other countries of Europe.

It may be useful to an emigrant to mention that the rent I pay for this little udal gaard is forty-one dollars, which includes eleven dollars repaid in work done by two housemen; so that the real rent is thirty dollars. The taxes amount to fourteen dollars, including the district assessments for roads and bridges, which are heavy, as there are no turnpike dues levied in Norway; and including also taxes for the police and other local objects: but not the poor-rate, or church, schoolmaster, and minister's dues. The latter are all under a dollar. The poor-rate is the maintenance of an indigent man for a week in the year, whose work in stripping leaves from the branches of brushwood for the winter food of the goats, more than repaid his aliment. The cows which I purchased cost from nine to eleven dollars each, and are handsome, fine-boned, thin-skinned animals, like the Guernsey breed. Sheep and goats cost a dollar or a dollar and a fifth each. A good little horse, four years old, costs twenty-five dollars. A good cart with harness eight dollars. These trifling details are tiresome to read, yet may be very useful to know. As to furniture of wood, such as chairs, tables, bedsteads, the farm servant is generally carpenter enough to make such articles very neatly. I repose in carved work which might adorn a prebend's stall in an old cathedral, and sit on cushions



of skin which would have graced his parlour in the days of Queen Elizabeth. The most expensive article in every room is the stove or kakle-oven, which, although only of cast-iron, and very rudely formed, costs about twenty dollars. It is in universal use, the open chimney being now confined to the Fjelde bonder.

*June.*—The Asiatic origin of the Scandinavian race, and of that religion of Odin or Asa-Odin, which prevailed among them until the eleventh century, is placed beyond a doubt, although the causes and exact period of their migration are matters of conjecture only. It appears also undeniable that the original inhabitants before this migration were the progenitors of the present Lapland race. Whether any other people inhabited the country at that period seems uncertain. The tales, legends, or traditions in the Saga relative to Jetter, who were at once giants and wizards or demons, would seem to establish that some people more formidable to the large-sized Asiatics than the diminutive Laplanders may have existed in the country. Yet witchcraft or supernatural powers, which to this day are ascribed to the Laplander by the vulgar of the other race, would naturally give rise to the idea of superior size and strength, when the Laplander, driven to the Fjelde and to the extreme north, became out of the range of personal knowledge to the majority of the people, and consequently, a being for imagination and credulity to enlarge. There is no evidence from remains of tombs or other objects that any third race ever inhabited the country. The two are as distinct in physical appearance as the varieties of a species can be; and as, owing to their totally different habits and modes of living, intermarriage is extremely rare, their distinctive characters stand out more contrasted and less graduated into each other than in other countries—as Scotland—which are peopled by two different races. The affinity between the Norwegian and the German is obvious. The mind in viewing them cannot avoid classing them as belonging to one original stock, although unable to point out or express the peculiar points of similarity. By the same instinctive operation which discovers at once what is called blood in horses, or the cast of countenance in families or nations, one is impressed, on seeing the Laplanders, with the conviction that they are a branch of the great Celtic family which seems to have occupied Europe before the immigration of the Gothic people from Asia. The cast of countenance, the colour of the eyes and

air, the structure of the frame, and even the liveliness of gesture, are so similar in the best specimens of the Lapland people to what one meets with in those countries in which there are still remains of the Celtic blood,—as the south-west of France, Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland,—that the mind is at once impressed with the conviction that they are of the same breed. Clothe a handsome Lapland girl in the Welsh costume, and place her with a basket on her arm in the market-place of Chester, and the stranger would chuck her under the chin, and ask what she had got to sell, without suspecting that she was not a Cambrian. Try the same experiment with a specimen of the Gothic race taken even from any English county, and the eye would at once observe the difference. The descriptions given by many travellers of the Laplanders are caricatured. They are ugly in old age undoubtedly ; but the country has yet to be discovered in which the lady of sixty enjoys the bloom of sixteen. I would like a few shares in the steam packet company to such a land. Like the lower classes in all countries who are much exposed to the weather, and suffer great fatigue, they soon appear old, and are then abundantly ugly ; but among ten old women of the labouring class in the south of France, nine would carry away the palm in this respect from the Lapland ladies. The young are often pretty : fine dark hair, fine teeth, lively dark eyes, good complexions, small features, and a good-natured expression, can enter into no combination which is not at least pretty. The Asiatic origin of the Gothic tribe which wandered into Scandinavia is marked even until the eleventh century by a circumstance not mentioned, I think, by the Roman historians as characteristic of the ancient Germans, though considered likewise of oriental derivation : they retained the custom of using horse-flesh as food. The dearest of all animal food would be the flesh of the horse. He consumes the produce of a much greater area of land than ruminating animals of the same weight. Indigenous inhabitants of the peninsula could never have fallen into this habit, as having too little land to produce such food. It was only on the vast plains of Asia, where the range of pasture is boundless, that it could have originated. When the tribe settled in a land of Fjelde and forest, in which the horse could only be bred in comparatively limited numbers, its flesh was eaten only as a luxury at religious festivals. In the year 956, Hacon, the foster-son of Athelstane of England, was obliged

by the bonder to give up his attempt to introduce Christianity; and as a proof of his sincerity, he partook in the feast of horse-flesh in honour of Odin. The use of horse-flesh was hence considered a proof of paganism. By the bloody Saint Olaf it was punished with death or mutilation; and the insurrection which drove him from the throne, and after the battle of Stikklestadt in 1030, brought Norway for a time under the sway of Canute the Great of England, was occasioned by his cruelties towards those who were accused or suspected of using this food, and consequently of having relapsed into paganism. The Icelanders of that age appear to have possessed some power. They refused to adopt Christianity unless on the condition of being allowed to use horse-flesh as formerly, and refused altogether to allow Saint Olaf to form an establishment upon a small island on their coast. The tribe of Anglo-Saxons do not appear to have used horseflesh before their conversion to Christianity, from which it may be conjectured that the wandering of their progenitors into Europe may have been of a different epoch, or from a different original abode, from that of the Scandinavians. Is it a fanciful or just observation, that the people of every spot in Europe in which this Scandinavian tribe obtained settlements in after ages,—Northumberland and Yorkshire, Normandy, Naples,—retain a stronger attachment to the horse, and a better breed of the animal, the consequence of long hereditary care, than those of the neighbouring countries? In England and France, the horse is to this day in greatest perfection and most carefully attended to exactly within the bounds of the ancient Norman establishments—the kingdom of Northumberland, and Normandy; and graduates into an inferior breed, with less habitual good treatment from the lower class, as these bounds are receded from. The present Norwegian is as fond of horse-flesh as his forefathers; not for food, but for conveyance. Every bonde keeps a cariole or a gig for himself and wife to drive in during summer, and a double sledge for winter; and to walk even the shortest distance is a mode of progression as little thought of as in Arabia. I am not more than three-quarters of an English mile from the church of Vuku, on which there is service every third Sunday. The bonder on each side of me invariably go thither in their carioles or gigs, as well as those who come from the further end of the Helgodal, or from Væra, or Suul, twenty-five to thirty miles distant. At a funeral from the next house to mine of a

labouring man, not a single person attended on foot. There is no part of Europe less adapted for cavalry movements than this part of Norway. In a hundred English miles along the Dronthiem fiord, and northwards, there are but three spots at the mouth of rivers on which there is ground sufficiently level for a regiment of cavalry to exercise; and even those small alluvial spots are so obstructed, and commanded by knobs of rock and brushwood, that a single company of their own excellent riflemen would cut up all the horsemen that could be collected on them, and prevent all supply of forage even from the immediate vicinity. For a hundred miles back in every direction, the country is of the same description, there not being ten acres of land together which is not commanded. Yet cavalry is the passion of the country. The horses are supported on a system very economical for government, which would only be tolerated in a very horse-loving country; but it is popular here. Each gaard of a certain value has to provide and keep a horse of the size and age suitable for the service. It may be used by the bonder for all light work on the farms, and for riding or driving about; but must be kept in good condition, and is inspected once in a quarter of a year. For six or eight weeks in summer it is called out, and the bonder are allowed so much per day while it is on service, and which amounts to about twenty-two dollars. The animal during that interval is fed by government; and if injured is paid for at a valuation. This allowance is reckoned an advantage by the bonde, who in truth would keep the horse for his pleasure at any rate. The men who ride these steeds are a sort of local militia, sons of bonder and of housemen of a certain age, who serve for five years, and are only embodied and paid for a few weeks in summer. Such is the aptitude of this people for military exercises, owing, perhaps, to the free use of their limbs previously acquired by constant practice with the axe in wood-cutting, that I have been told by officers, English and foreign, who were competent to judge, that their appearance at drill was extremely respectable, far beyond any that troops not permanently embodied usually make.

Another oriental usage which the Scandinavian tribe appears to have retained to a late period, was that of taking opium or some intoxicating drug, which rendered the class who secretly used it—the Berserker—insensible to danger or pain in the battle-field, inspired them with a fury or madness more than human, and made

them during the paroxysm capable of preternatural exertions of muscular energy. A proportionable lassitude and weakness followed the excitement. It is evident from the occasional descriptions given of the Berserker in the Saga, that they were under the influence of some powerful and peculiar kind of intoxication during their *Berserker-gang*. That produced by spirituous liquors, even if distillation had been known at that period, would not produce similar effects on the human frame, as it disables the limbs from acting in general, whatever may be the fury of the words and gestures. Ordinary drunkenness could never render the individuals of the Berserker class formidable among a people addicted themselves to excess in fermented liquors, the effect of which is little different from that of those distilled. There is said to be a way of preparing ale still known among the bonder in some parts of Bergen Amt, which is supposed to be the beverage used by the Berserker. Instead of hops, it is prepared with the leaves of a plant which grows in miry spots on the Fjelde, and is known by the name of Paast. It is possible that the infusion of some indigenous plant may impart peculiar intoxicating power to liquor. In some parts of Scotland, there is a vague traditionary opinion that ale may be brewed from the flowers of the heath plant. I suspect it would be all the better of a little malt; but the intoxicating power of different plants, and the effects of that power, have never been soberly examined. I have met with a gentleman in the course of my inquiries on this subject who had himself experienced the effects of the ale prepared with paast, and he had no doubt that it was the means used to inspire the Berserker with their peculiar fury. He met with it at a bridal among the bonder on the side of the Hardanger fiord, where he happened to be quartered. It inspired an activity and contempt of danger, and a capability of extraordinary feats of exertion in scrambling over precipices, running, leaping, and such exercises, which the party could not have accomplished but under its influence; it also left a lassitude and debility proportioned to the temporary madness it had inspired.

*June.* — The class of domestic servants in America appears, by the accounts of travellers, to add little to the comforts of social life. They appear to labour under a constant morbid desire to show that they are equal in all respects to those whom they serve, or, as they express it, help. The cause of this lies perhaps as much in

the position of the master as of the servant class, in American society. Rank and privilege do not exist, or give no social distinction. Wealth can command no particular respect, where to the extent of a good and independent living it can be so easily acquired; and education, to a certain extent, is common to all. The serving class are in the right. In the structure of the society, there is no basis, real or fictitious, upon which the employer can claim respect from the employed. In this country, rank and privilege have as little influence and are as entirely abolished as in America; and probably in no quarter of America of equal population, is property so universally diffused among the inhabitants, and a comfortable and equal, or nearly equal, mode of living in the essential points of food, lodging, fuel, and clothing, enjoyed by all classes. One would expect, therefore, that the same comfortless and almost acrimonious relation between master and servant should exist here. This is not the case. The country having for ages been peopled up to its resources, its different classes are as distinctly separated, and with as little blending together, as in the feudally constituted countries, in which the separation is effected by legal privileges and established ranks. The magic circle which education and manners draw round the cultivated class, and within which wealth alone, even in England, cannot intrude, is occupied as in other countries by persons of various degrees of riches, but who clearly and indisputably are superior in mental acquirements, as a body, to the bonder, or class of small proprietors. The latter form a totally distinct body, which, although possessing property, and the whole political influence in the country and in the legislative branch of government, do not constitute or consider themselves the first class. The respect which they pay to others, is the school in which the lower class of housemen or labourers learn to respect them. The difference between the bonde and houseman is not in education, manners, or way of living, but in property, and in the power which the land-owner has of choosing his labourer. In America, until the land is fully peopled, it must be the labourer who chooses the master; and this relation, which may exist there for many ages, appears to make domestic servants a necessary evil, rather than a source of comfort in social life. In Norway there is no want of proper respect between master and servant, although the constitution of society, the distribution of property, and the election and powers of the legis-

lative assembly, form a much more democratical body politic than that of the United States.

Men-servants for in-door work are rarely seen in Norwegian households ; but in almost every family there is a housekeeper. The quantity of articles to be laid in at once for the whole year, and to be given out daily or hourly, makes this necessary, even in bonder families. In the families of condition, the housekeeper covers the table, brings in the dinner, and takes her seat next the lady of the house. If any thing is wanted, she gets up, waits on the guests, and sits down again ; and it is impossible not to admire the good taste which is universally shown in Norway, in the treatment of this class of persons. They are in manners and education far removed from the class of servants, and are invariably treated with as much consideration and respect as any of the ladies of the family, and usually invited into company with them. It is not improbable that this trait of amiable and ancient manners may have been transplanted to, and retained in, the United States, where in fact many of the old European ways of living appear still to linger, and may be the foundation of all the wrath and wit of the English travellers at seeing the female who has been providing for the wants of the guests take her seat quietly among the company when her assistance is not required. The English keep their servants at a greater distance, and treat them with less affability, than other nations ; and it is singular, but natural enough, that this is in exact proportion to the small original difference there may have been between the master and the servant. The English nobleman and private gentleman is usually kind and considerate to his servants ; he is often familiar, always affable to them. The grocer or linen-draper treats them with aristocratic hauteur, and is often a much more helpless, comfortless being without their attendance than persons of an elevated rank. I have known a shopkeeper's son ring the bell for his servant to snuff the candles, snuffers and candles being on the table before him. An English *Gil Blas* could give us curious peeps into human character.

An emigrant family coming to this country to live, either permanently or for a short period, should bring no servants with them. A maid-servant's wages are from eight to ten dollars yearly ; and they are much more neat and handy than country girls usually are, at least in Scotland. A good housekeeper ex-

pects no more than twenty or twenty-five dollars, or four to five pounds sterling, yearly.

*June.* — Having when I first went to occupy my gaard, sent all the stores of sugar, coffee, tea, flour, and such articles as I thought necessary, by sea from Dronthiem to a little village at the mouth of the river of Værdal, and got them transported up the valley to my cottage, I set off in my cariole, a little anxious about a supply of eatables where there were no markets. I found no difficulty. The kind bonder around had sent in presents of eggs, and cheese, and butter, and trout, and salmon; and before evening I had cows in the meadow, and sheep on the hill, and a larder replenished with tydder, roer, ryper, and jerper, and sundry goodly roasts of reindeer venison. The tydder is the bird known of old in Scotland by the name of capercailzie, but now extinct. The cock, as formerly mentioned, is a noble bird, of the size of a turkey cock, and with a bill and claws of great strength. I have found no food, however, in the gizzard, that seemed to require such powerful tools; only the needles of the pine, with a great number of little crystallised pebbles or gravel of quartz. The roer is the female, and in size, plumage, and appearance, so different from the male, that it has received a different name in the language. These birds might probably be domesticated, as the wild turkey has been. They are strong bold creatures, and a few of the chickens which I attempted to rear appeared less delicate than the young of the turkey. I lost them by some neglect, but I have no doubt they might be reared more easily than turkeys. The ryper is our ptarmigan, but somewhat larger and better clothed than in Scotland. In flavour these birds are much inferior to the game of the Scotch hills. They feed on the needles of the pine and fir, and have generally a slight taste of turpentine. The jerper, however, is a more delicate bird for the table than any of our game. It is of the grouse species, not larger than a full-grown pigeon, and its meat whiter than that of our partridge. It lives on the birch leaves, and is only found among birch woods. The Fjelde bonder shoot all these birds, in season or out of season, and generally indeed after they have paired and are laying eggs, as they are then most easily got at. The birds are all shot with single ball; and the bonder are very expert with the rifle. The jerper or ryper is a small object to hit with ball.

*July.* — I went out one night in June, after I was settled, with



two bonder to look for a bear. In June, when the snow on the Fjelde begins to melt and green patches appear, the female bear comes out of the woods with her young ones to feed; and this is the best time to shoot them. There seems to be danger enough in the sport to make it interesting, but not so much as to make it formidable. Two or three people unite, and generally proceed with caution, ready to support each other, as to fall in with the bear unprepared, or to wound without disabling him, would be dangerous for a single sportsman. We set off about six o'clock in the evening, and climbed up to the plateau of the Fjelde, which may be eight hundred or a thousand feet above the bottom of this valley; and the slopes are steep, broken, and thickly wooded. On the plateau or table-land of the Fjelde, the trees are more scattered, and appear in masses only in the vales and sheltered depressions of the ground. The rest is a mixture of large stones or rocks of gneiss, or primary schistus, morasses, very little heath, and some sheltered dales of grass, which look more green and beautiful from the desolation all around. About fifteen or twenty miles from our valley, some of the small rills which run into it are interlaced with others which run into the branches of rivers falling into the Gulf of Bothnia. These river sources are separated by no particular elevation. The hills or mountains scattered upon this table-land, although of considerable height above the sea level, are not strikingly elevated above the visible base. The highest in this quarter, Hermandsnaze and Shjækerhatte, do not exceed 3,800 feet above the sea, and the Fjelde base from which they rise is probably 1800. We came before midnight in front of a forest at the foot of a hill, where there was a spot of lively tender grass, and our sport consisted in bivouacking all night under bushes, and watching, with our rifles prepared, every appearance of movement from the forest. It was good light infantry exercise; and although we saw no bear, I was much gratified with the night's amusement. It gave me an idea of what it might be, if half a dozen of our young English sportsmen were to take to the Fjelde for a summer, with tents, good rifles, and a few dogs. I was gratified also at seeing the seaters or out-pastures belonging to farms thirty or forty miles distant in the lower country. They would be beautiful little grass-farms. The sheelings or houses are low log huts close together, and resembling very much a Highland cottage farm in Scotland. They are situated generally in some valley, near a

stream or little mountain lake. Each farm in the valley has its own seater in the Fjelde, with buildings on it ; and there is often a considerable quantity of bog hay made and stacked in summer at the seater, and carried home on sledges in winter on the snow. Without the snow levelling all obstructions, the timber, and hay, and products of various kinds could never be brought to the lower country.

In Norway the bear retires to his den, which is generally some sheltered hole in the rocks of the Fjelde, in November, and remains in a dormant or inactive state without food until April. The female brings forth her young, and suckles them during this period of hybernation. The animal functions are, therefore, not entirely suspended. It is said that there is nothing found in the stomach or bowels of the bear when he is tracked to his winter lair and killed, and that he eats nothing for some days before retiring ; that he is quite fat at that period, but when he re-appears is very meagre and exhausted. This habit of hybernating in a dormant or torpid state is a remarkable condition of animal life in particular climates. It seems induced by temperature or supply of food, and to be regulated by these, not by any thing in the economy of the animal structure or constitution. The bear in his half-tame state loses this habit. Many of the smaller animals, the field-mice, the lemmings, and perhaps many of the birds, pass the winter in this climate in a state of occasional torpidity. They retire, and are not to be seen during the continuance of very severe weather in winter. It is very possible that hybernation may at some former period have been a much more general condition of animal life on our earth than it is now. In this way the vast accumulations of bones in the celebrated caves of Franconia and Yorkshire, especially those of the hyena and such solitary carnivorous animals, might be accounted for. The bones of such animals as, from the nature of their food, must be of solitary, not gregarious, habits, might be found dispersed and scattered over a country in every place where they happened to escape decomposition but could not be found accumulated in one cavern, unless that cavern happened to be the most suitable place in a large tract of country for the animals to resort to for safety in the dormant state. The same cavern would be used generation after generation ; and possibly animals of the same epoch which, in their usual state of activity, would never resort to the same locality, might congregate

on the approach of their semi-torpid state in the same cavern for hybernation. The period of torpidity might be so different in different animals, that the deer and hyena might sleep together with impunity in the same cave. It might be, to a certain degree, ascertained by direct experiment in our zoological gardens, what habits various animals would assume if exposed gradually to such a change of temperature and supply of food as might be expected to induce hybernation, or the collecting a winter store of food in a den.

*July 20.*—One hears often in Norway from the most intelligent men that the bonder class, or small proprietors, live too high, indulge too much in expensive luxuries, as coffee and sugar, frequent and expensive entertainments at each other's houses, carioles, sledges, and harness of a costly kind, and even a horse or two, more than the farm work requires, to drive about with. In proof of this is adduced the great want of money among them to pay even the most trifling taxes or other sums. The difficulty with regard to money is obvious; but I attribute it not to the want of property, or produce, which is worth money, but to the want of sale from the absurd restrictions on the freedom of internal trade. A man with land worth three or four thousand dollars, and with crops, potatoes, horses, cows, and all sorts of products in abundance, is often at a loss for five or ten dollars. It is very possible that this difficulty of selling and almost necessity of consuming the farm produce, may occasion habits of indulgence and even waste. Their houses, and, in the best rooms, their furniture, beds, and all other household plenishing, are as good as those of the gentry in the neighbourhood; but then their estates are as good also. They are in fact the gentry of the country, and the gentry are the aristocracy; but without privilege, preference, or even pretence of any superiority. Pretence of any kind is altogether foreign to the Norwegian character. I have not seen an instance of that sort of vanity which makes a man assume an importance which does not belong to him. There is nothing to assume; because, comparing class to class, the bonder is the most important, influential, and possessed of most property. The luxury which is complained of has evident good consequences. People must live like their neighbours. The house must be good; the beds, stoves, furniture, and so on, neighbour-like; and each of these requisites is a more effective preventive check on the early or improvident marriage of a

young bonder couple, than if they had got Malthus and Chalmers, with all their moral restraints and considerations, by heart, and repeated them every evening before going to bed. This luxury, also, which is, after all, not carried to any blamable extent, gives a very pleasing and unexpected urbanity to their manners. It is probably the effect of their frequent entertainments, or gilds, at each other's houses. The bonde not only treats strangers or neighbours with the forms and expressions of politeness belonging to the usages and language of the cultivated classes, but there is a strain of civility, I have observed, towards his wife, children, and servants in ordinary intercourse, which is often wanting among our middle class. He is not in the smallest degree what we call a vulgar man, although often a homely uncouth-looking person, from the antique cut and coarse material of his dress. But I speak of the man, not of his costume.

If there be a happy class of people in Europe, it is the Norwegian bonder. He is the owner of his little estate: he has no feud duty or feudal service to pay to any superior. He is the king of his own land, and landlord as well as king. His poor-rate and tithes are too inconsiderable to be mentioned. His scat or land-tax is heavy, but every thing he uses is in consequence so much cheaper; and he has that which renders the heaviest tax light,—the management of it by his own representatives, and the satisfaction of publicity and economy in its application. He has the satisfaction of seeing from Storthing to Storthing that the taxes are diminishing, and the public debt paying off. He is well lodged; has abundance of fuel; and that quantity of land in general which does not place him above the necessity of personal labour, but far above want or privation, if sickness or age should prevent him from working. He has also no class above him; nobody who can look down upon him, or whom he or his family look up to either to obtain objects of a false ambition, or to imitate out of a spirit of vanity. He has a greater variety of food than the same class in other countries; for besides what his farm produces, which is mostly consumed in his housekeeping, the Fjelde, the lakes and rivers, and the fiords, afford game, fish, and other articles. He has also variety of labour, which is, perhaps, among the greatest enjoyments in the life of a labouring man; for there is recreation in change. His distant seater, his woodcutting for fuel, his share of the fishery in the neighbouring river or lake, give

that sort of holiday work which is refreshing. His winter toil is of the same kind ; as steady agricultural labour in the field is out of the question. It consists in making all the implements, furniture, and clothing that his family may require ; thrashing out the crop, attending to the cattle, distilling his potatoes, brewing, and driving about to fairs or visits. The heaviest part of it is driving wood out of the forests, or bog hay from the Fjelde. He has no cares for his family, because he knows what their condition will be after his death. He knows that his wife succeeds to him, and as long as she lives unmarried the only difference made by his death is that there is one less in the family. On her death or second marriage, he knows that each of his children has a right to a share of his property ; and according to their number he makes his arrangements for their either living on the land as before, or dividing it, or for being settled in other occupations and taking a share of the value when it comes to be divided.

*July.* — There is no circumstance in the condition of the people of this country which strikes the observer more than the great equality of all classes, not only in houses, furniture, diet, and the enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts of life, but in manners, habits, and character : they all approach much more nearly to one standard than in any other country ; and the standard is far from being a low one as to character, manners, and habits. In these the educated and cultivated class are, to English feelings at least, far above the higher classes in other foreign countries. They seem to have more affinity to those of our own countrymen ; but the lower classes appear to have made nearer approach to the higher than in other countries. This is probably owing to the diffusion of property going on perpetually through all the ranks of society, and carrying down with it to the lower strata its humanising influences upon character, the civilisation, the self-respect, the moral restraint, the independence of spirit, and the amiable manners and consideration for others in domestic intercourse even among the lowest of the people, which in other countries are found only among the classes in easy circumstances. The cause seems to be that between the distribution and general dissemination of property by their peculiar law of succession, and the general simplicity of the way of living, a greater proportion of the people really are in easy circumstances than in any other country in Europe. The alternate descent and ascent of property through the whole mass of society, like heat applied to the fluid in a caldron, has brought the whole to

a nearly equal temperature. All have the ideas, habits, and character of people possessed of independent property, which they are living upon without any care about increasing it, and free from the anxiety and fever of money-making or money-losing.

*Midgrunden Gaard, July.* — In the course of the summer, I made an excursion to the Snaasen Vand. About seven miles inland from the present sea strand, at the head of the fiord, and about sixty feet above the present high-water level, there is an ancient sea-beach of a very remarkable character. Above the house of Fossum, and forty feet higher than the lake of that name, which is formed by the river that runs from Snaasen Vand into the fiord at Steenkjær, the sea-shells are so abundant that they might be applied to agricultural purposes, and they lie close to the surface. On crossing the bridge over the river which joins Fossum Vand to Rein Vand, about a mile further on, and near to Fov Church, we find a large bed of sea-shells, which have been used in mending the road, for a considerable distance, towards Snaasen Vand. They are entire; the upper and under ones of the mussel, cockle, and clam are united, and the mussels grouped together, as in their living state; so that this bed has clearly been the spot upon which the animals lived. The razor-fish shell, which is fragile, and will not bear to be rolled about by the waves, is also to be found entire. The common buckie, or white large whelk, is also abundant. All the shells I could find are common, and to be met with on the shores of the fiord at the present day; and many of them retain their original colour: the mussel its blue, the razor-fish its brown, and the scallop the pink hue, which some of the fresh shells have. From the entire state of the large scallop and large smooth cockle or clam shells, I conclude that this has been the native bed on which they grew. Through the parish of Skey, this ancient sea-shore may be traced by a similar deposit of shells. At Hegle Bridge, about six miles inland from the shore at Levanger, I found, in the course of the summer, the shells of the cockle, mussel, and whelk; and about twenty miles nearer Dronthiem, in the steep hill side between the station-house of Fordal and that of Forbord, the cockle and clam make their appearance at about the same elevation above the sea. The large peninsula near the mouth of the Dronthiem Fiord, called Orelan, is also stated by Von Buch to be covered, under a layer of moss, with a stratum of sea-shells. From these indications we may conclude that a shore, in a direction

nearly parallel to that of the present one of the Dronthiem Gulf, and on a level, at least sixty feet higher, has existed at a recent geological period. The sea has left the land, or the land the sea, so recently that shells, in their native bed, retaining in part their natural hue and enamel, are not covered with any thickness of decayed vegetable soil. The historical period of known points upon the line of the present shore, is better ascertained than in most localities in early modern history. Steenkjær, Mære the site of the principal temple of Odin at the introduction of Christianity, and the city of Dronthiem, are known points, which existed on their present sites between eight hundred and a thousand years ago, as they are frequently mentioned in the historical Saga of Haarfagre and his successors. But the most ancient of them, as well as the highest above the present sea level, is Mære, which stands on a small eminence or hillock, near to the present shore of the fiord, in Sparboe; and although there are no remains of the temple, there is no doubt whatever of the identity of the spot, and it may be assumed to have been above water for at least a thousand years; yet it must have been several fathoms below it at the time these mussel, and cockle, and scallop shells, which still retain traces of their natural colours, were inhabited by living animals on this ancient shore. Man cannot build such permanent dwellings as these animals. As the Dronthiem Fiord may be considered, with reference to the peninsula, as the reverse side to the Bothnian Gulf, and it is no improbable conjecture that the two may have joined, the ancient level of the sea on this side is very interesting. The retiring of the sea or the raising of the land of the peninsula could be ascertained with more precision, if it can be ascertained at all, on this coast, on which there are no local accumulations of mud or river deposits, by which the land gains at one place and loses at another, than in the Baltic or the Bothnian Gulf. The imperishable primitive rock and the water allow of no third agent, such as the river accumulations on flat coasts, to confuse the observations. It is evident that a sea-shore has been where these beds of shells now rest upon the land, at least sixty feet above the present shore. It is evident, also, that a thousand years have made little, if any, alteration upon the relative position of known points to the present sea level. The assumption of the Swedish philosophers, that the change of level in the Gulf of Bothnia is at the rate of about four and a half feet in the century, must be somehow

erroneous, if applied to the retiring of the sea ; because in that case the sea, a thousand years ago, would have stood forty-five feet higher than at present, and many points, as those above mentioned, known by historical record to have then occupied their present positions, would have been under water. If applied to the rising of the land above the sea, the observation may be correct ; because this may be local, and not equally on both sides, and in all parts of the peninsula. The land next the Gulf of Bothnia may be rising at the rate of four and a half feet, in a century, and that on this side not so much in a thousand years.

My landlord has a very extensive estate in the Fjelde, extending at least forty miles along the Swedish frontier, and comprehending valleys filled with valuable timber. I was glad of an opportunity of accompanying him on an excursion to some distant parts of it. We drove up the valley of Helgodal, which is a continuation of Værdal under a different name, but on a higher level. The main branch of the same river which runs through Værdal waters this valley, and falls from it by a noble cascade, called Herfoss, upwards of sixty feet high, into the lower valley. This arrangement of valley above valley is common in Norway, and occasions singular appearances. About half a mile higher up in Værdal than my gaard, a very large stream seems to issue from the very summit of the hills which bound the valley on one side, and descends a mighty torrent, never frozen in consequence of its magnitude, and turning twelve or fourteen corn mills perched on the declivity. On ascending to the summit of the hills from which it seems to issue, one finds a quiet sluggish river, winding through a flat upper terrace, at least two hundred feet above the valley, into which it precipitates itself, and being in fact the outlet of a lake upon this higher level, which is about seven miles in length. It would be an upper valley, if a slight obstruction to the issue of its waters by this channel were removed. It is of more value as it is, affording, in winter and summer, the means of grinding the corn of a large district, and supporting by this branch of industry the little village of Ullevil. It is the finest range of perpetual water-power I ever saw. What would it not be worth in some parts of England for turning machinery ? The length of this upper valley of Helgodal is about twenty-five miles ; and on the north it is occupied by farms, on which the crops are as good and as far advanced as in our lower valley. The opposite side, being in the shade of the steep grounds



behind, is a mass of forest, with only one or two farms. In these narrow valleys, where the sun is low in winter and spring, the sunny side is of great importance. Opposite to where I live, there is a little farm, which does not see the sun for fifteen weeks in the year.

About twenty miles up the valley of Helgodal, a fine stream joins it from the north-east forming a very picturesque waterfall. It is called the Shjækker; and trout of eighteen pounds weight are sometimes taken at its foot. The angler could not find in Norway so good a situation as the head of Værdal valley; the streams and lakes within reach are so numerous, of a size to be within command of the rod, and free from the obstructions of sunk trees or weeds, or marshy borders. We followed the south branch of the river, and, as far as cultivation extends, found a good road, with bridges over every side stream. The last farm, Brataasen, is situated on a steep immense bank of gravel and loose earth, the deposit, I conceive, of a lake which has filled Helgodal, and made an issue for itself at the great waterfall of Herfoss, where it has left similar steep mounds and accumulations, all of which rest immediately upon the primary schist of the Fjelde. We left our carioles at this farm, and with a guide took to the Fjelde, leading our horses, as riding was not practicable. It is difficult to convey an idea of the dreary aspect of this plateau, and its utter solitude. The soil covers only in patches the naked rock. Every hollow is a pool, or a morass. Trees are sprinkled over the surface; but they do not enliven the scene, being the dark, stern-looking pines which appear almost like a piece of the rock from which they are growing. Many were standing with all their branches dead, stripped of the bark to make bread, and blanched by the weather, resembling white marble,—mere ghosts of trees. The bread is made of the inner rind next to the wood, taken off in flakes like a sheet of foolscap paper, and is steeped or washed in warm water to clear off its astringent principle. It is then hung across a rope to dry in the sun, and looks exactly like sheets of parchment. When dry it is pounded into small pieces, mixed with corn, and ground into meal on the hand-mill or quern. It is much more generally used than I supposed. There are districts in which the forests suffered very considerable damage in the years 1812 and 1814, when bad crops and the war, then raging, reduced many to bark bread. The extended cultivation of the potatoe since that period

has probably placed the inhabitants of the lower country beyond the necessity of generally resorting to it ; but the Fjelde bonder use it, more or less, every year. It is not very unpalatable, nor is there any good reason for supposing it unwholesome, if well prepared ; but it is very costly. The value of the tree, which is left to perish on its root, would buy a sack of flour, if the English market were open. They starve and we shiver in our wretched dwellings, although each country has the means of relieving the other with advantage to itself ; and all for the sake of supporting colonies, and other interests, which add little to the well-being of the people of Great Britain.

Towards night, we came to a considerable lake, about seven miles in length, called Væra, which is the source of the main branch of the river of Værdal. Seven families, tenants of my landlord, dwell on its borders. They are true Fjelde bonder. Corn, or even potatoes, cannot be raised here. In a patch of a few yards of potatoes, planted on the bank, the leaf was already yellow, touched by the frost, on the last days of July ; and clothes laid on the grass all night were stiff with hoar frost in the morning. Woodcutting is even out of the reach of these Væra people, owing to the distance, and uncertainty of floating the trunks to the saw-mills. They live entirely by tending cattle, fishing in the lake, and in winter shooting game for sale. These appear not very productive occupations, yet are the people well off. Cheese and butter are products as saleable as corn ; the extent of pasture, and of bog-land for hay, enables them to keep as many cattle, sheep, and goats, as they can manage. The house in which we passed the night was clean, with two rooms, wooden floors, glass windows, a cellar, and with cattle-houses apart from the dwelling-house. For supper we had trout and milk ; with butter that was clean and excellent. Our beds were composed of birch leaves and branches, with reindeer skins for bed-clothes ; and the chimney, for they had no stoves, contained a blazing crackling fire, by no means unpleasant even in July. The people were clad in their own coarse manufactured cloth, but not in rags, and although we came unexpectedly, the house was clean, with no appearance of sluttishness or disorder. The rents of these people are very trifling, about six or seven shillings sterling ; but I presume they had paid a sum at entry, and hold the farms for their own and their widows' lives, at a trifling yearly payment, which is the usual way of

letting land in this quarter; and on the death of the father, the son takes a new lease, with consent of the widow, on similar terms.

Early in the morning we crossed the lake in a boat, to visit three or four of the seven families who are settled on the opposite shore. It struck me as a novelty to see a man sitting in a boat anchored in a lake and fishing, not as an amusement but a regular occupation. The trout in the Fjelde are in general about the size of a herring, and are excellent when fresh. The people salt or dry them for winter use, as an important object in their housekeeping. It is only on the borders of these lakes, and in the small dales and valleys in the Fjelde, that there is good pasturage for cattle. These are often very beautiful little tracts of grass land. But all the rest of the Fjelde, the bare unsheltered back of the country, is rock, partly covered with a thin scurf of moss and berry-bearing shrubs. Heath is scarce; I have not seen half an acre of ground covered with heath. Every depression of ground that affords shelter is filled with a dark mass of forest; on the skirts of which are bogs, of which the grass is cut and stacked on the spot, until frost and snow make the ground stable, and the ways practicable for bringing it home. The principal employment of the Fjelde bonder is making and transporting this winter provision for the cattle.

A river runs into this lake from the east through a valley called Straadal, in which there is only one farm. We walked to it, as, on account of bogs and blocks of stone, there is no access on horseback. The farmer had but lately settled on the spot, and was living in a newly erected hut. It was a mere cabin in size, the poorest hut I have seen in Norway; but had its wooden floor, glass window, and chimney, and was quite clean. His cattle were much more magnificently lodged. He was building a very large house for them, with a hay-loft over it, of logs of wood. The boundary between Sweden and Norway is within a hundred yards of this farm. It is marked by a broad avenue cut through the forest, and pillars of stone built within sight of each other. The Norwegians maintain their boundary with great jealousy. It is cleared of brush-wood, kept in order regularly, and its state reported to the Storthing.

On returning to the lake we recrossed it, and set off, leading our

horses, and with a guide, to go over the mountain called Shjækker Hatte, which is reckoned one of the highest on this part of the plateau of the Fjelde. The Fjelde is like that which we had passed over, — a dark, gloomy, pine-covered country, encumbered with masses of rock and swamps, and with many huge masses of snow in the hollows. We saw no living thing in the waste. The birds even appear to forsake it. Shjækker Hatte is 3,693 feet above the sea. The base all round is covered with a pine forest, the higher part with birch. The summit is bare rock ; and many huge square masses, different from that on which they rest, are pitched, as if by accident, on the top of the ridges. These are of gneiss, and the rock of the mountain itself is a compact clay or greywacke. The frame-work of the tents of the Laplanders, — three sticks tied together at the top like our gipsy tents, — was standing in the woods on many places, for this hill is a favourite winter ground with them. In summer they seek the highest and more northerly tracts of the Fjelde, with their reindeer, to avoid insects. The mountain had many large masses of snow, which a traveller might dignify perhaps with the name of glaciers, as from and under them considerable streams run, and these are not altogether safe bridges to cross. The descent to the west from this hill is much more rapid than the rise from the eastward. In some parts, the slope on this side is almost perpendicular from the top to the bottom. This is the character of the whole Fjelde tract. It slopes gently towards the Baltic and the north-east, while its face towards the ocean side and the north-west is steep and abrupt. After eight hours' hard marching, we descended into the Shjækker valley, turned our horses loose, kindled a blazing fire, and bivouacked till daybreak. Notwithstanding all the smoke we could make, the mosquitoes almost devoured us. As soon as there was light enough to pick our way through the morasses, we travelled down the valley. There is but one permanent inhabitant in the Shjækker valley, which is at least twenty-five miles in extent ; but at the lower end there are many seaters inhabited during the summer. We passed the night near the hut of this person, who reckons himself not more than four Norwegian miles from Snaasen Vand, and goes to Snaasen church as the nearest. I have seen this tract of the Fjelde, therefore, in various points. Its value, as considered with regard to the food and employment it affords to man, is certainly very small in proportion to the extent ; yet it is not

wholly useless. A large proportion of the live stock of the lower country is kept by the pasturage in its dales for four months of the year; and almost all that the live stock of the country produces of dairy articles, meat, and tallow, is drawn from the pasturage of this track. This is no inconsiderable amount. The products of the dairy, — cheese, butter, and milk, in every variety of preparation, — enter largely into the daily food of the people. The poorest have this diet; and from the immense space of the Fjelde, a supply of cheese and butter is within reach of all who have the means to purchase a cow.

This uninhabited valley is very beautiful. It is watered by a fine stream, and clothed with woods of pine and birch and aspen of unusual size; and every break or open space between the woods shows a lively green meadow, frequently occupied as a seater. I measured pine-trees which at four feet from the ground were twenty-six and thirty inches in diameter; and these noble trees had been felled for the side-walls of a cattle-shed or byre on a seater. The Norwegian sets no value on a tree which a Scotchman, not accustomed to such superfluity of timber on his naked hills, regards with much respect. Trees which with us would be worth a good deal of money, are cut down for firewood, or to lay across a pool, or are often peeled all round a few feet above the ground, that they may perish standing, and leave a clear space for grass. The finest birches are stripped of the bark, and left to rot. The bark is called *naver* (it is possible the name of *Strathnaver* in Scotland may be connected with this word), and is used all over Norway beneath slates, tiles, earth, or whatever may be the exterior covering of a roof, to prevent the wood beneath from rotting. All posts which are in contact with the earth, whether farming fences, bridge rails, or gates, are always carefully wrapped round with flakes of birch bark, for a few inches above and below the ground.

After eight hours' walking down the valley, in the lower part of which there are beautiful tracts of grass, occupied at this season by the cattle, sheep, and horses of the farms in Værdal, we came to its junction with Helgodal. We had to take our horses round so many bogs, rocks, and quagmires, some not quite a safe support for a man's weight. that I do not reckon our real advance at more than five or six and twenty miles, which I consider the extent of this Fjelde valley.

In Norway the trees of the pine tribe are called *furu* and *gran*. *Furu* is our pine (*Pinus silvestris*), and *gran* is our fir (*Pinus abies*); the one is the red wood and the other the white wood of our carpenters. There are whole districts which produce only *furu*, others only *gran*; and this seems not exactly regulated by latitude or elevation. The zones at which different trees cease to grow appear to be a theory to which the exceptions are as numerous as the examples. In Romsdal Amt, at Fanne Fiord, near Molde, in latitude  $69^{\circ} 47'$  north, and with a medium temperature of only  $4^{\circ}$  of Reaumur, pears, the bergamot, gravenstein, and imperial, and also plums, come to perfection, and the walnut-tree often bears ripe fruit. Hazel and elm in the same amt form continuous woods, as at Egerdal. Yet the *gran* disappears altogether; although in the same degree of latitude it grows at an elevation of 1000 feet above the sea in the interior of Norway, and even in latitude  $69^{\circ}$  in Lapmark. It has been found a vain attempt to raise it in Romsdal Amt, a locality in which the following trees and bushes grow readily: Canadian poplar, balsam poplar, horse-chesnut, larch, elder, yew, roses of various sorts, lavender, box, laburnum, white thorn, ivy. Larch brought from Scotland appears to thrive. There must be something in the nature of the plants not connected with elevation or latitude, that determines the growth of the *gran* and *furu*. In the best established of these vegetation zones in this country, that of the birch, which undoubtedly grows higher up the mountain side than other trees, there are generally two or three sturdy pines, braving alike the storm and the theory. On the Dovre Fjelde, for instance, between Jerkin, which is 3085 feet above the sea level, and Fogstuen, which is 3187 feet, in latitude about  $62^{\circ} 25'$  north, the birch is growing up the sides of the hills in abundance sufficient to afford firewood to those two farms. It is not, indeed, the luxuriant birch with the pendent branches which adorns Guldebrandsdal. It forms probably a distinct variety, with thicker and shorter leaves than the common one. But, although stunted and crooked, they are more luxuriant than those growing in the most sheltered spots in the county of Caithness, in latitude  $58^{\circ}$  north, and only a few feet above the level of the sea; and outside of the birch wood near Jerkin, on its north side, grow single pine-trees, and in one place a complete row of them. They are but short stunted trees, but the birches are but short stunted trees also. They are big enough to prove that the theory of the zones

of elevation at which different species of trees will or will not grow must be taken with caution, as it does not satisfactorily cover all the facts observable in this country.

## CHAPTER IX.

Orkney and Zetland belonged to Norway.—Pledged for Fifty Thousand Florins.—Tradition.—Claim to redeem these Provinces.—Torfæus.—Christian V.—Buonaparte.—Dr. Clarke.—Saga.—Sea-King Swein.—His Adventures.—Jarl Rognvald.—Cathedral.—Churches in Romney Marsh.—Free Institutions.—Kings Harald Haarfagre.—Hakon.—Former Classes of Society.—Sigurd Sir.—Manners described in the Saga.—Dress of Sigurd Sir.—Aie the Priest.—Scalds.—Alliteration.—Authorities of Saga.—Kuads.—Norwegian Literature.—Road from the Dronthiem Fiord to the Bothnian Gulf.—Important Basis for the Military Defence of Norway and Sweden.—King's Visit by this Road to Norway compared with that of George IV. to Scotland.—His Visit to the Field of Stikkleslad.—His Reception by the Norwegians.—Triumph of Constitutional Principles.—The Election in our District for the Storting.—Distillation of Spirits from Potatoes.—Effect of the free Distillation on Population and Property.—State of Sea-side Population.—The Winter Fishing at Lafoden.—Use of Nets in the Cod Fishery.—Regulations.—Herring Fishery.—Bonder or Agricultural Population.—Fjelde Bonder.—Their Condition.—Ancient Families.

NORWAY is a country peculiarly interesting to the inhabitants of Orkney and Zetland. These islands were only disjoined from the crown of Norway and annexed to Scotland in the year 1468. They were pledged by Christian I. King of Norway and Denmark for the sum of 50,000 Rhenish florins, being part of the dower of 60,000 given with his only daughter Margaret on her marriage with James III. of Scotland. The arrangement was probably intended at the time by the Danish monarch to be only temporary; as the provinces pledged bore a considerable relative importance to the mother country. The whole kingdom of Norway, even in modern times, contained a population only about eighteen times greater than that of the Orkney and Zetland islands.

It may make the antiquary pause before he admits too readily the transmission of historical events, without written documents,

orally by tradition for a long series of ages, that in these islands in about 350 years, among 50,000 people dwelling in a locality but little frequented, and living from generation to generation with little admixture of or intercourse with strangers, and in a state of society and under circumstances the most favourable for the transmission of oral tradition, not only is the Norwegian language become extinct, but no tradition exists of any one event, much less of any series of connected events, that happened in the Norwegian times; nor does there exist any such strong and general tradition among the inhabitants that in former days the islands belonged to Norway, as would justify a scrupulous historian in assuming the fact upon the faith of tradition alone. What is the real value, then, of tradition as evidence of historical facts, if this be the case in three centuries and a half, with the memory not only of striking facts, but of the current language, among a population having on one side of them the Highlanders of Scotland boasting of poems transmitted orally from father to son for fourteen or fifteen centuries; and on the other side the Icelanders showing indeed manuscripts of Saga of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but which they avow were transmitted by oral tradition alone for several ages before being committed to writing? What is the real historical value of tradition? It may be safe to assume that names of places and of persons, customs, superstitions, and even a few words and turns of expression of a language may remain unchanged, because not superseded by any more convenient or to the same purport, and there is trouble in giving up, and none in retaining, these when once established; and this kind of passive tradition may exist in a country for an indefinite period, and be worthy of all credence. What may be called active tradition, on the other hand, which depends upon generation after generation committing to memory long narrations in poetry or in prose of events in no way connected with their existing interests or affairs, cannot be depended upon, and can have no existence at all with regard to very distant events. The vis inertie of human nature is opposed to it. Such tradition is entitled to credence only in proportion to the support it may have from the other kind, the passive tradition of the country. This position is curiously illustrated in the ancient history of the Orkney and Zetland isles. The language and the active tradition of events of the Norwegian times are extinct; but these have been collected in the Ork-



neyinga Saga before they were forgotten, and are now singularly supported by the passive tradition of the islands. No district of Great Britain possesses such a curious and minute record of its affairs during the middle ages, as that which Thormodus Torfæus published at Copenhagen in 1715, from the MSS. of the Icelandic Saga in the royal library of Denmark, under the title of "*Orcades, seu Rerum Orcadensium Historiæ libri tres.*" The object of this work, compiled, we are told, by Torfæus, by the express command of his Majesty Christian V., was of no less importance than to vindicate the undoubted right of the Danish monarch to redeem the mortgage of the sovereignty of these islands, by the re-payment of the 50,000 florins for which they had been pledged in 1468.

In equity, and as an abstract question of right, it appears to admit of no doubt that a just claim of redemption, or of an equivalent, is to this hour vested in the crown of Denmark. Prescription of rights is in no country allowed to constitute a ground of retention of property against a just original claim of the sovereign; much less between sovereign and sovereign, as trustees of their imperishable sovereignties, can any rights be sustained unless those founded on conquest, treaty, purchase, or other conditions fixed by the laws of nations, and the usages between civilised kingdoms. If it were a case between two honest men in private life, the right would be admitted and compromised.

Obsolete and ridiculous as this claim\* may now appear, if Christian V. had lived a century later, the reclamations of his honest and simple-minded historiographer, Thormodus Torfæus, would have been heard beyond the walls of his royal master's library. In 1804, Buonaparte, in one of his proclamations to the army assembled at Boulogne for the invasion of England, descants upon this very claim of Denmark to this portion of the British dominions. Suppose the Emperor Napoleon had purchased this claim, or suppose Russia or the United States were now to purchase it from Denmark, our civilians would be puzzled to find any more equitable reason for resisting the redemption than the very cogent one that "might makes right." Great Britain has spent

\* I find that, in 1549, an assessment, for paying off the sum for which the islands stood pledged, was levied in Norway by Christian III. The Scotch antiquary may possibly find some negotiations between the two countries, about that period, upon the subject.

money more foolishly than she would do in setting herself clear in equity with Denmark on this point.

Torfæus, with amusing and amiable simplicity, and like a true antiquary, forgetting the lapse of centuries, and considering the past time as present, labours with great zeal in his preface to this work to impress the good people of Orkney, in the most barbarous and unintelligible Latin, with a due sense of their obligation to their lawful lord and sovereign, Christian V., for ordering him, Thormodus Torfæus, his Majesty's own historiographer, to compile for their information this history of their ancient affairs.

It is rather singular that Dr. Clarke, in his *Travels in Scandinavia*, speaks of Thormodus Torfæus\* and Snorro Sturleson† as contemporaries, or at least as the two ancient historians of Norway. Torfæus should have been better known in the university of Cambridge. His name belongs to European literature. No author has examined and illustrated Scandinavian history with more diligence and success. If a member of a Danish university had classed together David Hume and the Venerable Bede as ancient and contemporary authors, what a chuckling would have been heard among our reviewers.

In 1780, an Icelandic scholar, Jonas Jonæus, published at Copenhagen, in Icelandic and Latin, the *Orkneyinga Saga*, "*Sive Historia Orcadum a prima Orcadum per Norwegos occupatione ad exitum Seculi Duodecemi.*" This is the text of the Icelandic MSS. of the Saga, of which the *Orcades of Torfæus* is a faithful compilation. Jonæus appears to have been in the service of a truly illustrious Danish nobleman of the family name of Suhm, who employed him to translate the Saga into Latin, and defrayed the expense of the publication. It gives us an exalted and just idea of the literary tastes and munificence of the Danish nobility, to find that fifty years ago they had anticipated the spirit of our Bannatyne Clubs; and that opulent individuals entertained scholars,

\* Thormod Torfesen was the son of Torfe Erlendsen, a man of consideration in Iceland. He was born 1636, was educated at the University of Copenhagen, was employed by Frederick III. and Christian V. to translate into Danish the Icelandic Saga, which then attracted the notice of the learned. Torfesen compiled the *Series Regum Daniæ*, the *Orcades*, the *Grænlandia Antiqua*, and other works highly esteemed by the continental antiquaries, from these Icelandic sources; and collected and translated a great many of the Saga. He died about 1715. (*Torfesen's Biographia*, *Minerva Maanedsskrift*, October, 1786. Kiøbenhavn).

† Snorro Sturleson was born 1178.

and published at their own cost the rare and curious manuscripts of their libraries, even when these referred to remote provinces of a foreign country, and owing to the want of interest to any except to a few antiquaries, could afford no gratification to vanity, but simply to literary taste.

The reader who will take the trouble to conquer the rather obscure Latin into which these Saga are translated, will be delighted at the glimpses they give him of ancient manners, of the way of living of the sea kings, and of the domestic affairs of the very individuals who, as Northmen, Danes, and Vikings, spread terror and devastation over all the sea-coasts of Europe. The Saga brings us home to their firesides. We see them, not only in their expeditions, burning towns, and laying waste provinces; but we see them out of armour, in their every-day clothes, on shore with their comrades and families. To one locally acquainted with the Orkney Islands, this reading is peculiarly interesting. He finds the names of islands, and harbours, and farmhouses, still the same as when these events narrated in the Saga of the eleventh or twelfth century took place, and has the pleasure to trace those peculiarities of truth, which, from their want of local knowledge, neither Torfæus nor Jonæus knew of. They, knowing nothing of the Orkney Islands, give us the names of places as they find them in the Icelandic manuscripts, and are not aware that the places referred to retain nearly the same names to the present day, and that all the local descriptions and peculiarities of distances and other circumstances correspond and corroborate, by internal evidence, the accuracy of this Saga. Torfæus even bestows a good deal of industry in attempting to clear up what appears to him some obscurity in the local names, but which, he shrewdly and rightly conjectures, may present no such obscurity to the inhabitants acquainted with the localities and present appellations. This is a strong illustration of the difference between the active and passive traditions of a country. The active had long been extinct in the Orkney Islands.

These internal evidences of the truth of an ancient story constitute the great charm of historical and antiquarian research. The human mind has an instinctive pleasure in recognising fact, unconnected with the importance or value of the fact recognised. It is this natural taste for truth which gives respectability and enjoyment to minute researches of the naturalist and antiquarian, which,

weighed by their direct importance and value in human affairs, would be considered trivial and ridiculous ; but there is no subject so small that it may not possess the charm of truth. This correspondence of the Orkneyinga Saga with local reality, gives much weight to the claims of the other Saga to authenticity.

The readers of romance, as well as the antiquary, would be interested in the characters and incidents recorded in the Saga. Swein, for instance, the proprietor of the little island Gareksay, now called Gairsay, situated opposite to and about four miles north of the Bay of Kirkwall, appears to have been in his day (he lived about 1120) one of the most daring and renowned of the northern sea kings. His various exploits, related in the Saga at some length, are very interesting. When he had finished the sowing of his bear-seed, an operation which, it may be inferred from the Saga, he performed with his own hands, he went out upon his regular summer cruize, sometimes at the head of six or eight ships; and came back in autumn to reap his crop in Gairsay, and to divide the booty he had collected on his expedition. The coasts of England and Ireland, and the Isle of Man, were frequently plundered by him; and the ancient Manx Chronicle confirms the facts and dates of his devastations in that island, as recorded in the Saga. During the winter, after a successful summer cruize, he entertained a band of eighty men in his little island of Gairsay. If each island chief kept on foot a proportionable body of these rovers, the numbers, when united under a daring leader like Swein, would be very formidable. The island of Gairsay could never have maintained one-fourth of the number of Swein's companions and guests, if they had not maintained themselves by other means than husbandry. On one occasion, Swein, who had many vicissitudes of fortune, was reduced to a single rowing-boat and two or three followers, and was skulking among the islets from the pursuit of the Jarl of Orkney, with whom he was at variance. The jarl happened one morning to be returning from a visit to Sigurd in the island of Rousay, and discovering Swein's boat, gave chase. Swein rowed to an uninhabited little island called Elgarholm; and finding his enemy gaining on him, as soon as his little boat was screened by the islet from the view of his pursuers, he ran her into one of those caves which the action of the waves scoops out often to a great extent under ground. By the time the jarl had reached the isle, and satisfied himself that Swein had not

gone past it, the rising of the tide had concealed the entrance of the cave; and at the further end of it Swein in his boat lay hid on a shelving beach, and heard the jarl and his attendants express their astonishment at his mysterious disappearance. For several years after, nothing was heard of Swein in the Orkney Islands. One fine summer day, a vessel was seen coming from the westward. This was Swein. He himself, with his armed followers, lay concealed in the hold of the vessel; and he left upon deck only the few men who might appear necessary to navigate such a merchant ship. He ordered them to sail close to a headland in the island of Rousay, upon which he had observed people walking about, and to hail them, and ask the news, and what they were doing. The people replied that they were attendants of the jarl, who had gone to the other side of the headland to hunt seals; and ordered the crew to bring their vessel to the shore, and give an account of the cargo to the jarl. As soon as the vessel was so close under the rock that it was out of sight of the people standing upon the slope of the promontory, Swein altered its course went round to where the jarl was seal-hunting, slew all his followers, took him on board a prisoner, and made sail for Scotland. Sigurd of Westness, whose guest the jarl was on this hunting expedition, found the dead bodies of the hunting party, and missing that of the jarl, declared that Swein must be alive, and have done the deed. The place, near to Westness, in the island of Rousay, is still called Sweindroog. The jarl was never heard of again. He was carried to Athol (ad Joclis), mutilated, and thrust into a monastery. Swein was reconciled to the jarl's successor, returned to his little isle of Gairsay, and for a long series of years was one of the most successful and renowned sea kings, or pirates, of his age. He was killed in the trenches of the city of Dublin, in the year 1159. He had sailed from Orkney upon the last expedition which, on account of his age, he intended to make. He attacked and carried the city of Dublin; and the ransom, or Danegelt, was to be paid next day. Next day the inhabitants, seeing the small number of their invaders contained in six vessels, rose and overcame them. Ware, in his History of Ireland, states, from Irish records, the fact of an attack by the Danes on the city of Dublin, and of their defeat on the second day, with the loss of their prince, in the trenches of the city, on the same day and in the same year, 1159, as that which the more

homespun Saga gives as the date of the defeat and death of this laird of the isle of Gairsay. He was no prince, but was quite reckless enough of human life and human rights to have been a prince in any age.

Another instance of very interesting and almost poetical narrative in the Orkneyinga Saga, is the account of the Jarl Rognvald's expedition to the Holy Land, in 1155. The jarl, when on a visit in Norway, met with a Norwegian nobleman, who was one of the body-guard of the Emperor Manuel Comnenes at Constantinople, and who was then on leave of absence in Norway. It is a fact noticed by Gibbon, and it forms the ground-work of one of Sir Walter Scott's novels, that the body-guard of the Greek Emperors was formed of Norwegian and other northern adventurers. At the instigation of this traveller, the jarl was induced to visit Constantinople and the Holy Land. The description of his three vessels, of a sea-fight, and the capture of a tall vessel in the Mediterranean, and of the various adventures of this party of crusaders, are well told, and vivid descriptions of passing events.

It was this Earl Rognvold who, in the year 1138, founded the cathedral of St. Magnus, in Kirkwall, a structure the most remarkable in the north of Europe, considering the poverty of the country in which it stands. At the present day, neither the wealth, nor the skill to execute such a work, could be found in the district. The length of this fabric is 232 feet, breadth  $56\frac{2}{3}$  feet. The arms of the transept  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length, and  $30\frac{2}{3}$  feet in breadth. The vault of the choir 71 feet high; the steeple 140 feet. The central portion, including the transepts, appears to be the old original fabric. Bishop Stewart enlarged the building by lengthening it towards the east, and Bishop Reid, in 1545, by adding to it towards the west. The junction of the later with the older work is apparent; and these enlargements, in some points of view, make the church appear disproportionably long. The arches, cut stonework, and ornaments of the oldest part, surpass those of the later parts. The Orkneyinga Saga informs us how the funds were provided for rearing this edifice in such a poor country in the year 1138. A great part of the lands in Orkney were held of the jarl by a feudal tenure, and on the death of a proprietor his heir had to redeem the land from the jarl, to whom it reverted on the death of the vassal, at an arbitrary fine. The jarl proposed to make the lands hereditary, without payment of a fine or price by the heir, on condition of one mark being paid to him for each plough-gate

of land. This was willingly agreed to by the vassals ; and money was not wanting thereafter, says the Saga, for carrying on the work. This information throws some light upon what has often puzzled the traveller in some districts in England ; viz. the number of spacious churches, as in Romney Marsh in Kent, and in the fen district of Lincolnshire, situated in very small parishes, and where there never could have been a population to require so much accommodation. In Kent, fifteen or sixteen churches may be seen within a space which altogether would only be a considerable parish in extent, and in some of the parishes there never have been above half a dozen or a dozen families. But if it was a common practice in those ages for the feudal lord to impart to his vassals full hereditary rights to their lands, in consideration of a payment which he laid out in pious uses, such as the building of churches, it is evident that the quality of the land, and value of the right ceded to the vassal, would have more to do than the number of inhabitants, in determining the size and number of these parish churches ; and it is precisely in the rich alluvial lands gained from the rivers and fens, in which the feudal lord had a title to the new land formed contiguous to his vassal's land, that the most of such parish churches as were evidently not erected with any reference to a population in the parish are found. In Romney Marsh in Kent, a tract of alluvial land studded with churches, many of which are spacious, there are no indications that the tract has ever been so densely inhabited as to require so many and such large places of worship. On the ground there are no traces of former habitations, no marks of the plough, no vestiges in the church-yards of numerous resting-places of former generations. The land being gained gradually from the state of fen or marsh, could never have been cultivated so as to employ a large resident agricultural population. It must have been always, as at present, pasture land, thinly inhabited, and attached to the arable estates upon the clay ridge adjoining to and overlooking this marsh. The erection of so many churches in such a tract has therefore probably been connected with the grants of the land, as it was gained from time to time from the water.

The Royal Northern Antiquarian (Old Manuscript) Society of Copenhagen has published a series of the Saga, of more general interest and importance than the Orkneyinga Saga. This series comprehends the historical Saga of events which belong to European history, and also to that of the Scandinavian monarchs of the

eleventh and twelfth centuries. It includes a period of about 170 years, beginning with the Saga of St. Olaf, the contemporary of Canute the Great of England, who assumed the crown of Norway in 1013, and continuing the series until the death of Magnus Erlingson in the sea-fight with Sverrer I. in 1184. Besides the value of these documents to English history, as confirming or adding to our stock of facts during its darkest period, they give us valuable and highly interesting views of the state of society and of the manners and mode of living in that age, and of the influence of the Thing or assembly of the people. I have already observed, that there seems no good grounds for the favourite and hackneyed course of all who have written on the origin of the British constitution and trial by jury, who unriddle a few dark phrases of Tacitus concerning the institutions of the ancient Germanic tribes, and trace up to that obscure source the origin of all political institutions connected with freedom in modern Europe. In these Saga we find, at a period immediately preceding the first traces of free institutions in our history, the rude but very vigorous demonstrations of similar institutions existing in great activity among those northern people who were masters of the country under Canute the Great, who for two generations before his time had occupied and inhabited a very large portion of it, and of whom a branch under William of Normandy became its ultimate and permanent conquerors. It may be more classical to search in the pages of Tacitus for allusions to those customs of the tribes wandering in his day through the forests of Germany which may bear some faint resemblance to modern institutions, or to what we fancy our modern institutions may have been in their infancy ; but it seems more consistent with correct principles of historic research to look for the origin of our institutions at the nearest, not at the most remote, source ; not at what existed 1000 years before in the woods of Germany, among people whom we must believe upon supposition to have been the ancestors of the invaders from the north of the Elbe who conquered England, and must again believe upon supposition that when this people were conquered successively by the Danes and Normans they imposed their own peculiar institutions upon their conquerors, instead of receiving institutions from them ; but at what actually existed when the first notice of assemblies for legislative purposes can be traced in English history among the conquerors of the country, a cognate people, long



established by previous conquests in a large portion of it, who used, if not the same, at least a language common to both, and who had no occasion to borrow from the conquered, institutions which were flourishing at the time in their mother country in much greater vigour. It is in these Saga, not in Tacitus, that we have to look for the origin of the political institutions of England.

The reference of all matters to the Things, or legislative assemblies of the people, is one of the most striking facts in the Saga.

Halfdan the Black, who died in 863, divided Norway into five districts, with fixed head places for holding Things in each. Laws suited to the local circumstances of each district were framed at these Things; and each code took its name from that of the meeting-place of the district. Harold Harfaagre succeeded at ten years of age to this Halfdan, and reigned from 863 to 936. In his reign the small kings, or independent nobles, were reduced to the condition of subjects. It is the singular and peculiar feature of Norwegian history, that the struggle between the sovereign power of the state and the great nobility claiming independent sovereignty, each in his own domain, a struggle which it has been the destiny of every modern nation to go through, was begun and finished in Norway in one reign in the ninth century. In every other European country this struggle was continued through four centuries of bloodshed, rapine, and misery. In Norway the great nobility never had feudal powers. The small king had to assemble the Thing, and obtain its authority for making war. The equal division of property among children, a rule extending even to the crown itself, prevented the accumulation of power in individuals; and the circumstance before noticed, of the total want of fortresses, castles, or strongholds in the country, owing to the division of estates, and to the use of wood as the building material, effectually prevented a nobility from attaining the power of the noblemen of feudal countries, and setting the royal authority at defiance. Of the nobility, or small kings, some colonised Iceland; and Normandy was conquered by one of those whom Harold Harfaagre expelled from Norway. Christianity was introduced in this reign, and the historical Saga claim our confidence in the events which they relate from the time of Harfaagre. The great length of his reign, extending over a period of seventy-three years, and reaching as it were from the fabulous to the historical age of modern Europe, was

no doubt favourable to the correctness of the narratives of events. There was at least one witness alive, the monarch himself, to rectify the errors of those who composed and recited in his court the Saga of his times. The length of this reign also must have consolidated the institutions favourable to the people, which, as they weakened the power of the small kings, were favoured by that monarch. We find accordingly that on the death of Harold Harfaagre, his son Eric, his successor, whom he had associated with himself in the royal authority, was deposed by the Thing on account of his cruelty, and a younger son of Harfaagre was appointed in his stead. This son, Hakon, brought up from childhood at the court of Athelstan, King of England, was sent for to assume the crown of Norway. This circumstance leads us to conjecture that the language of England and Norway at that day was at least intelligible, if not the same, in both countries, and that the political institutions were similar. Hakon, Athelstan's foster son, reigned nineteen years; and during his reign there was frequent reference to the Things, both for amending the laws, and for the introduction of Christianity. At a Thing held in the year 956, the husbandman Asbiorn of Medalhuus got up and declared, on the part of his neighbours and of himself, "that they had elected Hakon to be their king, upon the condition that freedom of religion and freedom of conscience should be warranted to every man; and if the king persisted in attempting to suppress their ancient faith, they would elect another king. . . . And now, king, make thy choice." Hakon gave way; and as a proof of his sincerity was obliged to take part in the heathen ceremonies of the meeting. Hakon was killed in 963, in a battle against the sons of Eric, who had acquired the kingdom of Northumberland from Athelstan. During the half century between his death and the accession of King Olaf the Saint, the Things appear always to have conferred or confirmed the royal dignity. Olaf, before he ventured to assume the name of king, consulted a Thing or assembly of the nobility or small kings, who after Harfaagre's death again had some power, upon the way of proposing his claim as heir of Harfaagre to the general Things of the people; and proceeded with such caution as proves that the consent of the small kings to receive him as the supreme or chief king, was not sufficient without the reference to the general Things of the people. Of such importance was this institution in that age among all the Scandinavian people, that when King Olaf of

Sweden, who was a personal and implacable enemy of this King Olaf of Norway, refused to conclude a treaty of peace between his kingdom and Norway, and to bestow his daughter in marriage on the Norwegian king, the ambassadors of the latter applied to the Thing of the people, and laid their proposals before that assembly at Upsal in the year 1017. The Thing found the proposals made by Norway reasonable, and desirable for both countries, and obliged their king to accept them. The attempt of Olaf to rule Norway without the intervention of the Things was the immediate cause of his ruin. By his atrocious cruelties towards those who refused to embrace Christianity he had alienated the affections of his subjects, and when he was attacked by Canute the Great the people refused the supplies. He could levy neither men nor ships in his kingdom, and was obliged to take refuge in Russia. He attempted afterwards to recover his dominions. He landed with a few followers in Sweden, where, with the permission of his brother-in-law King Onund, he raised about four thousand adventurers, and marched from the Gulf of Bothnia across the Peninsula to the Fiord or Gulf of Dronthiem. At the debouche of the valley of Værdal he was met by an army of twelve thousand bonder, raised by the Thing and commanded by Olver of Egge, and was, as before mentioned, defeated and slain in the year 1030, near to the present church of Stikklestadt.

It may be gathered from the Saga that society consisted of four distinct orders at that period. The nobility, who were descendants of royal families; and without regard to priority of birth, those who were descended both on the mother's side and father's side from Harfaagre, were eligible to the supreme monarchy, but appear to have had no civil power or privilege as nobles, but merely this *odelsbaarn* ret to the crown. The *odelsbaarnmen*, or *bondermen*\*, or husbandmen, were the proprietors of land held not from the king, nor from any feudal superior. These were the people who had a voice at the Things. A third order were the unfree men, holding land for services as vassals or as labourers in

\* The word *bonde*, and the English words *husbandman*, *husband*, are not derived from the word *band*, or *bond*, or *bind*, synonymous to *vinculum* and its derivatives; but from the Scandinavian word *bond*, *boend*, *bor*, synonymous to inhabiting, dwelling in, dwell. *Bonder* and *husbonder* are the indwellers and householders. *Min Husbond* is used still in some parts of Norway and Denmark by the farm servant to his master. *Bonde* is the inhabitant, not the *bondsman*, in the feudal sense.

cottages, but who had no voice in the Things in respect to their land. A fourth order were the *trælle*\* or domestic slaves (hence probably our English words *thrall* and *thralldom*), who were private property, and in a lower state than the unfree men. The Saga tells us that the small king Sigurd Sir (Sir appears to have been his title, and the same word which has been retained in English) was an excellent manager of his estate. He enabled his *trælle* to purchase their freedom from him by lending them what was necessary for the catching of herrings; and he settled them upon his seaters or uncleared waste lands, for which they after a time paid him yearly rents with which he purchased new *trælle*. This is precisely the management of the Sir Sigurds of the present day in the West Highlands and Orkney and Zetland Isles.†

The series of Historical Prose Saga, of which the Royal Antiquarian or Old Manuscript Society of Copenhagen has published a translation from the old Icelandic into their own language, begins with the Saga of this King Olaf the Saint. It is one of the most curious and minute pictures of a past age that the literature of Europe is possessed of. It has great merit as a literary composition. The story-telling strain of the narrative is so simple and natural, that you might fancy an old grey-headed man in the chimney corner on a winter's night was telling you the tale. The equal importance given to minute and important circumstances, the variety of persons speaking and acting before you, the lively touches of character, the shrewd observations on motives and facts, with the most undoubting faith in omens, dreams, and witchcraft, make it a most lively and interesting work, independently altogether of its historic value. It is, however, to be regretted by the English reader of early history that the learned Society have been so fascinated with its literary merits, that all their attention has

\* This condition in society, the class of *træls* or slaves, was abolished by Magnus VII., who reigned 1319 to 1344.

† It is told, I don't know upon what authority, that one Brokelin, a native of Ghent, first invented the art of curing herrings in the year 1307, and the Emperor Charles V., when he was in the Netherlands, went to visit his grave. This must be a mistake, as about the year 1000, the foster father of St. Olav, Sigurd Sir, introduced this branch of industry among his *træls* or slaves, according to the Saga of St. Olav. The art of preserving fish with salt was practised by the Romans. *Halec*, which the commentators explain to be salt fish, was one of the articles of food of the husbandry slaves which Cato the Elder mentions in his work on agriculture: but La Cépède doubts if herring or cod were known to the Romans.

been bestowed upon preserving in the translation the true colloquial style and beautiful simplicity of the original. They forget that this Scandinavian Odyssey possesses an historical interest, even greater than its poetic. They have not indulged us with any remarks, notes, or illustrations, on the coincidence of the institutions, laws, customs, manners, now existing in Scandinavia and in the countries formerly subdued by Scandinavians, with those of their ancestors handed down in these Saga. This is the more to be regretted, because there are few scholars in England, — are there indeed any? — who, to an intimate acquaintance with the old and modern Icelandic, the Norse, the Swedish, and all the dialects of the Scandinavian languages, could also bring to the task the vast stock of erudition and acquirements of such learned antiquaries as Professor Rafn, and other members of that Society.

The English are peculiarly fastidious in historical evidence. The political institutions of the country and the administration of its common law, have reference much more to historical evidence than to abstract principles. Facts of history which the Continental reader seeks to establish for the gratification of the natural taste for truth in historical research, are for the English reader matters entering essentially into the business of the present time, and are investigated accordingly, with no small portion of the acuteness and care which men bestow upon their existing interests. It is on this consideration to be regretted that the Society, in publishing the Saga of St. Olaf, has not given in the preface any sufficient account of the manuscript from which it is taken. Its author, or supposed author, its date, or probable date, are matters upon which even the conjecture of the learned members of the Society would be highly valued. All we learn of it is that it is No. — of the Arnei Magnæi Collection in the Royal Library of Copenhagen; and the translation from the Icelandic carefully revised and collated by the distinguished Icelandic scholars Professor Rafn and others.

Arne Magnussen was an Icelander by birth, who returned from the University of Copenhagen to his native country in the year 1702, where he held some office until 1713, when he returned to Copenhagen, and was appointed professor of Danish antiquities and librarian of the University. During his stay in Iceland, he made a large collection of Icelandic manuscripts, which at his death, in 1730, he bequeathed to the University. This is the col-

lection quoted by northern antiquaries under its Latin appellation of Arnas Magnæus, and which, although it has suffered by fires at different periods, is still the richest in manuscripts relative to the history of northern nations.

It is not enough for the English reader, more interested in the facts than the beauties of the narrative, to know that the manuscript is from this collection, — he would be relieved from the doubt whether, even if the facts be correct and derived from contemporary sources, the filling in between the facts, the whole of the manners and customs incidentally introduced, and which form the most valuable part of the Saga, may not be those of a later period, and of the age in which the writer himself lived. We may be reading facts of the tenth or eleventh century, but manners, habits, and ways of living of the fifteenth; just as on the stage and in pictures, we see Brutus, Anthony, and Cæsar represented in embroidered waistcoats, powdered periwigs, and cocked hats. In this very Saga of St. Olaf, we read of his stepfather Sigurd Sir, dressed in his white felt-hat, his *cordovan* boots, and kirtle of blue cloth, and with his gold-headed cane. Are these, and especially the Spanish leather or cordovan boots and gold-headed cane, really part of the costume of the year 1013, or of 500 years later? Torfæus and Jonæus, in their prefaces, consider the manuscripts of the Orkneyinga Saga, and of the Saga of St. Magnus, to have been written in the thirteenth century. The transactions related are principally of the middle and end of the twelfth century; so that the writers, if not contemporary with, are not removed far from the facts, and may be considered contemporary with the manners described.

The writer of this Saga of St. Olaf has done more for himself than his editors have done for him. He has given a preface, telling the sources from which he composed this Saga; but his editors have not told us at what period he lived, or what reliance may be placed on those sources from which he writes. His preface is very curious, and some account of it will be interesting to the many English readers who are unacquainted even with the existence of the Saga literature. He tells us it was more than 240 years after the colonisation of Iceland in the reign of Harfaagre, before Sagas were committed to writing. He considers that prose Sagas could not have been transmitted down through so long a period, if they had not been connected with the *kuads* or poems of

the Scalds, composed on each event, and recited or sung by them at festivals in presence of the whole court.

From this passage we may infer that the Saga were a kind of drama consisting of recitation and song relating to real events, and delivered by the Scalds. The Scalds, a kind of wandering scholars, natives generally of Iceland, appear to have been a class of more importance than mere amusement of the court could have made them. They were probably, as before remarked, the recorders of events affecting rights of succession to udal property ; and, in fact, many of the Saga are merely family annals, giving the actions and deaths of the individuals in a particular line or family, as the main events to be recorded. They were also employed as the messengers and ambassadors who carried the tokens which monarchs or nobles exchanged with each other. These tokens were not gifts merely, but had a meaning known to the personages, or at the least accredited the messenger to the person receiving a token. We cannot, in our times, enter into the value and importance of such devices for communication before writing and reading were known in courts. The language of the Scalds appears to have been understood at the courts of all the branches of the Scandinavian people. The same Scald appears to have visited, on business or pleasure, the courts of Rouen, of England, of Denmark, of Sweden, and of Norway, and there is no mention of any difficulty arising from difference of language in any of the transactions of individuals. There were frequently adventurers passing from the service of one monarch to another ; and new Scalds appear frequently to have come over from Iceland, and to have at once recited Saga. Haco, bred from childhood in the court of Athelstan in England, on arriving in Norway delivers a speech to the Thing. Whether the Saxon, originally, like the Scandinavian, of Asiatic derivation, may have in that age been little different, or whether there was an acquired language, the Icelandic, which, like French in modern times, was current in all courts, seems not well ascertained.

These Saga, observes the author of this preface, could not very grossly alter or exaggerate events. "because the principal actors and witnesses of the exploits recorded were present at the recital of the Saga, and any exaggeration or violation of the known facts would have been satire, not praise." He gives a curious reason for preferring the authority of poetic to that of prose narrative.

memory of the narrator and of his audience; the accuracy of the poetic narrative is secured by the measure of the verse, as the proper original word used by the first composer or Scald, and no other word, can be used. The Saga which are in verse he therefore considers both as more easily retained with accuracy, and less liable to be altered; and he therefore in his Saga follows, he says, the kuads of the Scalds.

It may, perhaps, from this passage be possible to account for the alliteration, and other devices to us unintelligible, used in Icelandic poetry by the Scalds; devices which appear to us to have had no harmony, and no merit but that of the difficulty of finding words beginning and ending with particular letters. May not this difficulty, which we think the offspring of a false and childish taste, have had the great, and in our age unappreciable, merit of securing the accurate relation of the facts word for word, without the possibility of alteration, to all posterity? May not the verses of a later age, arranged as hatchets, helmets, flowers, have taken their importance in the middle ages from a similar principle, — from affording a kind of aid, like that of artificial memory in modern times, to the reciter, and also a security against error or interpolation of any other than the original words? He proceeds to tell us that the first who wrote historical narratives in Iceland was Are Thorgilson the priest; that Are began his book with the colonisation of Iceland in the time of Harold Harfaagre, and divided his work into two parts, — the first extending to the introduction of Christianity into Iceland, the second from that period to his own times; and he added many narrations of events belonging to the history of Norwegian, Danish, and English monarchs, as well as of the events belonging to Icelandic history. Now this priest Are, continues the author of the preface to St. Olaf's Saga, wrote, according to his own account, in his History of the Norwegian Kings, from the oral relation of one Odd Kollsen, and this Odd again received his information from one Thorgeir Afrodskoll, an intelligent man, who was so old that he was a householder at Dronthiem at the time Hakon Jarl the Great was killed. Are also lived fourteen years in the house of Hall Thoravenson, an intelligent man, who was baptized at the age of three years, the year before the general introduction of Christianity into Iceland, and who, in the course of many voyages to Norway as a merchant, was



well acquainted with the whole of that kingdom, and had been employed in various affairs by King Olaf himself.

It must be admitted that this author's information\*, derived not only from the original kuads of the Scalds, but from the written accounts of Are the Priest, who derived his accounts from certain contemporaries of the transactions, whom he names, whose ages, places of residence, and means of obtaining their information he carefully states, stands upon authority very different from that of traditions which can be traced to no source that is entitled to greater credit than that of the last narrator. The anxious accuracy of the writer to show his authorities, and also those which his predecessor Are the Priest followed, is in a good spirit, and proves that his facts were not adopted without discrimination. Is there any of our own ancient chroniclers who quotes his authorities and means of information so anxiously as these Icelandic chroniclers have done?

It is to be regretted that the learned Society has not given, along with this Saga, its conjectures with regard to the period at which the author lived. It is evident that Snorro Sturleson had used this more ancient Saga, both in his preface to the *Heimskringla* and in his *St. Olaf's Saga*; but it would have been satisfactory to the curious to have known if all the facts coincide, or if not, whether Snorro had founded his account on any other manuscripts now lost; whether the work or works of Are the Priest are extant, or were so in Snorro's time; and above all, what may be the distinct value as authorities, of these kuads of the Scalds, which this author, for the reasons given in his preface, prefers to the prose narrations, and which are the avowed foundation of all the historical Saga. Are these kuads mere ballads or stanzas upon unconnected events and battles? Is all between these heads or outlines of a history filled in by a writer according to his own ideas of what may have been said or done at the time? 240 years is a period which seems sufficient to extinguish all similar tradition in Orkney and Zetland as matter of historical

\* Harold Harfaagre was born anno 853, began to reign 863, died 936. St. Olav's father was Harold Grændske; his grandfather Guddrod; his great-grandfather, Biorn Stærke; his great-great-grandfather was Harold Harfaagre; and St. Olav was born anno 995, only 59 years after the death of his great progenitor Harfaagre. A contemporary of St. Olav was therefore a credible source of information for all the events of Harfaagre's reign, such as the conquest of Normandy by Rolf Gangr, the colonisation of Iceland, &c.

faith for even important facts. How can small facts of no importance, but illustrative of the state of society, be depended upon? Are the manners and customs which he paints with such lively touches those of the age he writes of, or those of the time he lives in?

But it is most probable that I have only my own ignorance to regret, and that these important points have been fully discussed by some of the learned men in Denmark who have investigated the Saga of the North. Some of those, however, who have studied the ancient Icelandic, and have given the world translations of Saga and historical chronicles into modern languages, have evidently been led by a false taste for effect to deviate totally from the truth of expression of the original author, and have given translations so obviously and ridiculously absurd, that the foreigner may justly doubt whether the same spirit has not more or less infected the whole of the Saga literature, and historical accuracy been much less attended to than poetical merit. In the translation, for instance, of a *kuad* or song of Eivind Scaldaspilder in Olav Tryggvesen's Saga, what shall the stranger say to such a phrase as this — "Then Hugaf of Sonderleed and his *Hottentots*," &c.? Or in the Gillunge Saga, to find Ingrid upbraiding King Inge, and calling him "King *Lilleput*?" Or to find in St. Olaf's Saga, in the account of Thore Hund's voyage to Byermeland, that although they (the vessels) were seldom together, they always had each other in their *spy-glasses*? The translation of Snorro Sturleson into the modern Norse or Danish from the Icelandic, by N. J. S. Grundtvig, priest, published in Copenhagen 1822, contains the above absurdities; and where the translation of a work of the twelfth century is in the present times of so loose and inaccurate a spirit, it may justly be doubted whether a spirit of close and accurate investigation of the historical value of the Saga has been generally diffused among Icelandic scholars?

The exploits of the wandering heroes of Norway, who set out with a few ships and conquered kingdoms in the finest parts of Europe for their posterity, seize on the imagination of the reader of modern history, and make him desirous to see the mother country of such men, — to see their descendants, — to see the places where they lived, the harbours they sailed from; and, should no works of man remain from their days, the rocks at least and hills and rivers which they had looked upon.

I have been led into this long account of the Saga, partly from having had no other reading for some months within reach, partly from being here in the midst of the old historic ground of Norway. It was at Dronthiem that all the great events of the early ages were acted. Harfaagre and his successors lived in the district north of the Dovre Fjelde, which was then considered the most important part of the kingdom. It was through this valley and Indal that Saint Olaf penetrated. Sticklestadt is near; and Olver Egge, the brave udalman, who collected and led his neighbours to give battle on that field to the tyrant, and who ought to be considered by the Norwegians as the true tutelary saint of Norway, lived on the farm of Egge, near Steenkjær. The estate is now, after 800 years, still probably of the same size as it was when Olver possessed it, notwithstanding the supposed effects of the law of partition. It is still one of the most considerable of the udal estates in the district, keeping forty head of cattle, with horses, crops, and pasturage in proportion; and from its situation on a point of land extending into the Fiord, it has apparently never comprehended more land as one estate than now, although it may during such a long period have been often divided and parcelled out among children, and again reunited by inheritance and *odelsbaarn* ret into one branch of the family.

The Saga, although composed by natives of Iceland, are properly Norwegian literature. The events, persons, manners, language, belong to Norway; and they are productions which, like the works of Homer, of Shakespeare, and of Scott, are strongly stamped with nationality of character and incident.

From the end of the twelfth century, when Snorro Sturleson flourished — and he was a native of Iceland — down to the present day, Norwegian literature is almost a blank. Holberg, a native of Norway, produced about the beginning of last century a great many clever dramatic pieces. His Erasmus Montanus, Henry and Pernille, and many others of his comedies, would probably act well on our stage. His *World below Ground* has long been a favourite book with English schoolboys. His Peder Paars is a comic poem, — the adventures of a shopkeeper on his voyage to Calenburgh to see his feste *moe* or betrothed sweetheart; and is as witty as an ingenious parody of Homer or Virgil with all the machinery of gods and goddesses humorously applied can be. In the lower departments of literature, such as the antiquarian and statis-

tical, there have been writers of merit. It is evident, however, that no great literary effort has ever been made in Norway. It is possible that the state of society is not favourable to great mental exertion. There is nothing to be gained by it; and intellectual labour seems to follow the same law as bodily labour—where people are very much at their ease, not urged by want nor by ambition, they will make no violent exertion. They will neither build pyramids nor write Iliads.

*Midgrunden Gaard, September.*—The road from the Dronthiem Fiord across the Fjelde to the Bothnian Gulf was finished this summer. It was opened in a manner worthy of its importance by the King, who took this route in visiting his kingdom of Norway. The work is executed on the Norwegian side of the Fjelde very perfectly, and may be compared to our parliamentary roads in the Highlands.

This road is perhaps the most important of any for the military defence of Norway, whether considered as a country by itself, or as united in common defensive measures with Sweden. It is the key to the whole country north of the Dovre Fjelde. It is from the east alone, from Russia, that Sweden and Norway can ever have to oppose an army by land. In the event of an enemy crossing the Bothnian Gulf, it is from some military position connected with this road, covering the cultivated country in its rear upon the Dronthiem Fiord, from which it would draw its supplies, that both countries would have to be defended. The invader could not advance along the coast towards the capital of Sweden, with a Norwegian corps upon his flank and rear, and drawing its supplies by this road from a country abounding in men, horses, food, and the means of conveyance by sea or land. But to admit of a Norwegian corps being moveable, some strong place on this line, in advance perhaps of the pass of Indal, would appear necessary; otherwise it could scarcely advance above a day or two beyond Suul, without endangering its own communications with the country whence its supplies must come. It could only cover that country, but could not act on the offensive.

By this same line of road King Olaf came from Russia into Norway with that force which the bonder defeated at Stikklestadt; and since that period the Fjelde has been crossed on this line, or on some one parallel to it, and the north of Norway, that is, the country immediately north of Dronthiem, has been entered by an

army, at five different times. It appears extraordinary, that, with such obvious reasons for establishing some strong point, or at least safe depôt, on what must be the basis line of any military operation, offensive or defensive, in which Norway can possibly ever have to act, the attention of the country seems entirely directed to the fortifying of a rock opposite to Dronthiem, which does not protect the town, and will cost more than the value of the dozen or two of ships it might possibly cover in the bay, and to the establishing a naval depôt in Christiania Fiord. It is not from the sea that Norway has to dread an enemy.

It is probable that this wise old monarch did not come over the Fjelde merely to dine with the citizens of Dronthiem ; but to take a military view of his territories.

The whole population was up and out on foot or on horseback to meet the King. The enthusiasm was universal ; and Carl Johan's visit to Norway may well be compared to the visit of George IV. to Scotland. It was in better taste, both on the part of the monarch and of the people. The King came over the frontiers without military escort or guard, and with the most simple attendance and retinue. In Scotland there was a little too much pretence and attempt at show. All were to appear what they really were not,—Highlanders, or archers, or private well-dressed gentlemen ; and George IV., who appears to have had a little sly wit, told the good citizens of Edinburgh that he thought he had come into a nation of gentlemen, and the good folks swallowed the delicate irony of the remark without feeling its point. The King saw only the gentlemen of the nation, and saw them only in masquerade. In Carl Johan's visit to Norway every thing was on a more natural, and therefore more honourable, footing for the national character. There was no unreal representation ; no false exhibition ; no lawyers dressed like Highlanders, or tradesmen in bag-wigs and swords. The bonder came out on their best horses and in their Sunday clothes to escort the King from station to station ; and there was not besides even a single dragoon. Their wives and children lined the roads, and erected numerous triumphal arches of fir branches of great simplicity and good taste ; and of more effect, from being the thought and work of the moment. The Sovereign, on his part, walked out among them without military attendance or suite, but a few civil functionaries ; shook hands with them ; begged them in broken Norse " to make room for their old father,"

when they pressed in upon him too closely ; and really appeared, and was, a father walking among an affectionate, kind-hearted people. How different all this from the puppet-show at Holyrood House ! The reality of every thing, the total absence of pretence and attempt at effect, was honourable to the character of the nation and of its sovereign.

What must have been the feelings of this monarch at Sticklestadt ! He came a mile or two out of the road to visit the field of battle. He stood on the very spot on which, on the same hour of the same day of the same month — three o'clock in the afternoon of 31st August — eight hundred and five years before, King Olaf was slain by his subjects. He stood on the little eminence, surrounded by the descendants of the very peasants who fought and vanquished that prince : their priest, aged eighty-two, who has consequently lived through more than one tenth of this immense interval of time, gave the King his blessing on this very spot. In human existence there have been few such moments. The King was sensible of it, and with peculiar good taste went first to the mansion of the old priest, and exchanged his travelling dress for a suit of uniform, — probably an old and favourite one, — and then repaired to the spot where a monarch fell, who, in the earlier part of his career, was not unlike himself in talent and character.

The King appeared to have more knowledge of historical localities than many of his subjects. At Dronthiem, on the day before his departure, he went to visit the fortifications of the little island Munkholm ; and before reaching the custom-house where the barge was in waiting, he stopped the coach, got out, and walked with his hat off to the place of embarkation. There are probably not a dozen persons in Dronthiem who understood the reason. It was sacred ground for a king. The Orething at which the people of this part of Norway assembled, and at which above twenty kings have been proposed, accepted by the Thing, and proclaimed, was, according to the opinion of antiquaries, held on this spot.

The visit of Carl Johan to Norway furnishes to reflecting persons a strong proof of the superiority of the constitutional over the legitimate principle, as a stable basis for regal government. The legitimate monarchs of Europe were assembled at Kalisch, with armies to escort them through their own dominions. The French monarch, wishing to reign on legitimate principles, cannot take an

airing in his carriage but between two squadrons of dragoons. This monarch was at that very time, as if the contrast had been intended by Providence for the instruction of mankind, walking in the towns, and in the country, in the midst of his people, without guards, without military attendance but what the people furnished, and enjoying in his old age, without the parade of a court train, the spontaneous effusions of their loyalty.

Yet Carl Johan never sacrificed a royal prerogative in order to gain popularity. The mistake of his reign, perhaps, as to this country, has been that for a series of years he viewed it, like his Swedish ministers, as one which ought to be governed on the same principles with Sweden. A stranger to the language, and possibly, like almost all men of his time of life who have been bred in the European ideas of fifty years back, to the principle of constitutional government, and surrounded by a nobility who considered their own and a few others of the higher classes of the community as constituting alone a nation, and with no choice of ministers but from among these classes, it is only wonderful with what tact and judgment he always seized the right view, amid their errors and wild attempts to alter the Norwegian constitution, when such questions were brought fairly before him. It was this force of mind and prudence, always exerted when he acted on his own judgment, and which contrasted so strongly with their rash and often ill-digested proposals, which developed so strongly in this nation that ground-principle of all constitutional monarchies, — that the king can do no wrong, that his ministers are responsible for all the acts of the government. It is so perfectly developed in this country, that the confidence of the nation in the good sense and judgment of their sovereign, and their attachment and loyalty, were never for a moment shaken, even while their *Storting* was unanimously rejecting proposals from the cabinet for the most alarming alterations in their constitution. The wrong was ascribed to the minister, the good to the king. His reign is the moral triumph of the constitutional over the legitimate principle.

*August 25.*—On Monday the 20th of August, the electors of our parish met in the parish church to choose their *Valgsmænd*, or election-men; and on the 30th of August, these *Valgsmænd* meet at Steenkjær as a central point for all the *Valgsmænd* of the different parishes of the amt or county, in number thirty-one,

to choose the representatives to the Storting. The minister and the fôged each keep a list of electors ; as age as well as property enter into the qualification.

It is far beyond my competency to give an opinion whether this middle wheel of election-men is or is not good in a representative system. One hundred electors or under, at the election meeting, choose one, from one hundred to two hundred, two, and so on. The number of election-men depends therefore on the number of electors who choose to meet ; but in case of sickness, written votes are taken. We had 270 electors, and therefore send three election-men. A very great number of qualified voters did not meet, as the hay crop was not all carried in. From what I see in the newspapers, one-fourth at least of the qualified voters over all Norway did not attend. There is a danger, therefore, in the working of this middle wheel, that it may deaden the interest in public affairs, from the want of direct communication between the representative and constituent. To travel ten or twenty miles from a bare sense of public duty, perhaps at a busy season, and without the assurance even of adding one election-man to the number, for 101 voters would send as many as 199, is too much perhaps to expect from public spirit. Yet it is an effectual preventive of bribery and undue influence in any shape. The election-men meet in ten days. It can only then be known how many representatives they can elect ; for that depends upon their own numbers.

*September.*—The distillation of spirits from potatoes is a process so simple, and the manufacture is so general and so important in Norway, where grain cannot be spared for that purpose, that I was anxious to obtain more exact information about it than I got at Dronthiem. In regular distilleries the saving of labour and of fuel, and the greater scale of operation, require arrangements, vessels, and machinery which are not necessary in the house-keeping of the common bonde, who only distils his own few barrels, and by far the greater part of the spirits used in the country is thus made. The principle is the same, and the operations in a regular distillery are no doubt more economical ; but the most simple mode of operating on so bulky a material is the most interesting, because the potatoes are in every cottage ; but it is only in this country that in every household they are converted into a valuable product without much machinery or trouble. It is part of the women's work, like cheese-making or brewing ; and is car-



ried on once a week or fortnight on every gaard, for the sake of the wash and refuse to the cattle, as well as of the spirits.

There is no choice of the potatoes. Those produced in dry soils are supposed to yield most spirit ; but nothing is ascertained, except that there are considerable differences in the quantity which potatoes produce. They are first taken to the pump, well washed and scrubbed with the besom, and when quite clean and free from earth are put into a barrel to be steamed. This barrel may be of any size, and should have iron hoops, and an opening in the head for putting in the potatoes, with a little door on the side at its bottom for taking them out. The bottom is bored full of holes to let out the water, and the barrel is sometimes set upon a stand with rollers for the convenience of moving it about. When the potatoes are put in, and the door below fastened, the steam is brought into the barrel by a metal pipe from a kettle or still of boiling water. The pipe comes from the lid or cover of the vessel in which the water is boiling into the side of the barrel, close to its bottom, and its mouth has a little grating to prevent its being choked by the potatoes falling into it. The steam, when the water comes to boil, penetrates the potatoes ; and in this process a great deal of water runs out through the holes in the bottom of the barrel. A kettle which will hold one barrel full of water is sufficiently large to steam six barrels of potatoes ; but as boiling water is required in the process afterwards, it is a saving of labour and fuel to have a vessel holding five barrels of water. The steaming takes an hour and a half, and they know when it is enough by taking out one of the largest potatoes and eating it. By boiling in steam instead of water, the potatoes have a better flavour ; and there is a great saving of labour and fuel. When our illicit distillers in Scotland attempted to make whiskey of potatoes, they boiled them ; but never could get rid of the potato taste in the spirits, which boiling alone does not take away. In the most simple process, the potatoes are put into a basket with a tight lid, or into a barrel with holes in the bottom and fitted close upon the top of the pot or kettle of boiling water, so that all the steam must go through.

The most profitable way of distilling potatoes is with a mixture of crushed wheat and malt, or, instead of wheat, rye or any other grain. The best proportions are these : — To six heaped barrels of potatoes, weighing seventy-eight stones of sixteen pounds each,

nine and a half stones of wheat or other corn, and five of malt from bear or big. If more of any of the parts be taken, the wort or liquor to be distilled is too heavy, and is apt to burn or singe in the still. By this proportion the smallest distilling, as a barrel or half a barrel at a time, is regulated. The crushed grain and malt are first mixed in about 120 quarts of water heated to  $50^{\circ}$  of Reaumur or  $144^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit, and no higher. The potatoes being perfectly steamed, are crushed between two rollers, and as they leave the rollers are shovelled into the vat in which the fermentation is to take place. For small quantities, rollers are not necessary. A pestle, or a man with wooden shoes, crushes them under his feet in the vat, and the more they are reduced to a paste the better. Boiling water, to the extent of about 450 quarts, is then poured into the vat, and is cooled down with cold water to  $20^{\circ}$  Reaumur, or  $77^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit, at which the mash of wheat and malt is added to it; the vat is then immediately covered up as tightly as possible, and left to ferment. A vat for the above quantity must be large enough to hold fourteen or fifteen barrels, besides room for the liquor to ferment without running over, as the potatoes ferment with great violence with or without the addition of yeast. A still for this quantity should be large enough to hold about six barrels. There is no occasion to wait until the liquor is quite clear before taking it from the fermenting vat to the still, as much of the spirit would be lost by evaporation: the rule is, to divide the scum of seeds and froth upon its surface; and if the scum does not run together of itself, nor the opening close with air bubbles from below, the fermentation is over, and there is loss of spirit by delay. The distilling process is the same as from other liquors; and it is sometimes distilled twice, and flavoured with anise. The exact produce from a given quantity of potatoes is not easily ascertained, because the quantity of the spirit depends on its strength, which is not measured by our scale or instruments. The quantity of potatoes and grain above mentioned have been estimated to give 160 to 190 quarts of our measure of a spirit of six degrees of strength; but I do not understand the unit from which this measure of the strength proceeds, or its proportion to our proof. Judging by that common instrument, the mouth, I find a strong fiery spirit, with no disagreeable taste or smell, produced by my neighbour at the rate of fifteen pots, which would be somewhat above eighteen quarts English, from the barrel of potatoes; and

where potatoes and grain are good, I understand this is the ordinary produce. The value given to a potatoe crop by distillation is not easily ascertained. Besides the quantity and value of the spirits, there is that of the wash or refuse for the cattle, which is considered better for them than the potatoes would have been in any other shape: the value of the corn and malt is also to be reckoned. The best judgment of it may be gathered from the price which distillers give for potatoes under ordinary circumstances. This is a dollar per barrel, which is about three per cent. less than half an imperial quarter; a high price to be paid at the farmer's door, and which gives a real value to the land from a product which had formerly been merely cultivated for family use, and without the advantage of the manure produced by feeding the farm stock on the waste.

Norway in the year 1825 had a population of 967,959 persons. By the census of 1835 the numbers are 1,098,291, being an increase in these ten years of 130,332. In the towns there were in 1825 a population of 112,778, and in 1835 of 125,139, being an increase of 12,361. In the country in 1825 the population was 855,181, and in 1835, 973,152, being an increase of 117,971.

The town population is contained in thirty-eight places, only nine of which exceed 3000 inhabitants, and only two reach 20,000; and in all, excepting perhaps Bergen, a considerable proportion of the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, raising a part at least of what they consume. The great increase therefore has decidedly been in the agricultural population. No manufacture has risen during these ten years to be exchanged for food with other countries. The wood trade, which is the staple one, and formerly gave employment to a great population, has been in a very depressed state. The increase has evidently been from the greater quantity of food raised from the soil of the country by taking in new lands or improving the old. The admitted advance of the people within these ten years in the enjoyment of the necessities and luxuries of life, taken together with this ascertained increase of their numbers, shows a very remarkable progress of the country under its own legislation. The gradual reduction of the taxes, and especially of that worst of all, the embodying almost all the able agricultural population to be exercised as militia during a great portion of the short season which the climate admits of being

applied to the clearing and preparing new land, may be one of the great steps by which this progress has been made. The greatest, however, has undoubtedly been the free use of his agricultural produce enjoyed by the farmer in malting, distilling, and in every way he pleases. The distilling of all the potatoes that can be spared from family use, has spread universally the improvement that comes nearest to extensive turnip husbandry of which the climate admits. There is the evil, no doubt, of drunkenness being more within the power of the lower classes. It is but a poor morality, however, which a government has to enforce by keeping the keys of the cellar; nor can I admit that the common people are more addicted to drunkenness in Norway than in Scotland. They use more spirits undoubtedly, but they spread it over a greater portion of time. If their two glasses of raw spirits daily, which is perhaps the average consumption of each of the labouring class, were taken all at once, or in two evenings of the week, they would lose two or perhaps four days of that week, from the effects of excess; but divided as they generally are in fourteen portions at intervals of twelve hours, it is the physician rather than the moralist who can speak to the effects. The ordinary observer can only remark that in spite of this poison they are a very athletic, healthy-looking set of men, carrying the bloom of youthful complexions to a much later period of life than other nations; they have particularly well-made limbs, in which respect the English peasant is often deficient, and their children are uncommonly and strikingly fine-looking little creatures. The ordinary observer in this country will be very apt, in balancing the good against the evil, to class the legislating for morality by distillery laws, or by any other means than the diffusion of religious and moral instruction, with the penal laws against fornication or Sabbath-breaking. It is painting and gilding a plank which we know has the dry-rot in its heart; and yet, trying to persuade ourselves and even Providence, that all is sound because it is made to look so. There is a little confusion in the religion and morality of many excellent and highly gifted men when they attempt to support them by Acts of Parliament instead of the only sound foundation, the instruction of the people. It is the mere outward semblance of morality and religion they obtain when they succeed best, and that is surely not the object at which they aim.

The increase of population in Norway, connected as it evidently

is with a proportional increase of property by improved husbandry, and a value being given to its products by new employments, is a striking proof that population and property, if the latter be distributed through the social body on the natural principle, will mutually act upon and check each other. The increase of numbers, previously to the establishment of an independent legislature, was extremely slow, because the increase of their property was slow ; it is now much more rapid, because the state of property admits of it. The diminution of taxes, and the distillation of the products of husbandry which were formerly of little value, while the spirits had to be purchased from other countries, are visible additions to the mass of property gained within these ten years, and producing an addition of population. It is not an increase called into existence by any temporary advance of wages in cotton-spinning, or other manufactures ; but the property which is to subsist the population being increased, the population has followed.

The progress of those tastes and habits which belong to property, tending to keep population within the bounds of what can be comfortably subsisted, and without which the increase of subsistence would tend to evil rather than good, has evidently kept its due pace. The consumption of foreign luxuries, such as coffee, tea, sugar, the gradual taste for finer cloth, for better stone-ware, and such household articles, and the increasing demand for mental amusement, prove that the habits which check undue increase of population are keeping pace with that ease of subsistence which would otherwise produce it. Twenty years ago there was not a newspaper published in Norway, excepting for advertisements of sales or of the official notices from government. Now there is not a town which has not several periodical papers ; and news, especially of the domestic occurrences and affairs, is one of the wants of the people.

*October.* — The population of Norway, with reference to their means of living and employments, may be divided into three distinct classes. The seafaring peasantry occupy the islands, the entire provinces of Norland and Finmark, and the coast side of all the Fiords, even a hundred miles up from the main ocean. These Strand-sitters, as they are called, have small farms, held generally in life-rent for their own and their widows' lives, and sufficient to keep a couple of cows, some sheep, and to yield potatoes and a

little corn in favourable situations. Their subsistence, however, depends upon their fishing.

The great scene of Norwegian fishery is in the Laffoden islands. In the beginning of February the fish set in from the ocean, and occupy the banks in West Fiord, which is that tract of sea comprehended between the chain of islands and the main land. These banks are from three to ten miles out in the Fiord, and at a depth of from sixty to eighty fathoms. Shelter from the fury of the main ocean, possibly also some special circumstances in the temperature, or in the food afforded on these banks, bring the cod in such crowds together to deposit their spawn, that it is said a deep-sea lead is often interrupted in its descent to the bottom through these fish hills, as they are called. From North Cape to Bergen, all the fishermen who have the means, assemble in the month of January at the different stations. The fish are caught in nets and on long lines. Nets are becoming more in use every season. An outfit for this fishing consists of two boats, each manned by five men. This company have six or eight nets, each twenty fathoms in length when mounted or put to the back or side ropes, and thirty meshes deep. The mesh of the cod net is about six inches when stretched from knot to knot, and is made of three-ply hemp-thread barked. The nets have sinkers to carry them to the bottom, and light wood (cork being too expensive) as floaters on the back rope, to keep them in a perpendicular position; and the back ropes and ground ropes of each are fastened to the next, and the whole drift set as our herring nets, only with longer buoy-ropes, as the nets are set in from sixty to eighty fathoms. If the outfit is with long lines, the line consists of 1200 hooks, at five feet distance, consequently a thousand fathoms in length, with buoys and anchors; and the hooks, which are of tiuned iron, are on hook-lines of about a fathom in length. The nets and lines are set at night, and taken up in the morning. Each company has its own set, or ground, determined by marks on the shore. Line fishers have the inside, and net fishers the outside. Lines and nets must be set from land to seaward, not along the coast. Each station must have only so many fishing companies, that a line fishing company may have twenty-five fathoms, and a net-fishing company twenty fathoms, clear of neighbours. There is a commander elected at each station by the fishermen themselves; and the lice and regulation, such as going out together to raise their

lines and nets by signal, the prevention of night fishing, stealing, or encroachment on another company's ground, are entrusted to him; and, in concert with the commanders of the two nearest stations, he determines when the fishing shall begin and end. Government, besides these judicious regulations, which leave matters to the judgment of the fishermen themselves, has other absurd ones; such as fixing a particular day, before which the cured fish cannot be removed, and another after which they cannot remain. As the curing depends entirely on the weather, it would be altogether as wise to fix a day on which corn shall be cut down, ripe or not. It often happens that the fish are dry and cured before the 12th of June, being the day fixed, but just before it arrives wet weather begins, and they are destroyed; at other times the fish are not in a state to be removed when by law they must be so. The object' is to prevent the stealing of those under cure, which might take place if every man removed his fish when he pleased; but the remedy is as fatal to property as the disease.

Every twenty or thirty of the fishing companies have a yacht, or large tender, to bring out their provisions, nets, and lines, and to take the produce to market. The fish are cured as round or stock-fish until April, after which they are split, salted, and carried to Dronthiem or other places to be dried on the rocks, like our Scotch dried cod. The stock-fish are merely gutted and hung up, two together, across poles, which are provided by the owner of each station; and they are dried without salt, in the wind.

In a medium year, 1827, there were 2916 boats fishing in eighty-three different stations, accompanied by 124 yachts or tenders, the number of men in all being 15,324. The produce was 16,456,620 fish, which would be about 8800 tons dried: there were also 21,530 barrels of cod oil, and 6000 of cod roe.

This important winter fishing ends in the middle of April, after which the seafaring peasantry in Finmark and Nordland fish for the Russians; the others return to their homes, and catch sethe (*Gadus virens*) or herrings. The herring fishery is not clogged with the absurd regulations of our Board, with regard to the size of the mesh of the net. In order to preserve the breed, and prevent the young fish from being taken, our wise regulations oblige our fishermen to use nets with the mesh of an inch square. The consequence is, that only full fish, just about to spawn, can be

taken ; and in that state they are nowhere esteemed, and not marketable, if others containing neither roe nor melt, and not shotten but fat, can be procured. It is time that our government put an end to the absurd whims of the late George Rose and his fishery board, which have cost the country some millions of money. To preserve the race of herrings, if that were even a rational object for regulation, the way is not to kill the unspawned fish ; but on the contrary, to spare them, and kill the young : not to kill the goose about to lay her golden eggs, but her goslings. The Norwegians very wisely use nets of all sizes of mesh ; and take herrings of any size, at any time by day or night, as they can get them, leaving it to the fish curer to assort the sizes and kinds of fish to suit his customers, and leaving it to nature to replace the fish killed. By this wise and simple procedure, they have beat the Scotch herring curers out of the markets of the Baltic, as they deliver fish better assorted, and of better quality.

Besides these important general fisheries, there is in every creek of the Fiords, even at a hundred miles up from the ocean, as at Steenkjær in the Dronthiem Fiord, abundance of cod, whiting, haddock, flounder, sea-bream and herrings, caught for daily use and for sale by the seafaring peasantry.

The bonder, or agricultural peasantry, each the proprietor of his own farm, occupy the country from the shore side to the hill foot, and up every valley or glen, as far as corn will grow. This class is the kernel of the nation. They are, in general, fine athletic men, as their properties are not so large as to exempt them from work ; but large enough to afford them and their households abundance, and even superfluity of the best food. They farm, not to raise produce for sale so much as to grow every thing they eat, drink, and wear in their families. They build their own houses, make their own chairs, tables, ploughs, carts, harness, iron-work, basket-work, and wood-work ; in short, except the window glass, cast-iron ware, and pottery, every thing about their houses and furniture is of their own fabrication. There is not, probably, in Europe so great a population in so happy a condition as this Norwegian yeomanry. A body of small proprietors, each with his thirty or forty acres, scarcely exists elsewhere in Europe ; or, if it can be found, it is under the shadow of some more imposing body of wealthy proprietors or commercial men. Here they are the highest in the nation. The population of the few towns is only reckoned about one eleventh of



the whole, and of that only a very small proportion can be called rich : too few to have any influence on the habits or way of thinking of the nation. The settlers in the newer states of America, and in our colonies, possess properties probably of about the same extent ; but they have roads to make, lands to clear, houses to build, and the work that has been doing here for a thousand years to do, before they can be in the same condition. These Norwegian proprietors are in a happier condition than those in the older states of America, because they are not so much influenced by the spirit of gain. They farm their little estates, and consume the produce, without seeking to barter or sell, except what is necessary for paying their taxes and the few articles of luxury they consume. There is no money-making spirit among them, and none of extravagance. They enjoy the comforts of excellent houses, as good and large as those of the wealthiest individuals, good furniture, bedding, linen, clothing, fuel, victuals and drink, all in abundance, and of their own providing ; good horses, and a houseful of people who have more food than work. Food, furniture, and clothing being all home-made, the difference in these matters between the family and the servant is very small ; but there is a perfect distinction kept up. The servants invariably eat, sleep, and sit apart from the family, and have generally a distinct building adjoining to the family house.

There is a third class, the connecting link between this class of small proprietors and the wandering Laplanders, whose lot is not so fortunate. They possess land also, and have houses, which, although small, are comfortable, with floors of wood and glass windows ; but their situation is on the verge of the Fjelde, or in the glens which run into it, far above the level of the land which produces corn, and outside of the districts occupied by the other small proprietors. Their employments are consequently different. These Fjelde bonder live by the produce of cattle, by felling timber in those situations in which they have the advantage of a mountain-stream near the forest for floating the trees to a saw-mill ; and, as a secondary object, by the sale of game, carried in a frozen state in winter to the low-country markets. Snow remains late in spring on their territory, and high frosts set in early in August ; so that in the higher tracts on the borders of dense forests and of marshes, where these Scandinavian backwoodsmen have their land, the corn is generally frozen before the ear is filled. The bark of

the pine, mixed and ground up with their ill-ripened oats, is their common bread; and the trout of the Fjelde lakes, dried and salted for winter use, forms no inconsiderable part of their provision. They live a harder and more laborious life, have a stronger frame of body, and more active character, than the inhabitants of the agricultural country. Winter is no time of rest and enjoyment for them. While the snow prevents the agricultural bonder from doing any outdoor work, they must drive home in sledges the hay cut and stacked during the summer in distant bogs and grass valleys in the Fjelde, inaccessible for horses until the snow has levelled all obstructions. It is only at this season too, that the trunks of trees felled in the depths of the forests can be dragged over the fallen timber and blocks of stone which cover the earth, to the side of the stream which is to float them on a thaw to the lower country. This class of the peasantry includes not merely the outside settlers on the verge of the Fjelde, and in the heads of the valleys of which the lower levels are cultivated, but also the inhabitants of extensive districts and amts, whose condition is more or less influenced by these circumstances. They are the most rough, but most interesting of the inhabitants of Norway. They retain the dress, manners, character, and athletic forms which we imagine as belonging to men in ancient times. Each district and valley has some peculiarity of costume, pronunciation, and even character; and intermarriages of the isolated group of inhabitants with those in the next valley, or in the lower grounds, are rare. There are said to be families in these remote glens which can trace their descent from the days of Harold Harfaagre.\* It is not exactly necessary to believe that this peasant nobility have any real records of a lineage surpassing that of the most ancient nobility in

\* Gjæsling is the name of a bonder family living on their estate, called Sandbu, in the parish of Vaage in Gulbrandsdal, who have parchments, says the antiquary Gerard Schoning, proving that in the year 1336 the family was possessing and living on this estate: also in Loom parish, Hrolf Blakar of Blakar preserves a headpiece or helmet complete with an opening only for the eyes, and parts of a coat of mail, a long sword, and other articles of his ancestors; and a writing of King Hakon Magnussen the younger, who lodged a night in Blakar Gaard in the fourteenth year of his reign, anno 1364.

These would be very ancient families in Britain. Are there many holding documents and family estates for so long a period? Of the authenticity of the documents of these bonder there can be no question. Schoning had them before him, and he was an antiquary of great learning and character.

See Gerard Schoning's *Reise*, Aaret, 1775; *Budstikken*, 1821 Nos. 91 and 92.

Britain or France, and with the preservation of which neither privilege nor consideration in society was ever connected in Norway ; but one may believe that lands in these remote glens seldom change possessors by purchase and sale, and may have descended very generally to the posterity of those who possessed the same acres in the earliest times, especially as internal wars and confiscations in the middle ages never extended to the possessions of the great mass of these humble *udallers*. One may believe that as the descendants of Rolf Ganger, the great progenitor of William the Conqueror, may be traced to many of the thrones of Europe, those of Rolf's kinsmen who settled in Iceland, while their more ambitious relative steered to the south, may now exist as peaceful Icelandic peasants\* in the original domiciles of their forefathers ; more happy, Deppin supposes, during the thousand years which have elapsed since their ancestors parted on the shores of Norway, than their distant relatives on their thrones.† It is at least pleasing to the imagination to see among this class of ancient proprietors the forms of countenance and figures to which we are accustomed, without perhaps having any distinct meaning, to attach the word noble.

\* Rolf Ganger is supposed to have resided in the island, on the coast of Sundmar, called *Vigeræ*, before his expedition to Normandy. Where wood is the building material, remains of ancient dwellings can scarcely exist, but a dry dock or excavation for holding ships remains, and is said to be that which Rolf used in fitting out his expedition.

These docks or excavations for receiving vessels are called *nousts* in the ancient Norwegian language, a word still retained in Orkney and Zetland. Some antiquarians are fond of deriving this word *noust* from the Greek *naosterion*.

† Rognvald, Earl of North and South Møre, had two surviving sons ; Rolf Ganger, who conquered Normandy, and was ancestor of our Norman line of kings, and Thore the Silent, who on his father's death was created Earl of Møre, and married King Harald Harfaagre's daughter Aulof. Jorund, a son of this marriage, and consequently nephew of Rolf Ganger, the great progenitor of so many crowned heads, went to Iceland, took a piece of land in the northern division of the island, between the lake *Udarvatn* and the river *Mogilsbek*, and lived in a farm which he called *Grund*. His son Mar settled in a farm called *Marstad*. A bastard son of Earl Rognvald, *Hrollaug*, also settled on a farm now called *Felzhverfi*.

The royal families of Europe have more cousins than they are aware of.

## RESIDENCE IN NORWAY.

### CHAPTER X.

Lapland girl.—Slighted by the Norwegians.—Condition.—Visits from Laplanders.—Ophthalmia.—Reindeer.—Sledges.—Speed.—Powers of Draught.—Reindeer cannot endure Wet.—Cannot live in Scotland.—Buy a fat Reindeer for Killing.—Lapland Butcher.—Weight of Four Quarters.—Cold.—Birds.—Wolves.—Travelling Dress in Winter.—Journey to Dronthiem.—Vollan.—Ovne.—Jerkin.—Winter Scenery in the Glens.—Sledge-driving.—Winter on the Fjelde.—Substitutes for Hay in feeding Cattle.—Acquired Tastes of Cattle.—Remains of Old Buildings on Dovre Fjelde.—Picts' Houses in Scotland.—Guldebrandsdal in Winter.—Hammer.—Sunshine as hurtful as Frost to the Crops in Norway.—Complete little Estates.—How an English Family could live here.—American Towns.—Norwegian Horses.

*November.*—A LAPLAND beauty, and really a pretty girl, came into our kitchen to-day on her way from the Fjelde. She was dressed very smartly, in a cap of blue and red cloth edged with a gold cord, a red woollen wrapper round her neck, a reindeer skin like a waggoner's frock, reaching down to her knees, and a worsted sash as a girdle. She wore stockings or pantaloons of skin; shoes of the same, with the under leather or sole coming round the foot, and neatly sewed to the upper; and she had a green worsted plaid, which she wore over one shoulder like a Highlander. She was quite a theatrical figure, and very brisk and smart in her movements. She was not one of the Fjelde or wandering Fins, but of those who possess reindeer in the Fjelde, which they attend in summer, as the Norwegian women do their cattle in the seaters. In winter they have fixed habitations in the low country, and leave their reindeer to the care of one person with hired keepers; thus two or three families keep their stocks together. It is a considerable step towards a more civilised state. Those who follow this life have either considerable property in reindeer, whence they obtain cheese, milk, venison, and skins to dispose of in the low country during the winter; or they beg there from house to house, having nothing in the Fjelde. This young woman came to sell me fur shoes and mittens, or rather to ask if I would order some for winter. I found she could use her needle, and do all kinds of female work fully as well as the servant girls here; and her dress altogether was of more value than theirs.

They knew also that her friends were considered wealthy among the Laplanders, and had often seen her on her way to or from the Fjelde; yet I observed they did not ask her to sit down. A Fin, as they call the Laplander in Norway, is looked upon with a sort of contempt, as an animal of a lower species; and to eat, sit, or associate with one of them, would be disdained by the lowest. When I bade them prepare some coffee for my visitor, and made her sit down to it, they stared and tittered as an English girl would do if you told her to prepare tarts or a cake for your lapdog. The Norwegians, however, are never harsh or unkind to these Fins, in which I find there is a little superstition as well as charity. It is considered unlucky not to give them something to eat under your roof. The idea of witchcraft is not entirely worn out; and the bonder have many tales of the supernatural powers of the old Fjelde women. I was considered very prudent in treating the Fin girl so kindly, as her relations might make things go well with me all winter.

During the autumn there was a great coming and going of these half-civilised Laplanders through the valley. They were preparing for the winter, bringing the women, children, and infirm relations, with what they had to sell, into the low country. When they found that I made them welcome, I was seldom a day without visitors. The ophthalmia seems very prevalent, almost every family having a blind person, especially among its elderly people, and many even of the children had lost the sight of an eye. I thought at first it might have been the effect of small-pox; but they had no scars of that disease, and I afterwards found several whose sight was in a decaying state. It is probably an hereditary malady in the race. The goitres and the cretinism of Switzerland are not known among them, nor among the Norwegians.

About the 20th of November, the snow lay deep. Winter had fully set in. Carioles and every thing on wheels were laid up. Sledges, and bells, and fur caps, and snow boots, were brought out. Every household for a month before had been salting, pickling, and making black-puddings, and sausages for winter provision. A party of nine Laplanders paid me a visit on their way from the Fjelde. There were a father and mother, five children, and two pretty young women, all neighbours in their fixed abodes in the low country, who were going into their winter quarters. They had five reindeer for winter provision, which

dragged their baggage, consisting of packs of deer-skins laid upon long slips of wood or snow-skates. The reindeer is harnessed by a single thong fastened to a collar, and passing between his legs. His ordinary load in a sledge is nine vogs, or about three hundred weight ; but for a short distance he will drag much more. As to the animal's speed and endurance, the Amtman Blom, who has published very interesting observations made during his residence as faged in Finmark and his journey in Lapland, takes the liberty of laughing a little at Captain Capel de Broke's account of travelling thirty Norwegian miles (above 210 English) in a day. The Amtman says, if the reader divides the number by three, makes a large deduction if the snow happens to be soft, when the reindeer makes very little progress, and a very large deduction if the journey is to be of more than one day, he will come nearer to the truth. The animal neither has, nor from its conformation can have, any considerable powers of endurance. The Amtman also laughs at the account of its alleged instinct of leaving the Fjelde once in the summer, and seeking the shore to take a single draught of sea-water, and then returning. The reindeer are taken to the coast, or to the Fjelde, according to the judgment or fancy of the owner, without regard to season ; and thousands never taste salt water. It is a different animal altogether which has this instinct for a single summer draught of sea water, and goes in flocks from the Custom-house stairs to Margate, per steamer, to gratify it.

Several attempts have been made to introduce reindeer into the Highlands of Scotland, but without success. This is not owing to the want of food, for the animal eats grass and hay as well as moss. It lives on moss, because there is nothing else to live on in the Fjelde. Nor is it owing to its habits ; for when domesticated it is considerably less wild, and wanders less than our black-faced sheep. It is much more tame, free from alarm or shyness at being touched or handled, than a West Highland cow. Reindeer have been brought to Scotland in good health, after being nine weeks on board the vessel. No animal very shy or wild could have borne the confinement. The cause of the failure, I suspect, is the nature of the hair and skin of the animal. The former does not throw off wet well, and even parts from the skin after any continuance of moisture. With our damp climate and wet ground, the animal would be drenched through the hair to the skin for weeks together, and would die of cold or rot, as our sheep often do in

wet seasons. In Norway, the heavy rains occur in spring or autumn, at which seasons what is rain below is dry snow higher up in the Fjelde. Our highest hills do not afford in summer this kind of refuge from rain and damp to an animal whose coat keeps out any degree of cold, but will not stand continued moisture. In Iceland, the reindeer were introduced by the Danish government about the middle of the last century; but they are understood to have proved a nuisance instead of a benefit. They have not the wolf to check the tendency of their population to exceed the means of subsistence, and they have multiplied so as to devour the summer pastures on which the inhabitants depend for their cattle; and having been allowed to run wild, they are of no use.

As I wanted a winter stock of fresh venison, I bargained for the fattest of the ox-deer. There were two females; and the others were castrated deer, very fat, with a breadth over the back and hips that would have graced a sheep of the Bakewell breed. They had all a quiet, domesticated look; and as compared to other deer, the muzzle appears not at all pointed, but broad, and resembling about the nostrils and lips that of a coarse small cow. After much consultation among the women, who appeared much better merchants than the men, our bargain was settled at six dollars and a half for the fattest of the deer, a pair of winter mittens of reindeer-skin for an ort. two or three pairs of shoes of the same for half a dollar each; and, over and above the money, a pot of brandy. One of the young women who had been several times before in the house presented me with a little whelp of the fine-furred breed, which she had brought in her bosom, or rather above the girdle of her skin pelisse, between which and their own skins the Laplanders stow everything. She had heard me express a wish for a dog of that kind, and had brought it; and in return for her attention received a suitable present of coffee and sugar.

Our complicated account being settled, and the money paid, the girl, after speaking with her friends, came back in some distress, and laid the cash down again on the table. She had forgot, she said, to make the bargain that their own people should kill the deer. They would do it immediately, and ask nothing; but it would be ill luck to allow one to be killed by any other persons. On consulting my housekeeper, a native of Finmark and acquainted with their usages, I found that it was a general prejudice among

the Laplanders, and that they would kill and cut up the animal more nicely than our houseman. As the deer was old and unaccustomed to eat hay, I could not have kept it in a thriving state, and it could scarcely have been fatter ; I agreed therefore to their request. I was curious to see how they would perform the operation. The man led the deer to a spot of clean snow, and stuck his little knife into the point of junction between the head and neck. The animal fell, and was dead immediately. He then stabbed it behind the fore shoulder to the heart, not withdrawing the knife for some time, and moving the limbs that it might bleed inwardly. The few drops of blood that followed when the knife was withdrawn were, I thought with a kind of superstitious care, taken up into a handful of snow, kneaded into a ball so that no blood could be seen, and then laid aside. He then flayed and opened the carcase on the ground with great dexterity and cleanliness, always laying a handful of snow on the place where he had to touch the meat. He next removed the whole of the entrails, and scooped out the blood when there was nothing else left into a vessel, when the women mixed it with salt and stirred it about to prepare it for black-puddings. The whole operation was carried on in so cleanly a manner, with so little touching or handling of the meat, and always with a handful of snow between it and the hand, that the most dainty could have found nothing to object to. A Scotch butcher tearing a carcass to pieces with axe, cleaver, saw, hands and knees, and none of them extremely clean, would have been put to shame by these anatomists. The man and his eldest boy, with little knives having three inches of blade stuck in a wooden handle, disjointed the back-bone and other strong parts of the body with the greatest ease, like a good carver cutting up a fowl, and so neatly that they scarcely left a speck of blood on the snow where they had been working.

I was so well pleased with this performance that I gave them a dinner of soup, potatoes, and herrings, with plenty of coffee and brandy. They were much gratified at being treated like other people and set down to a table regularly, instead of getting the victuals in their hands to eat in a corner or take with them, which is the usual way. I doubt if I could any way have pleased them so much as by this little attention, for even these poor people have their pride. At parting, they gave me a reindeer cheese ; and at Christmas sent me a very handsome and a very useful reindeer-



skin pelisse made in the shape of their own, like a waggoner's frock, also driving reins for my sledge very curiously plaited of reindeer sinews. They would have taken nothing for these articles if I had not insisted on it. There is a good disposition in these harmless innocent little folk, if it were cultivated. But it is not: the Norwegians to the south of Dronthiem know as little about them as we do in England, and are almost as remote from them in time, if not in distance. Where they do come in contact with the Norwegian bonder, although received always kindly, partly perhaps from superstition, they are treated as an inferior caste. They are so indeed in strength, in size, and as yet in mental as well as bodily endowments; yet they have many good points, and scarcely any evil in them. From North Cape to Roraas it is universally said of this despised caste, "that a Fin never says what is not true, and never takes what is not his own." This is a high character for an outcast tribe.

My reindeer weighed 122lbs. the four quarters, and had 10lbs. of tallow. This is, I suppose, as much as the tame animal in general will feed to. The wild species, which comes considerably farther south, being found on Dovre Fjelde and in Bergens Amt as well as to the north, is considerably larger. This seems not the usual effect of domestication. The horse, the rabbit, the goose, the duck, the turkey, attain to greater size tame than wild.

Besides the wild and tame reindeer, the red deer and roebuck are pretty numerous in some districts. The elk, the largest of European wild animals, exists in two or three places, but is now very rare.

*December, 1835.*—The cold begins to drive birds from the Fjelde to the shelter of the valleys. Bonder bring in more capercaillie, ptarmigan, and jerper than I require; and besides these common birds, there are flocks of the beautiful Bohemian chatterer (*Ampelis garrulus*) in the valley. The wolf is also a regular nightly visitor about the house. We trace his footprints in the snow every morning close to the doors of the cattle houses.

The wolves of this country are not such dangerous animals as those of the South of Europe or of Poland, although perhaps more numerous. They have probably more food in the Fjelde from the wild deer and smaller animals, and are therefore less ferocious. They very rarely attack a man, and are not dreaded even by women and children. Yet it is considered dangerous to meet a herd upon

a plain or frozen lake, especially on moonlight nights; but the animal is so timid in general that it is difficult to get within shot of him. By a bait of a dead dog or sheep, a patient sportsman may chance by night to shoot one; but they are so wary that he may watch long enough to no purpose. Yet the wolf, when least expected, will dash into the road, and take away your dog close to your sledge. He seems particularly fond of this flesh, and is altogether bold in seizing it. A merchant of Levanger had one taken from between his legs in his sledge this winter, on the road to Verdalsæren, but was not injured himself. I heard also, but not so certainly, that one seized a dog which a lad on horseback for security kept before him on the saddle. The loss of sheep, calves, cows, and foals, in some parishes during the season when they are at pasture, is immense. It has amounted to upwards of twelve head of animals on each farm in the course of four years. When the wolf gets into a herd he bites and tears all he can overtake. The bear follows a different course. Having seized one and killed it, he is content with this single prey. Although the wolves are so destructive and so numerous, and their skins too of considerable value, very few are killed. They are like the crows, never to be found when sought with a gun, — at other times seen in great numbers. Snares are of no avail, and traps of little; for this animal is as wary as his cousin the fox. Poison by *nux vomica*, and also by the long moss which grows on the branches of the pine, is the most usual way of destroying them; but few trouble themselves much about it; and in winter, when a poisoned bait can be laid out to advantage, the wolf leaves his summer haunts on the Fjelde, where he does most mischief to the cattle at the seaters, and comes down to the shores of the fiords and lakes.

*January, 1836.* — On the 1st of January there was a higher degree of cold than has been experienced in this country for some years. At Roraas, a small mining town on the Fjelde, about 3000 feet above the sea level, mercury exposed to the air was frozen in the course of two hours into a solid mass. In the lower levels there was perhaps no very exact observation made on the thermometer. I heard of 25 degrees of Reaumur, as observed in our neighbourhood. These timber-houses are so tight, and so equally warmed by the stoves, that this intense cold is not much felt indoors. I have suffered much more discomfort from cold, in ordinary winters, in a gimcrack English house a brick and a half thick.

This cold is precious for the country, consolidating the snow, and making the transport of goods for a long time easy and sure. Good or bad winter driving is of such importance to every one, that it is remarked upon in all society, as the weather with us. Next to a good crop, it is the greatest blessing to the countryman, who makes it a standing toast, and a regular topic of conversation.

I resolved to take advantage of it, and travel in the fine exhilarating cold. January and February, for weeks together, afford generally delightful winter weather — bright, calm, cloudless; not thawing even at midday, but not freezing intensely; and the air so pure and buoyant, that there is a pleasure in simply moving or breathing. As to cold, the traveller in Norway sets it at defiance. He has over his ordinary pantaloons and boots a pair of huge boots lined with sheep-skin, which come up over his thighs, like those of a fisherman; but they are made of more pliable leather. These are absolutely necessary, because in a single sledge the feet are outside passengers, ready to keep it upright when it takes a yaw to one side, and are thus often in the snow. If the traveller feels particularly chilly, and thinks double boots not enough, he may get a pair of reindeer-skin shoes to go over both his boots. Over his clothes he has a pelisse of wolf, dog, or reindeer-skin, which last is preferable, being cheaper, warmer, and much lighter; but it has the disadvantage of not enduring wet so well. If the traveller puts on his leather great coat under it, he is armed against wet or dry. These are made of kid or goat skin, prepared so as to be as pliable and light as broadcloth, and are quite proof against water and cold. They are made in the fashionable shape of the day, and deserve a place on the coach-box in our night-travelling. The sledge has always an apron of bear-skin in front; and when the traveller has got himself thus packed up, and has put on his mittens of wolf or deer skin, his fur cap with laps to cover his ears and tie under his chin, a comforter round his neck, and another as a girdle to keep his pelisse close, he may show his face to the wind, and let mercury freeze if it will. The only inconvenience is, that he is very unwieldy, and almost needs, like Falstaff, to have levers to raise him when upset, which he may calculate on being a dozen times in a day's driving. The traveller who chooses to be in a hurry may easily get over seventy or eighty English miles in a winter day. As there is no weight on the horses, and with good driving little more resistance than upon an ordinary pair of skates,

the animals go easily at their best pace ; and the traveller feels no fatigue as in a wheeled carriage.

I was in no hurry, and therefore travelled with my own pony as far as Dronthiem, having hired a neighbour's horse and sledge to take my baggage thither, and will send back my pony by him. I like to loiter on the road, talk to the bonder who keep the station-houses, and take my thirty or thirty-five miles a day with daylight.

*Vollan, February 8, 1836.* — After staying a few days at Dronthiem, which the traveller will find a dull town, I set off this morning at nine, and got to this single post-house, five Norwegian or thirty-five English miles, by three o'clock. The cartage or sledging to and from Roraas makes this piece of road very unpleasant. The ruts which sledges work in the snow do not run lengthwise, but right across ; so that your vehicle labours like a boat rowing against a heavy head-sea.

It is not altogether uninteresting to travel in this country, even when covered with snow. The scenes are at least novel to the English traveller, and perhaps more striking from being composed of few objects. The country is white, but the forest and the cliff stand black upon its face. A smoke of snow rises in spots among the Fjelde where a whirling wind strikes. It makes a variety of scenery also to be out of high roads with fences and houses. The winter road is the bed of the river, or the lake that fills the bottom of the narrow valley.

*Øvne, February 9.* — I travelled six Norwegian miles to-day. Corn is cultivated here, but not much higher up the country. The river Driva, which comes from the neighbourhood of Sneehætte, separates at this point ; and its branches water two fertile and extensive vales, which have their apex here, and are separated by a mountain ridge.

I found the inn here as clean and comfortable as any country inn in England.

*Jerkin, February 10.* — This day's journey, of seven Norwegian miles up the glens of the Fjelde, has been very interesting. The road is upon the bed of the torrent ; and one looks up with astonishment at the windings and ascents of the common high road among the precipices far above. You are travelling in a mere fissure, not many feet wide, filled from side to side with a frozen torrent ; and the mountain walls which enclose you rise so steep

and high that you are in some places involved in a sort of twilight. I was surprised to find, that although the cold had been so severe as to freeze mercury nearly at the same elevation about a month before, and there had not been a single hour of thaw since, the water of the mountain streams was not altogether frozen, even where they were shallow. There were many holes open in the bed of the river between Drivstuen and Kongsvold; and it required nice driving to steer through the chaos of rocks to be turned, open holes to be avoided, bridges of ice between open places to be passed, on which a jerk of your sledge to one side would hurl you into a gulf; and although the ice is undoubtedly strong enough, you cannot help thinking it just possible, in passing some of those spots, where you know, from the steepness of the precipices around, there must be a deep and silent pool, that the ice may not bear you and your horse and sledge. So attentive are people here to their road business, that to the no small comfort of the doubtful traveller, even in this torrent bed, there were little green twigs of fir stuck in the snow, or laid on the ice, to show where to cross to the other side, or what line to drive through the masses of rock and holes of water. On the lakes one may drive for miles together, under guidance of these twigs, in a drift of snow or in darkness. At dangerous spots there is always something left, a bush or stone, or some object, to caution the next traveller. A little way beyond Kongsvold the glen opens into the plateau of the Dovre Fjelde. The road over it, at this season, is well marked with poles, as near to each other as the lamp-posts in a town; and this is no more than necessary. A smothering snow-drift came on, and it was scarcely possible to see from pole to pole. I asked the boy from Kongsvold, who drove the baggage sledge, if he was sure we were upon the road. He said, they always left that to the horses on this stage, when the path could not be discerned. They would not go wrong if they were not put out of their pace, but left to take their way themselves. The journeying on this elevated plain, enveloped in a cloud of snow as dense almost as that on which you are driving, makes an impression that is sublime. You seem travelling in the sky. What you see or touch of the earth is scarcely more substantial than the snow that is whirling round and above you. It seems all one element, and you alone in the midst of it.

We got on very well to this place, although we had a terrible pelting from the time we got over the brow of the Fjelde.

*February 11.* — This is the most comfortable inn, I believe, in Norway. The four—Drivstuen, Kongsvold, Jerkin, and Fogstuen—were established as hospices or lodges for the succour of travellers across the Fjelde early in the twelfth century. There is no grain cultivated at this elevation, but there are valuable grass farms; the proprietors apparently as well off as the most substantial of the bender, who rear crops of corn. It was attempted some years ago to raise Himmalaya bear here. A small quantity had been received by the Norwegian Agricultural Society from Abo, to which it had come by way of Irkutz. It did not succeed on the Dovre Fjelde; but it is a valuable species. I had about half an acre of it, which, although sown too late, proved excellent. It grows like our common bear, not like barley, that is, six-sided; and is without husk about the pickle, and yields a particularly white meal. It would probably be a good change of seed for those districts in Scotland which do not produce barley.

I saw this forenoon a piece of rural management which will scarcely be believed. The stock of this farm is thirty cows and sixteen horses. The latter, of course, get no corn. A man came out of the stable with as much horse-dung as could be heaped on his spade, and laid it down on the snow. He brought one spadeful after another, till the stable was cleaned out; and placed each in a little heap by itself. He then went with the women, and let out the cows, which ran to the dung and ate it with great relish. This repast, it seems, was regularly given to them once a day. These cows were far from being in a starving condition or driven by hunger to this strange diet. They were frolicsome, and their skins clean and glossy. They were not at all “at the lifting,” as it is called in Scotland, when the cattle of a small farmer are, from mere starvation, scarcely able to rise. They would have been reckoned in very fair condition for a lean stock, not intended for market, on any ordinary farm in the north of Scotland. The practice is general on the skirts of the Fjelde, about Roraas, and over all Bergens Amt. The farmers can keep in summer a much greater stock than they can provide food for in winter. If by these substitutes they can save a fourth part of hay, that would otherwise be consumed, and can show a stock of cattle in such very fair condition for the month of February, the management may not be so laughable as it appears at first. The inferior animals appear to be capable of forming acquired tastes as well as man. If

the farmer can avail himself of these, whether produced at first by hunger or imitation, so as to spare other food, he is wise to use it. The taste for salt is among those acquired ones which will lead cattle to consume provender which they otherwise would not touch. That for warm food is another, and cattle will eat in this state what they would not touch cold. In this district moss of every kind is used very extensively; and sea-weed very generally on the coast is dried, and carted two or three miles into the country, and being scalded with boiling water, which is poured off, it forms good and nourishing food for cows. Fish heads and bones are carefully preserved in Nordland, Finmark, and in Bergens Amt, and are boiled down to a soup, of which these animals are exceedingly fond. In Bergens Amt, when more herrings or sprats are caught in any particular spot than there are barrels and salt to preserve, the fish are spitted on sticks, and hung up to dry; they are then greedily devoured by the cows, which in many places subsist very much on this diet. The hay-crop last summer on the south side of Dovre Fjelde, was, owing to a long continuance of dry weather, exceedingly scanty; and but for these substitutes, the farmer could not have preserved his stock. If fish make a diet nutritive enough for a man, there seems no very good reason why they should not suit a cow, if she can be got to like them. It appears to be the plan here, not to wait until the cattle are starving before giving them any of those articles in the room of hay or straw; but in all years, good or bad, to give them one or two of these warm feeds weekly or daily. The animal at first has probably been driven by hunger to such food; but imitation would induce a whole stable of cattle to eat what one appears to relish. It is not likely that substitutes can be brought so far that the horse and the rider will sit down to a beefsteak together, although in Germany they take slice for slice of the brown loaf; but it is very possible that many a poor cottar in Scotland and Ireland might save his cow in a backward spring, if he had spared fodder, by giving her one feed a day of scalded sea-weed or fish heads, or any procurable substitute which he could give her a taste for.

It appears extraordinary that in this track of country leading over Dovre Fjelde, where now there is but this house and Fogstuen in a distance of thirty miles, marks of human labour are found, which show that it must at some unknown period have been a peopled district. The antiquary Gerard Schoning in his Travels

in the north end of Guldebrandsdal in the year 1775, published from his manuscripts in 1820, in a periodical work called the "Budstick," mentions that he found the foundations of a building, supposed to be a church or temple, thirty-two paces long and twenty-four broad, not far from this farm. On many parts of Dovre Fjelde, there are found close to each other an incredible number of square holes, about six feet deep and twelve feet broad, built in the inside with stones, and which he considers to have been intended for catching reindeer and elk, or to have been foundations and cellars of houses. What we call Picts' houses, in the north of Scotland, have evidently been cellars and store-rooms of houses, of which the superstructure has been of wood or turf. They are always under hillocks of accumulated rubbish, often mixed with the ashes of the dwelling that has stood above them. The pits mentioned by Schoning appear to be of this description, but square, and larger than the Picts' houses. He also mentions a singular fact, that the bottoms of the lakes on this Fjelde tract are strewed with the trunks of furu or pine trees, from seven to eight fathoms in length, with the roots attached; and, as he justly observes, although there are pine trees still growing on the Fjelde, sufficient to show that the tract may have been a pine forest, yet there is no declivity towards these lakes by which, in the present shape of the land, any stream or torrent could have swept trees down into them. These remains cannot be reconciled to the theory of trees only growing within certain zones of elevation, unless by supposing a change in the temperature, or in the elevation, since the time when they were produced of such a size on Dovre Fjelde. Schoning also notices the accumulations of rounded pebbles and stones, forming banks and hillocks, which have apparently been rounded and brought into these heaps by the agency of water; but that, in the present shape of the country, there is no back ground to pour down any stream or torrent upon this elevated table-land to round or collect them.

*Hammer, February 14.*—It makes a fine contrast of scenery even in winter, after driving twenty-five or thirty miles over the uninhabited waste of the Dovre Fjelde, to descend into the sunny cheerful Guldebrandsdal, studded with farm houses, and its magnificent drooping birches, showing a luxuriance of vegetation unknown to the upper valleys on the north side of the mountains. The scenery there is of a more stern character. The pine forest is



a gloomy cover to a country ; and the interruption of a bare white rock rearing its head over the dark mass of foliage, or of a deep narrow glen marked by its black shade, does not enliven the face of the country. All is more open and gay on this side of the Dovre Fjelde. I travelled leisurely down the magnificent Guldebrandsdal, generally upon the bed of the river, and long river-like lakes which occupy its bottom ; they were frozen, unless near to the cascades where one lake falls into another on a lower level.

The Guldebrandsdal, from the head of the Myosen lake at this place, up to the Dovre Fjelde, is about a hundred and sixty-eight English miles in length, and its breadth of cultivated land in the valley bottom scarcely any where exceeds six or seven. In general it forms only a narrow stripe of cultivated land between the hill foot and the water. But behind, over the hills, are, I understand, the finest high pastures or seaters in Norway ; and, including these, the breadth of the district belonging to the Guldebrandsdal farmers may not be less than thirty or thirty-five English miles. There are eight parishes and twenty-six churches in the district. The population is reckoned about thirty-five or forty thousand, including that of the lateral valleys. Of these the largest, to judge from its river, the Gausa, is Gusdal. There is also another considerable river, the Otta, which joins the Laug, the main river of Guldebrandsdal, after running through a considerable valley. The arable land of this district is much encumbered with stones, so that fields of any considerable size are rare. The crops also in the higher parts and in the lateral valleys are rendered very uncertain by early frosts ; while in the lower grounds they suffer much from sunshine. It appears strange to one accustomed to our cloudy climate, to hear the latter reckoned an equal or greater enemy to the crops. Yet such is the fact. Frost early in August often destroys the corn before it is filled, but it leaves the fodder ; even some of the grain may have been previously ripe ; but sunshine in June or July often shines it away in blade before it has covered the ground, and thus leaves nothing. A *shine* year, as it is called, is a very common calamity in almost all the inland parts of Norway. Besides these evils of early frost and sunshine, drought is another to which the crops are almost every year exposed, and is overcome only by the great exertions made, as before mentioned, to irrigate the growing corn. This is carried to such perfection, although with means which appear rude, that I understand it is

not uncommon for those who have an insufficient share or none in the irrigation concern, to hire a day's water from those who can spare it. The returns upon these small patches, so carefully laboured and watered, are almost incredible. Twenty fold is common in favourable seasons. Very possibly where the prolific power of the soil is so often checked it will be less exhausted, and may be very great when such weather does occur as brings it into full action. Pasturage in this district forms the most valuable branch of farming. The best horses in Norway are also reared in the upper end of Guldebrandsdal. The bonder are considered to be prosperous and substantial. They manufacture a good deal of woollen and linen cloth for country use; and in winter shoot a good many wild reindeer, and sometimes, though rarely, an elk or two, in the tract of the Fjelde north of the Gausa river. The freshwater fish in the river Laug, and in the lakes which it forms in its course to the Myosen, are also of much more importance to the subsistence of the inhabitants than any similar fishery in the north of Europe. There is difficulty, perhaps, even for the naturalist, to ascertain the English names of some of the fresh-water fish in this country, being varieties not found in our waters. There is in the Myosen a species of herring, at least it goes by that name. I have not seen it; but it is caught in such abundance that in the parish of Faaberg, about two hundred barrels were salted yearly, until the year 1789; when a great flood in the river brought down so many stones, and altered the bottom of the fishing ground so much, that the produce has not since been so great. A smaller kind of this fish is also caught in the Myosen. Trout also run up from the lake to spawn, as salmon, which they equal in size, do from the sea. At Hune-foss, a waterfall on the Laug, about fourteen miles above its junction with the Myosen, these Hunne trout, as they are called, have been caught of nearly three Bismar pounds, or thirty-six avoirdupois. The falls on the river, by which the Myosen sends its waters to the sea, make it impossible that herrings or salmon could get into it. These are varieties of fresh-water fish with which we are unacquainted.

It surprises the traveller from England, where almost every thing that man uses is provided with and valued in money, to find a whole population, in an old European country, dealing direct with nature as it were, for every article,—fuel, lodging, clothing, fish, meat, grain, dairy produce, fermented and distilled liquors,—

which are all provided without the intervention of money, or even of barter. Some of these little estates, worth perhaps four or five thousand dollars, are the most complete possible in this respect. They have within them every material of an abundant subsistence; not only the usual products of land—grain, meat, dairy produce, &c.,—but besides, a great command of the comforts and even luxuries of life: fuel; commodious houses, or building materials to erect them; game, venison, fish, fruits. They have even labour unpaid, through the portions of land let to housemen. Where will a thousand pounds value in land thus supply a family with all necessities and essential comforts, and a rational share of luxuries? A family with 2000*l.*, laying out 1000*l.* in the purchase of a well-situated estate, and keeping another at interest in case of sunshine or frost making it necessary to go to market, would live in greater plenty here, more free from care, and in the enjoyment of more of the comforts and luxuries of life, than could be done upon an estate of 500*l.* a year in Britain; where the whole produce must first be turned into money, and that money into every thing wanted; where neither fuel, labour, nor a commodious house, much less the luxuries of fish, game, and venison, are within the estate or its privileges. Nor would they be so entirely without good society as might be supposed; provided they did not set out too high, and live,—as the English abroad generally do,—differently from their neighbours, instead of following the modes of the country. In every parish there is the clergyman and his chaplain, men always of high education and acquirements. The whole corps of law officers and solicitors are well educated, and have taken degrees either at the university of Copenhagen or of Christiania, as otherwise none are allowed to practise; and they are not, as with us, huddled together in the country towns or metropolis, but are spread over the country; as the courts, by a wise arrangement, are held as much as possible in single houses in each parish, removed from villages or towns, and from opportunities of feasting or drinking. In every parish, also, there are retired military officers living very often on small means, but men of education and acquirements superior to our own half-pay of the old school; because the Danish government began a generation before the British to educate its officers. The system is kept up in Norway; none being admitted into the service who have not gone through a course of education at the military college, which is good, and at least equal to that

which many of our officers obtain. The ladies here are necessarily more occupied with house-keeping; but in appearance, in manners, and in the usual female accomplishments of music, dancing, and conversation, they are not behind our own. They have read less, but are not uneducated. Such a state of society and property would undoubtedly suit many an English emigrant family better than a log hut in the forests of Upper Canada or Australia. The difference of language is the only difficulty; but it is short-lived. If the trees in Canada could speak English, it would be a reasonable ground of preference. As it is, I suspect such emigrants as have a little capital would sooner learn to speak a language than to fell a tree.

This place, Hammer, ought in all conscience to be a considerable market town. It is situated in a beautiful little bay of the Myosen, at the end of the well-inhabited Guldebrandsdal, at no great distance, by a road over the hills, from the great and well-inhabited valley of the Glomen, or Hedemark, and from Sweden; and so far from Christiania that no competition thence can prevent its rise. Yet it is not a town, — scarcely, indeed, a village, — although it has a few shops and straggling houses. It will not advance, notwithstanding all the encouragement which government has at different times given. What can be the reason that in America villages and towns start up, as by magic, in the midst of the forest; while, in Europe, it requires several generations to form one, unless pushed on by some cotton, iron, or other manufacture that leads to the congregating of people to one spot? One reason may be the want of roads, of tradesmen, and of a distribution of raw material and skill over a newly-settled country. The blacksmith and his iron, the shoemaker and his leather, the tailor and his cloth, all, in short, but the woodman and his axe, must be collected in one central spot to serve the country. But when a country is fully settled and inhabited, its roads and communications numerous and good, and its demands for labour well supplied, it is to be apprehended that these Aladdin-lamp formations of towns and villages in America will disappear. Tradesmen, professional men, and even dealers, will have to seek their customers, instead of their customers having to seek them. They will have to live in the neighbourhood of their employers, or others in the same trades will spread themselves over the country, and then adieu to the existence of all those American towns which are not supported by any peculiar manufacture or

commerce, but simply by the aggregation of ordinary handicrafts, storekeepers, and professional people. They will die away as the country advances, just as such country towns decay in Europe. This place was at one time of considerable extent, and the seat of a bishop. It had a cathedral and a monastery, both founded about the year 1160 by Adrian, an Englishman, who at that time was the pope's legate in Norway. He became afterwards a cardinal, under the name of Nicholas Breakspear, ab Albano; and pope, under the title of Hadrian the Fourth. The place was reduced to ashes by the Swedes in the seventeenth century, and appears never to have been flourishing. I searched in vain for some appearance of remains of this city, its cathedral and monastery. I feel a doubt whether, as there is another place of the same name lower down on the Myosen, I may not have mistaken the spot. The building material, however, in Norway, leaves little trace. The wooden structure may last a couple of centuries; but when it decays, there is nothing left for posterity to gaze at. For a town, into which government has attempted to foster it, the situation is beautiful. The ground slopes gently towards the lake, which is here only 800 yards broad. The variety and luxuriant growth of the trees show that the soil must be good. I walked across the lake on the ice; and I understand it is frozen for about twenty miles down, but is open below, so that I must travel on the high road. The Myosen for the first ten miles appears not to exceed a mile or a mile and a half in breadth, a size favourable to the scenery. Trees, points of land, rocks, houses on the opposite coast, unite in rendering it beautiful.

*February.*—The Myosen expands into a great breadth about twenty miles below Hammer, where its waves and shores are like those of an inlet of the ocean. The opposite coast is so distant, that the eye cannot distinguish single features. The outlet of this grand body of water seems very small. It is crossed by a ferry-boat and a rope stretched across the river. The evaporation of so great an expanse may render a large river from it unnecessary to keep up a proper balance between its influx and efflux.

*February.*—The horses in Norway have a very sensible manner of taking their food. Instead of swilling themselves like ours with a pailful of water at a draught, no doubt from the fear of not getting it soon again, and then overgorging themselves with dry food for the same reason, they have a bucket of water put down beside

their allowance of hay. It is amusing to see with what relish they take a sip of the one and a mouthful of the other alternately, sometimes only moistening their mouths as a rational being would do while eating a dinner of such dry food. A broken-winded horse is scarcely ever seen in Norway, nor have I met with one in the slightest degree so affected. The animal is not impelled to overload its stomach, and distend the vessels with unnecessary quantities of water or hay at one time. Broken wind is understood to be a rupture of the vessels connected with the lungs, and to be brought on by over-feeding, or over-exertion with a full stomach. In a field, when left to himself, the horse is perpetually eating. He does not fill himself at once, like a cow, and remain then for three or four hours without food; yet we treat him like a cow, giving two or three feeds only in the day, and he consequently fills himself too rapidly, and without sufficient mastication. Probably many of the diseases of our horses arise from this unnatural custom. The horse probably knows better than the groom when he should eat and drink, and would be more free from diseases if left to his own discretion.

## CHAPTER XI.

Christiania. — Fiord frozen. — Population. — University. — Students. — State of Education in Norway. — The Meeting of Storthing. — Number of Members. — Principle of Reform of the Representation always acting. — What Description of Persons in this Storthing. — Pay of Members. — The Lagthing, or House of Lords. — How elected. — What Description of Persons. — Storthing properly Three Houses of Parliament. — Mode of Procedure with Bills. — Rejection of Royal Propositions for a Veto and Power to naturalize. — Chambers. — Dress. — Appearance of Members. — Speaking. — Examples of Procedure. — Ornaments of a Statue of Odin. — Booty of an ancient Væring. — Question before Storthing how to dispose of these. — Return of Bank of Norway to Cash Payments. — Debate in Storthing. — How determined. — Influence of the Press. — Simplicity of Procedure in the Storthing. — Constitution works well — By whom framed. — Guaranteed to Norway by England — Treaty of March, 1813 — Character of our Proceedings — Bound in Principle to guard the Independence and Constitution of Norway. — Conclusions. — Best Structure of Society. — True Checks on Over-Population. — Only Remedy for the Condition of the Irish People.

*Christiania, February, 1836.* — THIS town, which I thought dull and deserted on my arrival in Norway, appears now busy, bustling,

and crowded. The difference, I suspect, is not so much in itself, as in the impressions of the traveller — then fresh from the stir and life of English towns, now from the solitude and quiet of the Fjelde valley. The meeting of the Storthing, however, adds no doubt something to the bustle. The university also is now sitting; and its six hundred students make the streets fuller than in summer. The driving also is good this winter; all the wood and other articles for exportation are brought into town at this season by the country people from great distances, and produce a little movement in the market-place.

I was surprised to find the Fiord here quite frozen, although the sea is ten fathoms deep; horses, sledges, and people are travelling in all directions over it, while the fresh water of the Myosen, for forty or fifty miles up, is quite clear of ice. The Fiord is no doubt narrower at Christiania than the Myosen, and more shut in by islands and points of land than the lower end of that lake. As the vessels are frozen in, and no arrivals can take place, little business is going on; and from the appearance of the accommodation for shipping, the want of warehouses, of an open exchange, or of the conveyance of goods in the streets, the mercantile business cannot be very great. Professional men, public functionaries — those whom the courts of law, the university, and the various departments of administration, support, — form the principal part of the society, and that by which a great part of the other citizens live. In the construction of its society, it is the Edinburgh of Norway.

Christiania is considered to have twenty-four thousand inhabitants. The town appears small for this population; but there are suburbs stretching out like spiders' legs from the body of the place, and little connected with it. It contains no building of any importance. The streets are not particularly clean, although wide, and in straight lines. It is altogether inferior to Dronthiem. The inhabitants, also, are by no means so handsome as the Dronthiemers. It is probably not a very healthy place. The people look pale and sickly; and there is not, from the form of the ground, such a rapid drainage into the sea as Dronthiem possesses. The university has not buildings, as yet, sufficient for its business. The professors lecture in detached rooms, not in any public edifice. The library is considerable, but not rich in old or valuable editions of scarce works. It is entirely for use, and upon a very liberal footing. It is open for two hours daily for lending out books; but

there are reading rooms for those who wish to consult maps, manuscripts, or works of too great value to be lent out. It is not necessary to be a member or a student in order to obtain the use of the books. Any householder giving his note for their return enables the stranger to get them out upon his own receipt; and the number of persons, of all classes, whom I have seen changing books at the hours of delivery gives a favourable impression of the reading disposition of the people.

The students of this university have none of the silly propensities of the German students: no affectation of being a separate class, or of distinguishing themselves, as *Burschen*, by peculiarity of dress or roughness of manner. They are dressed like other gentlemen, — live like the students at Edinburgh, mixed with the inhabitants, and associating with them. They have a society to which they all belong, and subscribe to its funds; but its objects are altogether literary, and the money is employed in providing elementary books, of which the university library cannot be expected to have so many copies as must be required at once by those attending a course of lectures. If they ever dabbled in political questions, government had no power to prevent them; and therefore, being made of no importance, they were of none. They form no distinct body at war with the citizens. Many give instruction in families, or to younger students preparing to pass examinations; and from the number of advertisements in the newspapers to and from tutors and teachers from all classes, the diffusion of knowledge appears to be going on very rapidly. It is not at all uncommon to see a person advertised for to teach in a bonder family, and frequently in two neighbouring ones, or in a small country circle.

The considerable number of periodical publications which circulate in Norway, proves a state of education among the people which is far from being limited. There are two daily newspapers, and at least six published two or three times a week, all in extensive circulation. Every little town also — as Stavanger, Arendal, and others — has local newspapers. A penny or skilling magazine has an extensive sale, and also another publication on the same plan. It is not merely from the sale of these works, but from their matter, the advertisements to and from parties, and the subjects treated of, that I infer, in proportion to the population, a considerable reading public in Norway. There are also periodical works



of a higher class, literary journals, and others on peculiar branches of knowledge antiquarian, topographical, military. The education of the body of the people in country parishes is provided for by an arrangement similar to that in Scotland. There are parochial school-masters, of whom some have fixed houses, others live six months in one locality and six in another. From the great extent of country, and its being inhabited in valleys or districts, separated by uninhabitable and in many cases impassable ridges, or by fiords, it is impossible that education can be brought to the door of each isolated little community; nor can any just conclusion be drawn from the state of intelligence and knowledge in one of these little societies as to its state in others. There are districts in which, from peculiar circumstances, as the example and success of some one self-taught individual, some of the finer mechanical arts which require considerable powers of mind as well as manual dexterity, as watch and clock making, are spread generally among the bonder. There are others in which, by the same means, a knowledge of the practical branches of mathematics is so general, that every lad is acquainted with land-measuring. In the parish in which I passed the last winter. there were eleven schools for a population of five thousand persons, besides three or four private family teachers. This is not a low provision, being a school to every five hundred. There are counties in England which have nothing like it. It could not, however, be justly inferred that education is diffused in the same or nearly the same degree through the whole Norwegian population. The means are undoubtedly good. A small tax is levied from each householder, besides a personal payment from each adult, male and female, amounting, in the case of agricultural servants, to about eight skillings, or half of a day's wages in the year, out of which schools and teachers in each district are provided. The great and unremitting attention of the clergy to the confirmants personally, and the importance before explained which is universally attached by the people themselves to the rite of confirmation, have undoubtedly diffused education by the aid of these schools very generally, to the extent at least of reading. There are causes, however, in the constitution of society in Norway, which must keep education always on a low footing, however widely its first elements may be spread. Whether this be better or worse for the people, let others determine. One is the high education of the clergy and other professional men. To send a young man to the

university, and maintain him there, although the students pay no fees, costs between 300 and 400 dollars yearly; which is in this country a very important sum. The preliminary education also, in the ancient languages, must be sought for generally at a distance, and is consequently expensive. A man cannot reasonably bring up his son with a view to a professional livelihood, unless he happens to be himself in a profession, or in a situation with peculiar local advantages. There is no demand for educated labour, beyond what the classes living by it can breed up to and supply out of their own stock. There is not, as there is or was in Scotland, an undefined demand for educated men in the medical, legal, or commercial professions, and even, by the secession church, in the clerical; one, too, extending not merely to employment in the country, but in England, with all its colonies, and in America. In national education, as in every thing else, supply follows demand; and here there is no demand beyond what the supply is visibly sufficient for. Education, beyond the ordinary acquirements of reading and writing, can lead to none of the ordinary objects of ambition; and being therefore less valuable than with us, is less valued. The restrictions, also, upon the free exercise of trade or industry, limit the demand for young men of good but not learned education. If a person must obtain peculiar privileges from a corporate body, not merely before he can carry on any medical or legal employment, but before he can buy and sell, or manufacture, or engage in any trade or calling for which intelligence and useful education fit him, he naturally lets the educational part of his qualifications stand until he is sure of the apprenticeship and privilege part. As the expense of preparation, and the small number of prizes to be obtained, place the higher and learned professions out of the reach of the main body of the people as objects of rational ambition, for which they might endeavour to bestow superior education upon their children; so the restrictions and monopoly system shut them out from the various paths and employments for which ingenuity, with ordinary useful education, might qualify them. Education can never be high, although it may extend very widely in an inferior state, in a community under these circumstances.

Another cause which limits the cultivation of the mental powers is the total absence of religious dissent in the country. A difference of opinion upon religious doctrines among a people is the

most powerful stimulant to the human mind to investigate, to obtain knowledge, to exert the mental powers. The spirit of religious controversy adds nothing certainly to their domestic happiness, but much to their intelligence, acuteness, desire for education, and value for religion. Scotland and England, without their seceders and dissenters, would have been countries in which the human mind slumbered. A land of universal conformity is necessarily one of universal apathy as to religious matters, or else of gross superstition. It is to expect effect without cause, to expect zeal or enlightened belief without inquiry and opposition, and the collision of mind against mind. There is something of this apathy, and of this superstition observable in Norway: there is no stimulant awakening men from the passive state of mind produced by uninquiring conformity. Those who maintain that a nation should have but one religious code fixed by law, to the exclusion of all dissent, should look round and see whether there is a sound and true sense of religion in those countries, whether Catholic or Protestant, where the public mind has remained in this state. "If ignorance be bliss," it has been said, "'tis folly to be wise." It is this bliss, and this wisdom, which universal conformity to the doctrines of an established church, either in a nation or parish, will produce.

The almost mechanical arts of reading and writing are certainly diffused very generally in Norway, considering its local circumstances, but there its education stops. Books are scarce. The means of obtaining them in the country are difficult, there being no coaches or carriers conveying parcels or goods in all directions. The teachers themselves in the country schools have little opportunity of obtaining information. The plan also which was unfortunately adopted of having one large university, instead of two or three in different places, militates against the diffusion of knowledge in a poor country. Scotland had four universities when her population did not greatly exceed that of Norway at present; and all the four probably cost the country less, in proportion to her wealth, than this one costs Norway. The inhabitants of great part of the country, as of the province of Bergen and of the territory north of the Dovre Fjelde, have little benefit from a single university situated at the extreme verge almost of the kingdom, at a distance of three or four hundred miles, and in the capital city, in which the expense of the students' living is necessarily

high. The diffusion of knowledge over a country from such a centre cannot be rapid. It is not accessible, owing to the distance and expense, to the great body of the people. The establishment of a university on the north side of the Dovre Fjelde seems necessary for the general diffusion of education of a higher description among the inhabitants of Norway.

*Christiania, April, 1836.* — The eighth Norwegian Storthing met on the 1st of February, in terms of the ground-law of the constitution. I have before explained that it is elected and meets *suo jure* on the first day of February of every third year, and continues its session in its own right for three months, or until the last day of April. This triennial meeting and session of the legislative body, being constitutionally independent altogether of the will of the executive, cannot be arbitrarily postponed, as the calling together of parliaments was by our Charles I. The prolongation of the session, however, beyond the period of three months, is entirely a matter of royal prerogative, and must in practice depend much on the nature and amount of the business to be dispatched. It has been prolonged to autumn. As the powers of an extraordinary Storthing do not extend to the altering of any constitutional law, and its enactments are but temporary, and must be ratified by the next regular Storthing, there have been usually propositions from the executive which could only be disposed of in the regular Storthing, and which have prolonged the session. The budget is necessarily one of the last subjects discussed and passed by the Storthing. There is consequently the same check which is acknowledged in our constitution in the hands of the Storthing, for securing sufficient time for discussing and passing its legislative measures before granting the ways and means to the executive.

I consider the Norwegian Storthing as a working model of a constitutional government on a small scale, and one which works so well as highly to deserve the consideration of the people of Great Britain. The qualifications of electors, the mode of election by the middle wheel in the machinery — that of election-men between the electors and representative — and the constitutional powers of the legislative body I have explained before, as far as from conversation or books I was able to do so; but I had a great curiosity to see the meetings of a Storthing, to hear the debates, to understand the procedure of a legislative assembly so entirely

elected by the people from among themselves, and which has shown so much wisdom in its enactments. I may confess, as an idle man, that it was my principal inducement to visit Christiania. I shall endeavour to condense into small compass the observations I made during my stay, being quite aware that subjects deemed very interesting by the traveller are not always so by the reader.

The present Storthing consists of ninety-six members, elected in the way before explained. Each town and district elects as many substitutes (suppleanter) as it elects representatives; so that in case of the illness or death of the one, the suppleant is sent for and takes his seat, and the constituency cannot remain unrepresented. The elective franchise, it is to be observed, is not connected with the place, as in England, — with the brick and mortar, for instance, of Sarum, or Aldborough, — but with the number of electors in a place. The city of Dronthiem, for instance, had just the number of qualified electors to send four representatives. If the electors had been fewer, it could only have sent three, or two, or one, or even none, if its number of qualified electors had been under fifty; and must have joined itself in that case to the constituency of the nearest town, Christiansund, and elected jointly with them. And again, if the number of its electors had increased, it would have sent its proportional number of representatives. This goes on without our process of disfranchising or enfranchising places; it being a self-acting principle of parliamentary reform, operating without any stoppage in the machinery of government in order to rectify the representation, and obtained by simply considering the elective franchise a privilege belonging to the constituency, according to the numbers dwelling in a place, and not a privilege attached to the place. The number of members of the Storthing may consequently be different in different Storthings; but the variation cannot well exceed two or three, more or less, and can be of no practical importance.

I was very desirous, and was at considerable pains, to ascertain what description of persons were sent to the Storthing; from what classes or employments; what proportion, from their functions, — civil, military, or clerical, — might be connected with the executive government, and have possibly a leaning towards the source from which their own advancement, or that of their families might flow. I could not discover, in the district in which I lived,

North Dronthiem Amt, any influence at work during the time of the elections; and the representatives elected were two bonder and a clergyman. I was desirous to know if this was the case generally. The representative to the Storthing is allowed a dollar and a half per day during his attendance, and his travelling expenses. I was desirous to ascertain if this had any influence on the elections. I have heard this allowance objected to by sensible men; and the propriety of it has been under the consideration of former Storthings. The objection is, that a member, living up to his rank and station, may save money out of it. In the best hotels, twenty dollars a month is the charge for lodging, board, fuel, and every accommodation. In private lodgings he is suitably accommodated for sixteen or eighteen. Many of the bonder class who are returned to the Storthing live for half a dollar a day, and bring home a little capital saved in this trade of legislation. It is therefore alleged that it beomes a sort of intrigue among them to be elected for the sake of the profit, to the exclusion of more able and educated men in the district, — clergy, public functionaries, or private gentlemen — who would otherwise be preferred. This objection, whether well grounded or not, does not, in my opinion, outweigh the advantages in this country of the allowance. There is no class in its society, few individuals indeed, except some of the highest functionaries, clergy, and merchants, who could afford to leave their homes and employments and live in Christiania at their own expense, and without any remuneration for their time, during a session of the Storthing. The representation of the country would, therefore, fall entirely into the hands of those few who, from the very circumstance of being above the ordinary business of the country, would necessarily be, as in England, the least acquainted with its interests or affairs. The bonder class also, although deficient in the higher branches of education, or in extended views on political subjects, do not want sound good sense; and a man chosen by several thousand of his fellow parishioners to be their election-man, and again selected by his fellow election-men, each as willing to take two and a half dollars a day as he is, must be a man distinguished for his judgment and character. He can neither be a fool nor a knave. Another consideration is, that if a man is paid for discharging his duty faithfully, and according to the best of his judgment and conscience, he can scarcely be induced to act a contrary part. It is, in general, the needy man who is corrupt.

He who can, as Paley expresses it, afford to keep a conscience generally does keep one.

This Storthing consists of twenty-two persons in civil offices, three in military, sixteen in clerical, four lawyers, fourteen mercantile men, thirty-seven landowners. Of the civil functionaries, eleven are connected with executive function, the others with judicial. I have included in this class one rector of a school, and one collector of taxes. Of the clerical, four are parish clerks or precentors (*kirke sanger*), not clergymen. Of the mercantile, some are landed proprietors as well as merchants, some country dealers. The mercantile towns, as Bergen, Dronthiem, and Christiania, are not represented entirely by mercantile men, but by men of high reputation from various professions. Of the landowners, with the exception of one or two who possess more than one farm, the thirty-seven are substantial bonder; proprietors only of the farms they live on. It appears from this analysis of the composition of the Storthing, that there is no foundation for the objection to the daily allowance, as the class of bonder have not sent any undue proportion of their own numbers, but have chosen representatives from other professions. A much more important inference may be drawn, — that, while the qualification is as low as it well can be, and the education of the electors is also but low, there is still such an amount of good sense in a community at large, that where undue influence, bribery, delusion, or party spirit, are not at work (and by the machinery of the middle wheel of election-men these are entirely excluded), a great majority of educated and enlightened men will be elected to do their business. In this representative body there are nearly sixty members, who, from their professions, must have enjoyed the best education which the country affords, and must be among its most able men; and there are only thirty-seven who may be presumed, from their occupation, not to have habits of business, although they are likely to possess great natural talents and judgment. The representatives belonging to this class in former Storthings have, I understand, often proved the most efficient members, after they got acquainted with the routine of business.

The first proceeding of the Storthing is to elect its president, or speaker, and its secretary. This is done once a week. A president has much in his power, in the form in which he may propose the question to be voted upon to the house, and in the turn of ex-

pression that may be given to proceedings, or motions, in writing them in the protocol. Great jealousy is therefore exercised by the Storthing in preserving the nomination of president and secretary in their own hands. It was one of the rejected propositions of the cabinet in 1824, that the king should have the nomination.

The next proceeding is to examine the writs or full powers of the members from their constituents, to ascertain that all are duly elected.

The Storthing then proceeds to elect what is equivalent to our House of Peers, the Lagthing, or division in which the deliberative functions of the legislative body are invested. This consists of one fourth of the members of the Storthing, being in the present assembly twenty-four, who are voted for by the whole body; and they form a separate house, and sit in a different chamber, with their own president and secretary, also elected by themselves weekly. The functions of the Lagthing are not exactly the same as those of our House of Lords, but are more confined. No bill can have its initiative there. It can only receive bills from the other house, the Odelsting; deliberate upon what is sent up to it; and approve, or reject, or send back the bill with proposed amendments. It is also the court before which, aided by the Hoieste ret Court (which is an independent branch of the state), the lower house, the Odelsting, may impeach ministers of state. The composition of this House of Lords, which does its business quite as well as a house of bishops, dukes, and barons, may be an object of curiosity to our British radicals. It consists, in the present Storthing, of eight persons in civil offices, five in clerical functions, two lawyers, and nine bonder or peasants; in all twenty-four. They are not elected to the Lagthing with any reference to profession or rank, but simply from the opinion their fellow-members in the Storthing may have formed of their judgment, knowledge, and fitness for deliberative function.

Of the whole ninety-six members of the present Storthing, forty-five have sat in one or more preceding Storthings; the rest are new members.

The mode of procedure differs in some important respects from that of the British parliament. The Storthing consists, in fact, of three houses: the Lagthing of 24 members, the Odelsting of 72, and the entire Storthing, consisting of the whole 96 united in one house. In this latter all motions are made and discussed; and if



entertained, are referred to committees to report upon to the Storthing. The report, when received back from its committee, is debated and voted upon; and if approved, a bill in terms of the report is ordered to be brought into the Odelsting. This house entertains or rejects the proposed bill; frames and discusses the enactments, if it is not rejected *in toto*; and sends it up to the Lagthing or upper house to be deliberated upon, approved, rejected, or amended. The Storthing appoints standing committees at the beginning of the session for each branch of the public business. These have to revise and report upon the proceedings of each department during the preceding three years; and every motion or petition to Storthing is, if not rejected at once, referred to the proper committee in the first instance to report upon to the house. Two propositions presented on the part of the King by a counsellor of state, and delivered in writing to the president, were, I observed, rejected by a unanimous vote, when brought before the house, as having been referred to a committee already in the last Storthing, and unanimously negatived. The one was to give the king an absolute instead of a suspensive veto; the other to give the king the power of naturalisation. By the groundlaw of the constitution none but Norwegians can hold office in Norway, and the Storthing alone has the power of naturalising foreigners. The Swedish cabinet cannot fill up a single post or office in Norway with a Swede. It appears extraordinary that the Swedish cabinet should be so much in the dark with regard to the state of this country as to bring forward, Storthing after Storthing, such crude proposals in the king's name as cannot be expected to find even a single vote in Norway. It appears almost a jest to propose to the legislature of an independent nation to allow its public offices to be filled with strangers ignorant of its laws and language, and to divest itself of its own most efficient power in legislating. But the Swedes of the higher class really are, I suspect, extremely ignorant of the state of their Norwegian neighbours. They seem to travel very rarely into Norway. During nearly two years I met only two Swedish travellers of the higher class; and in the books kept at the inns on the road, in which every person who takes post horses writes his name and residence, I observed many more English and German than Swedish travellers. The Swedish nobleman may naturally conceive the Norwegian bonder to be like the peasants on his own estates, and that they may be treated in

the same way. The lower classes of Swedes have much more intercourse than the higher with Norway by frequenting the fairs; but still it is so inconsiderable, that Swedish money is not current.

The mode of taking the votes in the Storthing is by the ayes standing up in their places, and the noes sitting still; or if there is difficulty in thus making out the numbers, the president takes the votes by the list. There are no right and left sides, no ministerial and opposition benches. *Ya* and *Ney* sit side by side all over the house. Each member usually occupies the same place for the whole session, and has pens, ink, and paper before him. There are evidently no such formed parties as in our parliament. Some members are more constitutional than others; but government, having no means of returning even a single member to Storthing, there is no ministerial and consequently no opposition party. It is considered a defect, and, practically, a hindrance to business, that government has no member in the Storthing to bring forward and support its propositions, and who, being instructed in its views, might be able to give the information on points of public business which is often required. There is a proposition from government to the present Storthing to remedy this defect by giving a seat and right of speaking, but not of voting, to a counsellor of state in each of the houses of Storthing. This is approved of by some, as a measure absolutely necessary for the despatch of business. Others think it contrary to the representative principle that a member not elected by any part of the community should take part in the deliberations, and influence the resolutions of a constitutional assembly. The influence of a practised speaker, with all the weight derived from his uttering the sentiments of government, might lead to results not to be foreseen. The "*nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*" will probably be the principle on which the proposition will be disposed of. The constitution has gone on well for twenty years; each Storthing is more expert than its predecessor in getting through business. A little inconvenience attends the want of a person in the assembly to give the information which can now only be obtained by sending to different departments; but no injury, on the whole, has been sustained by the present system. It is, therefore, not probable that the proposition will be adopted. It appears to be a fixed principle with all the Norwegians to allow the constitution to consolidate itself by time; to alter nothing in its ground-law, even for the better, because the very precedent of

an admitted alteration would, in the peculiar spirit of jealousy, or, in fact, animosity towards the constitution, shown by the different Swedish cabinets since it was established, be an opening to other alterations, which state of alteration upon alteration would be a greater and more dangerous evil than any which the country is exposed to from its constitution as it is.

The room in which the Storthing holds its meetings is small, and lighted by four windows on one side. The president sits at a table, a little elevated, between two of the windows. The members occupy the other side of the room in five rows of benches and desks, like the seats in a chapel. The gallery is behind the seats of the members, and could contain perhaps two hundred persons. It is generally full ; and the lobby leading to the gallery is always crowded before the Storthing opens, when any interesting subject is under discussion. When the Storthing resolves itself into its two parts, the Odelsting occupies this room, and the Lagthing, or upper house, has an adjoining one communicating by folding doors. The rooms are very simply but tastefully fitted up. They are too small for show, not being larger than the drawing rooms in a large private house ; but are light and comfortable, well ventilated, and apparently not requiring more exertion from a speaker to make himself heard than in ordinary conversation. Neither the president nor the members wear any peculiar dress. They do not, like the members of the French Chambers, enact a scene of a free constitution in theatrical costume. Those members who, as public functionaries, have uniforms, or happen to be decorated with orders, have in this Storthing, as a matter of taste or propriety, laid aside these distinctions by common consent, when officiating in the higher capacity of representatives. The appearance of the assembly resembles very much that of a meeting of gentlemen in one of our Scotch counties. Some traveller tells us that he saw the bonder sitting in the Storthing with red nightcaps, and clad in homespun clothes of the fashion of the sixteenth century. This is not the truth. Whatever they may wear in their own valleys, in Christiania they dress like other members of the Storthing.

The representatives belonging to this class look like the respectable farmers one sees on a market-day at Haddington or Edinburgh. In the Storthing no member wears his hat. The greatest decorum and propriety of manners are observed. There is not even the coughing or scraping down of an unmercifully

tedious speaker, which legislative assemblies of higher pretensions allow themselves to practise. There is, however, seldom occasion for it, as members seem to speak only when they have something to say. The style of speaking is altogether business-like, and to the point. It is not oratorical, but rather conversational. It is very much in the taste of good public speaking in England at the present time. I have heard nothing that could be called haranguing, or making set written-out speeches, or beginning with something far off from the point to which every one but the orator has got long before : but I have heard clear expositions of views delivered without premeditation, but fluently and to the purpose. This is in good taste, because it is adapted to the end, which is simply to get at the best and most suitable views of the subject. There is no party within doors to strengthen or weaken, no public out of doors to gain by fine speeches ; at least the art of reporting is but in its infancy, and could not convey a fine speech. There being no demand for oratory, there is no supply ; but for plain and clear statement of argument or fact, there are several members of this Storting who are equal to any of that class of our public speakers.

To show the course of procedure through these three houses, I shall follow out a case which, as it relates to a literary subject, and not to local politics, may be of some interest to an English reader.

In August, 1834, a considerable number of valuable gold ornaments, the metal weighing above eighty-eight ounces, were found about three feet under the surface of the ground in a spot which had formerly been a lake or pond, near the farm of Hoen, in the parish of Egger in Aggerhuuts Amt. The value of the gold is considerable, but is greatly enhanced to the antiquary, as these ornaments are supposed by the learned in northern antiquities to have adorned a statue of Odin, and on the introduction of Christianity and the spoliation of the temples of the old religion, to have been hid in the spot where they were now discovered. In feudal kingdoms, the king, as lord of the soil, has generally a right to such treasure-trove. In this country, the government is only entitled, by some Danish law, to purchase such objects as may be interesting to science from the owner of the land and the finder, at the market value. The sum of 2030 dollars was accordingly paid to these parties for the articles ; and in submitting this item, along

with the other extraordinaries, to be examined and provided for by the Storthing, government also proposed that they should be presented to the museum of the University. The royal proposition was referred by the Storthing to their budget committee, who in due time gave in their report. It recommended the adoption of the royal proposition, as to disposing of these articles to the University museum ; but as the University had a yearly allowance granted by Storthing of 550 dollars, to purchase articles for its museum, that it should repay to the state by yearly instalments, in nine years, the 2030 dollars.

When this report came before the Storthing, it gave occasion to a very animated discussion. Several good and interesting speeches were made against the adoption of the committee's proposition, as derogatory to the honour of the nation, and contrary to the spirit of the age. The cause of the University, of which the resources would have been seriously diminished for a long period by such a repayment, met with zealous support. The question excited a great deal of interest out of doors, and the gallery was full at nine in the morning, when the Storthing begins its business. On the division there were only fifteen votes in favour of the committee's proposition. Its members made out a very good case in favour, or at least in excuse, of their report. They were a budget committee, entitled only to treat the subject in an economical view. The property of the nation was in their hands to be taxed ; and they were not warranted to take either the honour of the country, or the interests of science, as principles to be included in their consideration of the amount of burden to be imposed, but simply what was most economical.

The course of procedure is, that after a proposition, such as the above, comes back from their committee, and is considered by the united Storthing, a bill is ordered to be prepared in terms of the resolution formed on the subject. The Storthing then dividing itself into its two chambers, the bill is brought into the Odelsting, which treats it as in our House of Commons, rejecting or amending it as they see fit ; and when prepared it is sent up to the Lagthing, or upper house. If not approved of there, the bill is lost. If amended, it is sent back with the amendments to the Odelsting. If they do not approve them, the two houses have a conference ; the whole procedure being similar to that established in our two Houses of Parliament. The only peculiarity is that

which necessarily flows from the upper house being chosen out of the representative body. As that house has only a deliberative, and not an initiative power in the legislation, their constituents would enjoy only in a secondary degree the benefit of representation, if it were not for the expedient of the united Storting, consisting of both houses, handling by itself, and by its committees, every proposition in the first place upon which a bill is to be founded.

The gold ornaments above referred to consist of fifty-two gold and thirteen silver ornaments; among which are a massive gold collar, various bracelets, a brooch or breast-ornament for fastening the cloak, rings, and a number of coins, each furnished with a loop or eye for passing a string through and suspending them as embellishments, or amulets, on the person. The workmanship of these ornaments, and of the loops or eyes attached to the coins in general, is so much superior to what could have been executed in that early age in the north of Europe, that the eastern origin of the articles is considered unquestionable. The coins are nine Arabic, Cufish, four Byzantine, five Franco-Gallic, one Anglo-Saxon; and of these one is of the fourth century, one of the sixth, and the rest are coins struck between the years 769 and 867 of our era. There are no Scandinavian coins among them; and it is doubtful whether any were struck in Scandinavia before the time of Canute in the beginning of the eleventh century.

Professor Holmboe of Christiania delivered a learned and elegant descriptive account of these very interesting antiquities in the Latin language, at the University commemoration of his Majesty's birthday in 1835; and it has been published by order of the University. This learned antiquary conjectures that these ornaments may have belonged to one or more idols about the time of the introduction of Christianity into Norway in the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, and may have been concealed to prevent their becoming the spoil of the Christians who plundered the temples and destroyed the idols of the worshippers of Odin. The conjecture he considers probable, because three of the ornaments for the arm, or bracelets, are too small to have been intended for a man, or to allow the hand of a male adult to pass through them, and too heavy to have been worn conveniently by a woman; they have therefore probably been made for an idol; and it is proved by many passages which he quotes from

the Saga, that the idols of the religion of Odin were very richly decorated with gold and silver ornaments.

There are two or three considerations which I conceive militate against this ingenious conjecture. The images by which a barbarous people represent their deities naturally run into the gigantic, not the diminutive. The fine arts, and the ideas of a people, must be in an advanced state, before they disconnect the idea of greatness and power from bulk and personal strength. These qualities were still at the introduction of Christianity, and long after, prized as the highest endowments of man. It is not likely they would fashion their idols without them. In the Saga also, the descriptions occasionally given of the idols seem to indicate an image above, not below the human size. That which Kolbein Kæmpe, by order of King Olaf, struck into pieces with his axe, before the assembly of the bonder in Guldebrandsdal, was a hollow figure brought out apparently with difficulty, and large enough for rats and other vermin to have lodged in its cavity. This account gives the idea of a figure larger than human. But allowing any particular image to have been less than an adult man, is it likely that the measure of its arm and hand should have been sent from Norway to the workmen in the East, in order to make a gold ornament to fit it? There is a third consideration: it is not likely that a Byzantine coin, struck by Michael III. between A. D. 842 and A. D. 867, bearing not only the name of Jesus Christ, but also the figure of the cross, should have been used as an ornament of an idol of which the worshippers were persecuted by those of whose religion the cross was the symbol. For these reasons it occurs to me as more probable, that this treasure has been the plunder brought home from the East by one of the *væringers* or body-guard of the Greek Emperors. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the *væringers* at Constantinople appear to have been principally from Norway, and to have returned with great wealth, of which there is an instance in the *Orkneyinga Saga*. The bracelets, too small to admit the hand of an adult man, and too heavy for female ornaments, are probably just the size which at the present day would fit the Arab, or other natives of the East, whose frame of body, like that of his horse, is fine-boned, and slight compared to the massive limbs of the Norwegian, although in muscular strength perhaps not inferior.

Another subject which I heard discussed with great ability, and

which may be interesting, or, at least, more intelligible than topics merely local, especially as our own legislature has dealt with a similar one, was the return of the Bank to cash payments. The Bank of Norway, by its original ground-law, should, after a certain lapse of time from its foundation, have begun to pay its notes in cash; but in 1822 these notes, on the Exchange of Hamburg, could only be exchanged against silver at the rate of  $187\frac{1}{2}$  dollars in paper for 100 in silver. The Storthing, therefore, passed a law, that the Bank should only pay 100 dollars in silver for 190 of its paper; but that the directors might, at their discretion, reduce the rate to 100, for 175, without any new enactment. This maximum and minimum included within their limits the variations in the value of the paper dollar in the money market of Europe, but prevented any speculations of jobbers in the Bank stock or notes. In 1824, it was found practicable to reduce the maximum and minimum to 150 and 135 dollars, the value at Hamburg being 145 paper for 100 silver. In 1827, it was again found practicable to reduce the maximum to 125 paper dollars, at which it has continued; but the paper dollar has for a considerable time been at 112 for 100 silver on the Exchange of Hamburg. The Bank is able to provide for all its notes in silver; and the question before the Storthing was, whether its course of 125 paper for 100 silver dollars should not now be reduced to par, 100 paper for 100 silver. This is Sir Robert Peel's celebrated operation on the circulating medium of England, concerning which the opinions of judicious men are still divided. In this country the question is divested of many of those secondary considerations and interests, which, in the complicated concerns of England, almost hid the real effects of the operation. The effects of raising the value of money by legislative enactment, and lessening, consequently, that of all labour, goods, and property, as compared to it,—the alteration in the true meaning of all contracts, loans, debts, taxes, salaries, annuities, giving to the one party and taking from the other the value of 25 per cent., which at the time of agreement was not and could not be in the contemplation of the parties; these effects appeared more strongly in the simple affairs of this country than in England, beneath the load of important but secondary interests with which the question was there enveloped.

The measure was supported here with great ability by members who in theory were undoubtedly right: that by bringing the paper



dollar to what on its face it promises to be, — the representative of a silver dollar, — all articles imported from abroad, of which corn is an important one, would be supplied so much cheaper, being paid for in money of the same value as that in which they were bought; that the wages of labour and value of its produce would suffer only a temporary and inconsiderable shock, the difference now between paper and silver being too inconsiderable to affect the ordinary transactions of life; and that as to the relation of debtor and creditor, every man who borrowed knew at the time that he was borrowing in a kind of money liable to be repaid by him in silver, and which every year was rapidly approaching to silver in value. The government therefore would do no injustice in declaring the two kinds of money now to be of the same value, a step which must be taken at some time or other, and could never be done so easily as at present. As to salaries paid by government, and taxes, a reduction might be made equal to the increased value of the currency in which they were paid.

The novelty of argument was on the other side. It was forcibly stated in a very able speech by the representative of Dronthiem, that a bank was only a kind of broker or middle-man between man and man in their transactions; and however extensive its operations might be *en masse*, it was in each operation only an individual standing between two others, issuing notes of hand for the value of the twenty, or hundred, or thousand dollars involved in the transaction; and the value of these notes of this great broker was no more a subject of legitimate legislation, than the value of the matter passing between the other two individuals in each transaction. Government might for special reasons pass laws to protect this broker from ruinous speculations in his notes, by fixing a certain maximum and minimum rate at which he might be called upon for silver; and this rate was always adjusted by law according to the real value of his notes in the general money market of Europe. This legal rate merely put it in his power to protect himself by reference to the law from any forced or undue run for silver from speculators, by putting it in his power to demand legally for silver a somewhat higher rate than his notes in the general market were worth; it was optional to go to him or to others. But this was a very different operation from that of forcing by legislative enactment a particular value on his notes, at and from a particular date. Every man in his transactions, either

buying, selling, or borrowing, was prepared for the rise or fall of the value in the general money market of Europe of that particular money medium in which he was transacting; and be the change sudden or gradual, it is a kind of natural contingency, which he cannot complain of, and which he is prepared against or runs the risk of. But no man can be prepared for changes of value effected by interference of government. It would be legislating upon a principle monstrously unjust, to give by law to these notes a greater value than that which parties contracting in this medium might have reasonably foreseen at the time, and have reckoned upon being liable to in the currency of their engagements. It was also argued on this side, that as the value of the paper dollar had risen gradually from  $187\frac{1}{2}$  to 112 for 100 silver, it was more prudent to continue the same system of allowing them to find their own level in the general money market of the world, merely giving power to the Bank, as before, to protect itself against any speculative demand for its silver by fixing a maximum rate of exchange; and by continuing the same system, the bank-note would of itself gradually come to par without any shock. This opinion prevailed, and was adopted by the Storthing, as recommended by its committee; and a law, fixing 115 and 110 paper dollars as the maximum and minimum rates at which the Bank could pay 100 silver, was ordered to be brought into the Odelsting. The value of the paper dollars in Hamburg is  $111\frac{1}{2}$  for 100 dollars.

This view is different from that which the British legislature acted upon in the operation in the currency during Sir Robert Peel's administration. There is perhaps such a radical difference in the state of the two countries, that it would be impossible to conclude that what is good and prudent in the one would have been so in the other. To have left the Bank of England to work out a value for its notes equal to gold, as this bank has nearly done, having brought its notes from  $187\frac{1}{2}$  to  $111\frac{1}{2}$  for 100 silver, would have been a more just, although a more slow operation, than that which was adopted; and by fixing a bank rate of exchange from time to time, the danger of any sudden run for specie, arising from speculation alone, would have been checked. There is, however, the important difference between the paper-money of this and of other banks, — it is an issue almost entirely upon the value of land, not of goods, or bills of which goods are the basis. There can be but one issue upon one basis of value where that basis is land. If the

bank gives out its notes upon the security of land, it does not of course take the same security of one piece of land twice over. But there may be ten or twenty issues upon one and the same basis of value, where that basis consists in goods. Each buyer in succession may have his bills for their full value in the circle at the same time, and the bank's notes are issued upon each bill; so that twenty times as much paper money as is represented by real value may be in circulation. This difference might make it much more easy to bring the paper of the Bank of Norway than that of the Bank of England to par.

In the course of this discussion there occurred an instance of the influence and importance in this country of the periodical press. In a daily newspaper lately established, the *Constitutionelle*, there appeared the first part of an article of great ability upon the subject. It was resolved by the Storthing to postpone the discussion for a week, in order to give members time to consider the question under the new points of view in which it was thus anonymously presented to them.

There is great and rather amusing simplicity sometimes in the mode of procedure. I saw in the newspaper one morning, that a royal proposition was to be presented to the Storthing by a counsellor of state. I repaired to the gallery to see the ceremony. A deputation of six members was sent out to receive and usher in the royal messenger. The counsellor of state, in full court dress, enters through the folding doors, is received by the president and members standing, and walks up to a table placed for him on the floor of the house. After a bow to the president, and another to the members, he reads an open letter under the royal signature, with the great seal attached to it, authorising him to appear before the Norwegian Storthing and deliver this special proposition, which he lays upon the table. He then retires through the folding doors, repeating his bows. The proposition was one relative to the distillery laws. The Storthing, on resuming, merely ordered the royal proposition to be referred to its standing committee of trade and manufactures, as materials for the report upon the distillery laws which that committee had to prepare. It seemed not to enter into the head of any one that a proposition delivered with so much form, ought to be referred to a special committee, or be ordered to be printed, or be treated in some way or other ceremoniously. The simplicity struck me; for it was simplicity, not rudeness or

intentional disrespect, because a day or two before I had remarked that a member had presented a paper, not a petition, to the house, containing propositions upon the same subject — the distillery laws — from a peasant in Hedemark. The member saying he adopts the propositions as his own, was sufficient to give the same effect to this paper as to that containing the royal propositions. It was ordered, precisely in the same way, to be referred to the committee. The result of this simple way of doing business is, that the plan of his Majesty's ministers with regard to a new distillery law, and that of the peasant of Hedemark, will be weighed and made use of exactly according to their merits. It is impossible that an executive and a legislative power existing together as parts of one state, can perform their functions more independently of each other, and with less encroachment or influence upon the duties belonging to each, than in this Norwegian constitution.

I have often asked by whom this constitution was originally framed. It is evident that it could not be the work of four days — from the 12th April to the 16th, 1814, — which is all the time the committee sat before the constitution, as it now stands, was laid before the national assembly. From the contrivance of the safeguards with which it is protected against every thing but the hand of open violence, it appears more like the work of some philosophic mind, a Sieyès or a Bentham, long meditated upon before it was produced in such perfection in all its details. On the other hand, although the principles and machinery of this constitution might lead to the supposition that it was the production of one of these master minds, the perfect adaptation from the first of every arrangement to the local and very peculiar circumstances of the country as to law, property, and state of society, could only have been the work of a native.

It is fortunate for mankind that this model of a free constitution, formed in the closet of some philosopher, and not the hasty erection of a revolutionary spirit, exists under the powerful guarantee of England, Russia, and its own excellent sovereign. The darkest spot perhaps in the history of Great Britain is her treaty with Sweden, dated March 3, 1813. By that treaty England gives to the King of Sweden the kingdom of Norway, — of which Britain was not in possession — together with Guadaloupe, and a million of pounds sterling, in consideration of his Swedish Majesty joining the Allied Powers against France. The money and Guadaloupe

were ours to give; but Norway was a separate kingdom belonging to a power then at peace with the two contracting parties, and to which neither could pretend the shadow of a claim. The partition of Poland was a pure and innocent transaction compared with this; and, but for one redeeming circumstance, it would be recorded in history as the most unprincipled transaction of modern times. It is, that however indefensible as a spoliation of the Danish monarch, it was not, like the partition of Poland, the annihilation of an independently existing nation; it was not the reduction of a people from a distinct social state of its own, to that of vassals of a province under a new master, which is the character of the partition of Poland. The independent existence of Norway as a kingdom was secured in this treaty, and was brought out even more distinctly than it had been latterly during the union with the Danish crown. It was, as a kingdom, to be united to the Swedish crown; and not, as a province, to be amalgamated or united with the Swedish kingdom. Whether from the compunctious visitings of conscience, from which it is to be hoped that cabinets are not exempt, or from the hurry to get the Norwegian nation pacified and quieted at any rate, so as to allow Sweden to take the field with the Allies, this constitution, which the Norwegians had prepared in April, 1814, and which, together with their independence as a nation under the Crown Prince of Denmark, whom they had proclaimed sovereign, they were in arms to maintain, was guaranteed to them, on the Crown Prince laying down his short-lived royalty, upon condition of accepting, along with this constitution, the Swedish monarch as their king. This was done; and on the 17th of May, and 4th of November, 1814, both parties,—the Norwegian nation and the Swedish king,—solemnly entered into this compact under the guarantee of the Allied Powers. England, as a party to the nefarious treaty of March, 1813, is more particularly bound in principle to take care now that the results which may ensue from it shall not bring it into the same class of transactions with the Polish partition; and that to the unjustifiable dismemberment of a power with which she was at peace, is not added the crime of the extinction of the independent existence of a nation. In the headlong attempt of the Swedish cabinet in 1824 to force on the Norwegian nation an amalgamation with Sweden, the firmness of the Storthing, the good faith of the sovereign, and, it is said, the interference of Russia on the part of the Allied Powers,

prevented a measure which it would have tarnished the honour of England to permit. It is not known whether the British Resident at the Court of Stockholm at that time interfered also to prevent the guarantee of this country to the Norwegian nation from being infringed. England having positive duties to fulfil towards Norway as a distinct nation, should have distinct diplomatic relations with that country. Hanover and England are not more distinct nations than Sweden and Norway. The crowns alone are united in each case: the rights and interests do not always coincide; and in this case of Norway, England is especially bound to guard her separate existence as an independent kingdom, having her own legislation guaranteed to her from the 17th of May, 1814, when it was adopted by the national assembly at Eidsvold, on the part of Norway, and on the 4th of November by Charles XIII., on the part of himself and his successors.

There is not probably in the history of mankind another instance of a free constitution, not erected amidst ruins and revolutions, not cemented with blood, but taken from the closet of the philosopher and quietly reared and set to work, and found to be suitable without alteration to all the ends of good government. The reason of this apparent singularity is, that all the essential parts of liberty were already in the country. The property was in the hands of the whole body of the people. The ancient laws and institutions affecting property were in full operation, and were conceived and administered in the very spirit of liberty. As far as regards property, these laws and institutions left nothing for the most liberally constituted assembly to legislate upon. As far as regards personal rights, the mild and enlightened administration of Denmark, although under an arbitrary form, had left few general grievances to be redressed. There was nothing in the condition of the people, the state of property, the civil or religious establishments, which did not fit in with a free constitution, in which legislative power was vested in the people. These had all emanated from the people in ancient times; and, there being no hereditary privilege, or power, or property vested in any class of the community, had been handed down unbroken through ages. The new constitution was but the superstructure of a building of which the foundations had been laid, and the lower walls constructed, eight centuries before, by the ancestors of the present generation. *Esto perpetua!* must be the earnest prayer of every man who sees this contented

and amiable people enjoying the blessings of rational liberty under laws, institutions, and a constitution the most liberal of which any modern nation can boast.

The conclusion which I would draw from these views and impressions of the state of society and property in Norway, will appear to many extravagant or visionary. By stating them, however, I may direct the attention of some to points very interesting in political science, and may set thinking people a-thinking upon subjects which they have not considered before. My conclusions are these :—

*First.* — That the structure of society, in which, through the effects of the natural law of succession in equal shares, there is a very general diffusion of property among all classes and individuals, is better calculated for the end of all society—the producing the greatest possible quantity of well-being and happiness to the greatest number of persons—than that structure in which the possession of property by the operation of an artificial law of succession, such as the feudal law of primogeniture, is restricted to particular classes and individuals among the families of the community.

*Second.*—That the influences of property upon the human mind,—the never-ceasing propensity to acquire, to save, and the equally strong propensity to indulge in the tastes and habits generated by property,—form the real checks which nature has intended for restraining the propensity to propagation by improvident marriages, and for preventing the population of a country from exceeding the means or property upon which it is to subsist. Consequently the diffusion of property through society is the only radical cure for that king's-evil of all feudally constructed societies, pauperism and over-multiplication. Consequently the idea of bolstering up this unnatural structure of society, as proposed by Dr. Chalmers and other eminent political economists, by inculcating in the minds of the labouring classes a fictitious moral restraint upon marriage—an act which may be eminently imprudent, but can never be designated as immoral, without confounding together prudence and morality, and overturning all the land-

marks of human virtue,—is as contrary to political as it is to moral principle.

*Third.*—That for the admitted evil condition of the vast population of Ireland, there is no other effectual remedy than an alteration in the law of succession to property, by which, without injury to the just existing rights of any living individual, the succeeding generations in that country would become gradually connected with its property ; inoculated and imbued with the civilising tastes, habits, and influences thence arising ; and their increase of numbers thus placed under the restraint of the only natural and effective checks which Providence has imposed upon the tendency of population to exceed the means of subsistence.

THE END.



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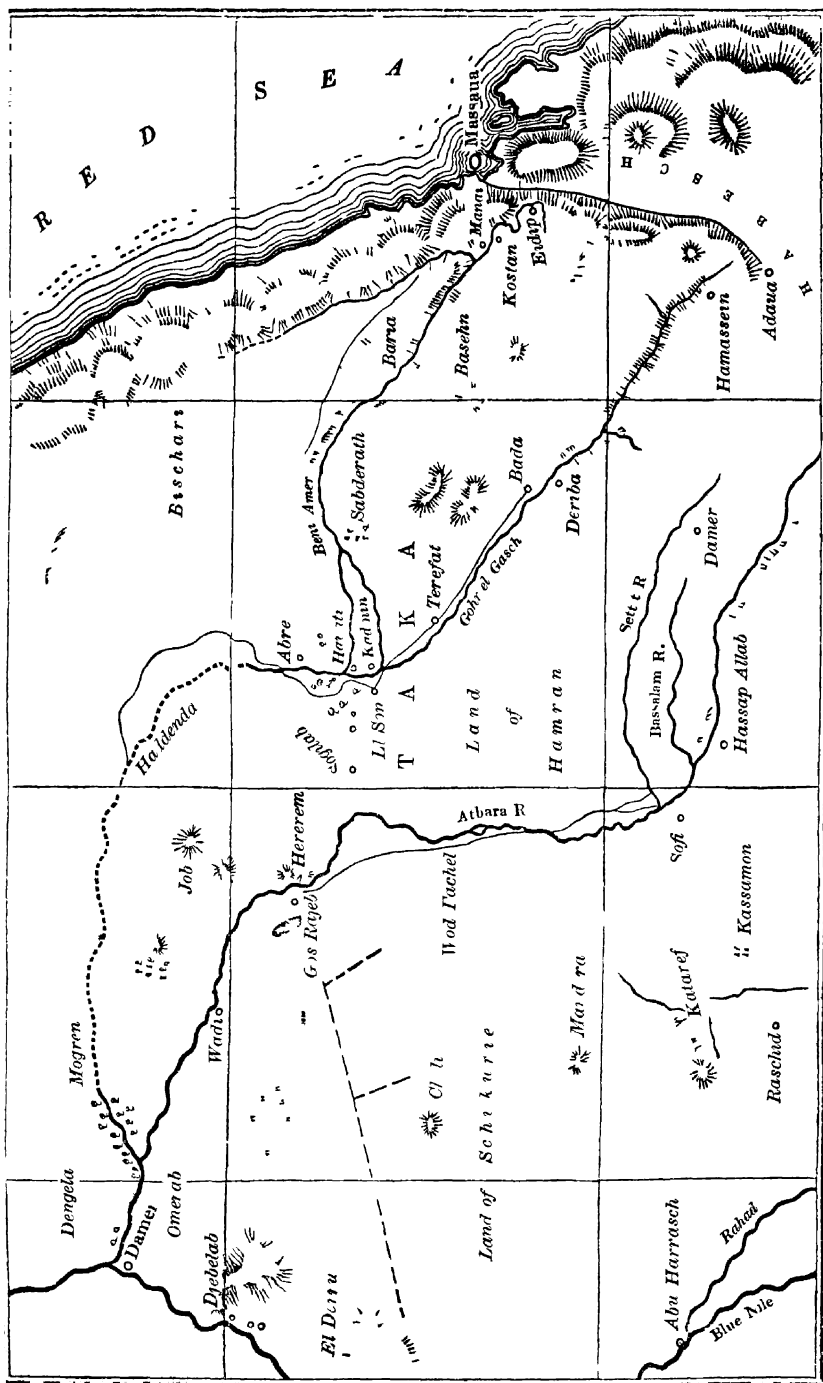
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# AFRICAN WANDERINGS.

**LONDON :**  
**SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,**  
**New-street-Square.**





# AFRICAN WANDERINGS;

AN EXPEDITION' FROM SENNAAR TO TAKA, BASA,  
AND BENI-AMER,

WITH A PARTICULAR GLANCE AT,  
THE RACES OF BELLAD SUDAN.

FERDINAND WERNE,

AUTHOR OF  
"EXPEDITION IN SEARCH OF THE SOURCES OF THE WHITE NILE."

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

J. R. JOHNSTON.

**IN TWO PARTS.**

PART I.

LONDON:  
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS  
1852.



## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH of late years much has been done to explore that least known quarter of our globe, Africa, and many works of deep interest, valuable information, and exciting incident have appeared, recounting bold and enterprising expeditions into that country, none of them surpasses the "Feldzug nach Taka," lately published by Herr Werne, nor does any of them treat of those almost unknown districts of Africa into which his wanderings led him. In a recent number of "Blackwood's Magazine," in which Mr. Werne's work was ably analysed, the writer says of it : —

"In various respects, Mr. Werne's 'Feldzug' is one of the most curious books of travel and adventure that, for a very long time, has appeared. It has three points of particular attraction and originality. In the first place, the author wanders in a region previously unexplored by Christian and educated travellers, and amongst tribes whose bare names have reached the ears of but few Europeans. Secondly, he campaigns as officer in such an army as we can hardly realise in these days of high civilisation and strict military discipline, — so wild, motley, and grotesque are its customs, composition, and equipment, — an army whose savage warriors, strange practices, and barbarous cruelties, make us fancy ourselves in presence of some fierce Moslem horde of the middle ages marching to the assault of Italy or Hungary. Thirdly, during his long sojourn in the camp, he had opportunities such as few ordinary travellers enjoy, and

of which he diligently profited, to study and note down the characteristics and social habits of many of the races of men that make up the heterogeneous population of the Ottoman Empire."

Under the sanction of such high authority, the translator ventured to think that an English version of Mr. Werne's work would not prove unacceptable to the readers of the "Traveller's Library," and he now offers these AFRICAN WANDERINGS to the public.



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# AFRICAN WANDERINGS.

## CHAPTER I.

Meeting of the Brothers. — Fever in Chartum. — Travelling Projects. — Present from the Pascha. — The Divan. — A German Sultan. — Party at Soliman Effendi's. — Preparations for Departure.

FOR about a year I and my youngest brother had resided at Chartum, the capital of Bellad-Sudan, in the district of Sennaar, at which place we had arrived after a journey of three months, from Cairo. Of all my brothers, Joseph was the dearest to me, and loved me in turn most devotedly. After passing his medical examinations in Berlin, he had come to pay me a visit and make himself acquainted with the remarkable diseases of Egypt, ere he settled down for life.

In the tavern of Guerra, in Cairo, he recognised me the instant he entered the room; whereas I took him for some impertinent Frenchman, when in his joyful surprise he stared at me from head to foot, and laughed at the rage I showed, and the furious look with which I strode towards him to demand what he meant, and call him to account on the spot. We had not met for eight years, and besides that he had meanwhile grown into manhood, his whole expression of countenance was changed, as a severe sabre cut he had received in a duel had severed the risible muscles of one side of his face, and the poor fellow could only laugh with the other side of it. The joy of this meeting, in another quarter of the globe, proved so overpowering to both of us, that at first the wine would not go down, for all that many con-

gratulating friends, and especially my particular ally, Von Salia, from Switzerland, could do, though the latter, with warm tears of sympathy, exerted himself by pledging and jingling glasses with us, to arouse our cheerfulness and enable us to rally. In a short time, however, we got on better.

I now quitted the village of Tura, lying in a waste, although on the Nile, and some three miles (German, equal to twelve English) further up it than Cairo, and where I had retired to do penance, and finish my work on the White Nile, leaving also my dear friend Dr. Scheldehaus, from Osnabrück, the professor of the military school there (now Director of Military Hospitals in Alexandria), with whom my brother had been a fellow-student at Bonn, and hired for Joseph and myself a small house on the Eshekir Plâze, in Cairo. After undergoing an examination of some half hour, Joseph was appointed surgeon-major, with the rank of Saku-lagassi (oldest Juffbaschi or captain) to the central hospital, Kasrel Ain, with a monthly salary of 1000 piastres (or about 10*l.*) and the allowances of the rank—rations for one horse and four servants. But our gaze was directed on Central Africa and its interior. I had already heard, when in Alexandria, from Achmet Capitan, the former frigate captain, Baumgartner, from Switzerland, and there an honest tailor of high skill, that preparations were making to fit out an expedition to explore the source of the Nile (though gold was the spring sought); but, until this came off, we lived in the happiest brotherly unity in the ancient city of the Caliphs. Our love of travelling was aroused; my office in the Prussian Consulate at Alexandria was sacrificed to the love of adventure, and Joseph was appointed surgeon to the 1st regiment in Sennaar, in addition to his office as surgeon of the Central Hospital at Chartum. Our friends were alarmed for us on account of the dangerous climate; but, full of high heart, we sailed past the fair Isle of Roda, with pleasing remembrances of the happy hours spent on it, and up the Nile, feeling more and more rejoiced as, free from the tumults of the city, we advanced to fresh views and new places. In Tura our stout Dr. Scheldehaus awaited us, along with the kind-hearted Schley, from Hamburgh, who, as instructor, was quartered with his regiment in the camp near. The sorrows of parting, like the joys of meeting, were drowned in wine. These

were the last friends to wish us a happy return. With outfit for some years that had cost us much money, and in our lately assumed Turkish dress and arms, we looked boldly and firmly towards the future and its unknown dangers; and now and then, by the Prussian flags flying from the mast-head and stern of our *Dahabie\**, our thoughts were turned back to our distant fatherland; but no fears of home-sickness—never could this overtake us! The powerful impressions of this splendid voyage, and the responses of our minds to these most magnificent views of the world's wonders, I must for the present drive forcibly from my recollection, and will only mention how my poor brother, near the cataracts of Ariman, in Upper Nubia, where our bark was nearly dashed to pieces on the rocks, received a *coup de soleil*, and that after ten days of delirium, during which his sufferings tortured my anxious mind, I cured him by the application of blisters. I then fancied him as not yet acclimated; but I, too, who had already passed many years in the East, was, after a few days' residence at Chartum, a sufferer under a similar attack of this dreadful malady, which, alas! after my return from the White Nile, was the disease that put an end to my brother's young and promising life.

During our whole residence in Chartum, we were ever in a most pitiable state, suffering almost continually from attacks of intermittent and other fevers, there so malignant. Gracious Heaven, however, so ordered it, that we were always laid up at different times, once only excepted, when, as about to sit down to dinner, we both felt so overpowered, as we fancied by the smell of the viands, as to fall back nearly unconscious on the divan, where more than likely we had then met our fate, had not two Italian doctors seen us through the window, and, coming to our aid, bled us freely. Our fears, therefore, of being at last compelled, struggle as we might against it, to sink under the influence of a climate that slowly saps man's health, and even destroys his mind, could not be looked on as cowardly, or founded on improbable grounds.

Under such uncomfortable circumstances, it was little wonder our departure from Chartum for Egypt was determined on; eternal illnesses, despondency, and increasing dislike to an unbearable

\* Native boat.

climate, as well as spirits and bodies dying of ennui of a life of quarantine, united to a devouring longing for the healthy, white-skin-producing North, urged us as soon as possible to quit for ever this unhealthy city, as well as the arid steppes of the Bellad-Sudan. Our purpose was still more strengthened by the first expedition to the source of the White Nile, having sailed while we lay on sick couches, and with it went the main object of our journey. At this time, the Grand Cadi paid us a visit, while his attending Faki remained standing at the doors. We fancied he had come to have a talk with us, or hold a small court of inquiry as to a matter in which I was principally concerned. The case was this: we had allowed the poor mother and sisters of our two servants to occupy one of our out-buildings, and for some days I had observed a tall young Faki, in white garments, and with an immense rosary round his neck, creep over the court to the window, and write some characters on the ground before her door. I asked the sons what the priest did there, and was told by them, with sad faces, that he wrote charms, or amulettes, for the women, and that they had to give up their wages to pay him; that he was a greedy miser, and had already received so much that they had nothing left for themselves. This angered me, and I went across the court to him, and asked, "Amiè è?" (What do you?) but without honouring me with a glance, or even rising for a Nasrani, or Kafr (Infidel), he replied, "Di schogie betai!" (That's my business!) Next moment I had him by the arm, and, pointing to the gate, desired him to quit our court; but he would not, and striking his breast, exclaimed, "Ana Faki!" (I am a priest), and I retorted by "Ente uachet Faki misaur!" (You are a cheating priest and robber!) and only on my laying hold of a piece of stout stick lying handy, did he, with many threats, quit the court. Hardly had I again sat down and cooled somewhat, when a violent knocking was made at our gates, before which a crowd of Faki and other rabble had gathered. Our servants, who had not been long under my training, retreated in terror, and would not venture to open the court gates, until I, double-barrelled gun in hand, went to our house door, and in loud voice, ordered the gates, with an "Hab ekta el hal!" to be opened. "Stand still!" said my sick brother, in feeble voice, as he laid his double rifle over my left shoulder; and a lad of the name of Sale, from Mahaff, who was anxious to enter our service, also laid hold of a rifle.



The cowardly priest-rabble now drew off as fast as they had come; and in the bazaars the Turks had great rejoicings, that we had here thus asserted the sacredness of Europeans' dwellings. But our good Cadi Effendi had no such matters in his head; but told us with kind, friendly, but sly look, how much the Effendina (Excellency Achmet Pascha, Governor General of Bellad-Sudan) had been pleased to hear of two stout brothers like us, each attending to the other during our illnesses, and advised us from time to time to appear at his Excellency's divan, &c. &c. Although in our own hearts we felt that we had been merely doing our duty, still the acknowledgment of it by strangers much pleased us; for, as the Italians say, "questi sono fratelli!" We also received tidings from the Pascha, that the private physician of Abbas Pascha, who was no other than our old friend Dr. Gand, was coming to Chartum. The Cadi also spoke of the pleasant taste of the Spanish wines, which he, as a Magrabian (Maugrabin), and unprejudiced Mussulman, was aware of, on which my brother at once prescribed and administered to him a glass of Cardinal, as medicine to strengthen his stomach.

Dr. Gand, an old friend of our Pascha Achmet, with whom he had made a campaign in Arabia, arrived; and as the Doctor was also an old fellow campaigner of mine, we having served together as Philhellenists in Greece, in 1822, my intimacy with the Pascha became more repeated and friendly. He had much raised the Pascha's expectations as to us, and had not hesitated, in Eastern style, to recommend us as universal geniuses, and as honest, honourable men, to whom he, the Pascha, might trust life and limb. Dr. Gand confided to us that the Pascha meditated a campaign into Darfur, during which we might be of much service to him, and where he would look upon us as his two eyes, as he could not confide fully in any of his own people. On this news, that much excited and interested us, we at once gave up all thoughts of so immediate a departure, and the more willingly, as other inducements were held out to us. My brother was to be made, in place of Soliman Effendi (the renegade Baron de Pasquali, from Palermo), inspector-general of the medical department of all Bellad-Sudan, as the Pascha no longer could employ a man who had already been guilty of so many poisonings, both in Arabia and

here.\* This office of inspector had a salary of six purses, or 3000 piastres, per mensem, attached to it; and the Pascha was also to appoint Joseph his own physician, and that of his harem, and give him from his own pocket a monthly gratification of 1000 piastres. I, who, as my old comrade had told him, had been a captain in the Greek wars of liberty, was to be at his side as Maëndes (engineer), have the rank of Bimbaschi (major), with five purses, free table, and all I could wish for. On my reminding my friend Gand that I was nothing more than a lawyer, he laughed heartily, and replied, that in these lands a man must know everything; that he himself (he had served under Napoleon) had filled here military and various other posts. Besides, he added, that it was the Pascha's wish, that agreeably to Turkish etiquette, I, a free Frank, should want nothing that would raise my greatness in their eyes.

Next morning we all three waited on the Pascha, who expressed himself highly pleased at our decision, and repeated himself to us the promises he had made through Dr. Gand, and gave orders to procure the sanction of his father-in-law, the Viceroy, to our appointments. After a time he even offered to make me a bey, if I would, as he said, turn Mussulman, not on his own account, for he was an unprejudiced Circassian, but to please the Turkish asses; I laughed, and he said no more about it. He asked our advice as to how he had better carry out his advance into Darfur, and he was Turk enough himself to select the time of the Chariff, or rainy season, for it; and when I also represented to him that from the well-known sensibility of the troops to the effects of wet, one half of his army would give in, he replied by a contemptuous "Malesch!" (It matters not!) I voted for the dry season, as water was to be had here and there, and for the establishment of wells under the protection of block-houses, thus to supply the army, when in the steppes, with the needful water. Such doings were beyond his comprehension; and he boasted of his 700 dromedaries, each of which could, on an emergency, carry three soldiers.

\* In Chartum, the Baron, indeed, had used his poisons at the Pascha's desire, and in his service, and it is more than probable that the latter, at an after period, caused the Baron to be poisoned by one of his wives, a Circassian, with whom he, Solimau Effendi, lived on the worst terms of hate and discord.

On our departing, he sent his Mameluke to call me back, and said, "Musju, ente masduht, musch doggeri?" (Sir, you are discreet and silent; is it not so?) and adding, after looking for a time inquiringly at me, "Taib!" (Good!) he again dismissed me. Soon after this Dr. Gand became seriously unwell, and so irritable, that no one save we two brothers dared approach him; to us he continually talked, and in German, paying no regard to his Italian and French visitors, and on purpose that they might not understand him. Unheeding my brother's well-meant advice to quit Chartum without delay, he lingered there too long, and died at Abu Hamet, on his way back to his former station. For a year his body lay in the wilderness, covered with the dry sand, ere his family could have it disinterred to be conveyed to France. During his life, the kind Doctor had been little better than skin and bone, and the warm sand had converted his corpse into a kind of mummy; but it had suffered so little change, that not a feature was altered, nor a hair gone of those long, fair moustaches, from which the Pascha and his courtiers used to call the Doctor, Abu Schennap.

When we got home after the above-mentioned audience, two handsome and fully-equipped dromedaries stood at our gates; but instead of being those of visitors, as we thought, they proved to be a present from the Pascha, and were well fitted for a campaign. both from their strength and size, and also from their having been broken to allow of firing from their backs without shying or bolting. At the Divan the Pascha had repeatedly asked me if there was anything I wished for, and Dr. Gand had admonished me in German not to be modest, but I had no wish to appear selfish or greedy; we had enough, and I was too proud to desire to divest myself of my independence by accepting presents, or putting myself under obligations of any kind. Some days after I was summoned to the Pascha; and keeping on my shoes, as I ever did, strode over the large carpet to near where he sat, and bowed to him, while he only touched with his hand his tarbusch (red cap), and did not touch either mouth or breast, the usual sign by which breath, hand, and heart are placed at another's disposal. I, without any leave asked, sat down European fashion on the divan, and took the cup of coffee offered me, without making the usual

sign of thanks for the honour conferred, by placing the hand on the breast. After some business was despatched, the Bascha dismissed all his attendants by a wave of the hand, and turning to me, said with a most dark and lowering face, "I have had letters; first Darfur, and now Taka, will pay no tribute, nor have they done so since Churschid Pascha was in the Chaaba (the forests where he was defeated); and so nothing comes in to the chasne (public purse). I need money, much money,—want it most badly. So come along with me, and on the journey we all will recover our healths (he had also been ill of fever); yonder there are woods, and waters, and many high hills, as in Germany and Circassia." On my showing my pleasure at his proposal, he went on more cheerfully, and told me, that as soon as he had brought Taka back to its duty, he would open the gate of Habesch, and then that of Darfur, and thus again restore the old trading communication, and compel the caravans to pass through Bellad-Sudan. When I remarked to him that the English cabinet had announced, by an energetic note to Mahomed Ali, that it would at once declare war against him, and lay siege to Alexandria, if he encroached on the limits of Abyssinia, he smiled, and said in most meaning tones, that Egypt was far off, and he was not likely to see it again. 'Twas true he had been minister of war there (Divan Gehadie), and plenty of trouble he had had as such; but that he was now exiled to Bellad-Sudan, and it was his country, where he, as Egyptian general and judge (Miraloa), would follow his own will: as for the English, he was no friend to them, nor would be to those who had been such bitter foes to Napoleon; and he rather fancied he could conquer all Habesch ere an enemy's ship showed itself; then he would be in a position to make conditions, and I should be his envoy, &c.

My brother was again ill, desponding, and spoke of quitting the country; but he smiled more cheerfully as I produced the map, and spreading it before him, requested him to place his finger on the spot where I should found for him a dukedom, or at least a countship, during the expedition of the Crescent, or anti-Crusade. We again discussed a former plan of ours of going to Bagdad, where Joseph was to set up as a physician, and I, *nolens nolens*, qualify myself as apothecary, there to win heathen gold;

as some Turks, whose homes were there, had told us wonders of the delights of their fat Mesopotamians, and the splendid dates of Bassora. We therefore resolved to take our passports with us, in case we should determine to cross the Red Sea. By this time I had thoroughly seen through the Pascha, and resolved at once to propose to him a scheme I had formed in favour of these oppressed races, viz., that he should place himself at their head, and declare them and himself independent of the Egyptian Vampire ; and ere long I actually did so, and all, in the end, might have gone right, had he not, instead of gaining in every way the confidence of the principal persons and heads of tribes, and most influential people about him, tyrannised over all in the most shameful manner. Gold and regiments was his motto.

When either my brother or I wished to pay a visit to the Pascha (and this Joseph, as private physician, should have done every morning, but cunningly avoided it, under the plea of not daring to interrupt him in the multiplicity of matters which the Pascha had to attend to, though the sly doctor never omitted his morning's visit to the Pascha's wife, a daughter of Mahomed Ali, and to his harem), we went first to the chasnadar's (treasurer's), a Circassian, who had been manumitted by the Pascha, and who could always produce a good breakfast from the great man's cellar and kitchen ; and such visits, at which there was generally a merry party, we used, among ourselves, to call "antichambiren" (antechambering). Others who had not the entrée of our small divan, had often to stand for hours at the doors of the great divan, as there all business is so far public, that any one who has a report or request to make, may without announcement enter, and remain standing till the Pascha makes a sign to him to advance, and permits him, with the before-mentioned movements of the hands and deepest reverence, to say, " Good morning, your Excellency !" (Salbacheer, Saba-el-chair Effendina !) and perchance to kiss the hem of his robe, and then, according to his rank, tell him, either by slightest sign, or in words, to be seated (*fadl ochaut*), *i. e.* to kneel with the feet under the hinder part of the body, which, resting on them, is bent, however, forward in the attitude of prayer, and so to remain till the great man, by another sign, allows of a seat being taken in a somewhat more

comfortable position, viz., that of the well-known Turkish fashion, comfortable enough to them indeed, but far from it to Europeans.

At one of these meetings at the Treasurer's, we heard from him that the Pascha had said that a German sultan was coming to Chartum, and ordered him to have the kandschia (row boats) ready to send out to meet him. How the word sultan, or sultana, was now used here, though properly only designating a prince of the reigning family, we well knew, from its being bestowed on Prince Puckler Muscau, who figured here as Sultan belal Moscow, and had even been taken, by some wise persons, to be the Tzar of Muscovy, although he here, as in other places, tried to avoid giving the everlasting and indispensable Bakschish, that men might not suppose that gold was to be had in Germany for the gathering. However, we proceeded to pay our respects to the Pascha, and learn from him the name of this expected and noble guest ; he drew from under the carpet he sat on, the letters of introduction from Cairo, though rather, as it seemed, annoyed at our asking. The name was not given, but the guest was a German.\*

The Pascha sent us a message, "the German was come," — nothing more. It was evening, but our curiosity was too highly excited to rest contented, for the messenger knew no more than that he was a fat handsome sultan (semmin keweiss). The great curtain of the divan door was down, a sign that public business was over, and entrance forbidden the profane ; so we reached the saloon by a side entrance, and here I at once recognised one of the Janissaries of the Russian Consulate in Alexandria, by his large silver badge. On my "Chi?" I heard "Principe di Wurtemberg," and the secret was out. The stout gentleman was delighted when he heard himself saluted in German. For the first time we beheld the Pascha seated on a chair ; he was in full uniform, a red jacket covered with gold, the large crescent richly set with diamonds,

\* Nemzani plur. Nimza, borrowed into the Turkish language from the Slavonic, in which Niemetz means a silent fellow, and *per abusum*, a German, as he cannot speak their language, and having the same meaning as Deutscher among the Slaves, where this word is still used as a term of reproach, arising from the bad blood left by the old Slavonic wars, though the Turks, as I am fully convinced, use the word without any bad meaning. In Europe, on the contrary, the word Slave (slave) is no title of honour, and even the Greeks sneer at Σκλάβος.

and three brilliant stars on his left breast, and sabre at his side; the Prince, Duke Paul William of Mergentheim, was also dressed in a sort of half Turkish style, a red cap on his head, a shawl round his white trowsers, and his broad sabre at his side. Soliman Effendi, who had got there before us, had taken on himself the office of interpreter, although the Prince could only converse with him in French, and this he often misunderstood. The institutions of Mahomed Ali seemed to have struck the noble traveller as exceeding all his expectations. The Pascha listened and was silent; but on the conversation being turned on European, and at last on German affairs, love of country, and a feeling of insulted nationality burst from me, and now German was the language; happily our views and opinions agreed, and ere long, all again went on quietly and pleasantly. The Duke rose, so did the Pascha, and all the rest of us; the curtain was drawn back by the numerous attendants, and I plainly observed how the proud Circassian drew himself up, and hardly bent his handsome head as our good countryman, on coming to the head of the steps, took a wordless leave with many low bows and reverences, at which the Pascha could not conceal his laughter and great amusement. On the stairs the Prince took my arm, which gave the Pascha afterwards reason for a well-founded remark on respect due to difference of ranks, though Turkish etiquette carries it rather too far.

Next evening we supped with the Pascha. In vain had we been amusing ourselves with the idea of beholding the fat Prince seated on the ground and eating with his fingers, the table was set out and all arranged European fashion. Some Franks and Turks had been also invited; my brother sat by the Duke, I by the Pascha at the opposite side of the table, and each had before him a different kind of wine. The Pascha did not fail to continually fill my glass, something unheard of, as here this is a servant's business, and to insist on my being helped before himself; "*Keddi el tartibb Frengk*" (Such are European customs), he said to me. The Duke first proposed a health to the Viceroy; the Pascha drank it, and gave the Duke; and then came the Pascha's own health, and it was also drunk. I was again filling the Pascha's glass, when I felt, under the table, an ice-cold hand laid on mine, and he

whispered to me that he was suffering under an attack of the fever, but to say nothing about it. Although my brother was most assiduously performing the part of cup-bearer to the Duke, and doing honour to his name of Joseph, still the Pascha every moment kept calling on me to urge him to fulfil his office. The rest of the party at table, though unpressed, drank stoutly; and when from a side table a number of bottles of champagne were brought into play (though, in spite of all I could say, each was well shaken by the stupid attendants, and on the corks being sprung, all was froth and foam), then did the noise and jubilee begin, and a perfect Babel of tongues arose, as the half dozen different languages of our party came into contact with each other; and only with difficulty could I make out what the Duke, in great glee, shouted to me in his loud, commanding officer like tones, or translate to the Pascha all the pretty complimentary speeches his German Highness gave vent to, in praise of the Pascha and brave Circassians. He would make the campaign to Taka with the Pascha; would manage all; overthrow and defeat all before him. The Pascha smiled, and accepted his offers; and when I told him that the Duke was a cavalry general, he laughing said, "Such troops as he has been used to command I have not, but still it were well he went with me; but he jests."

The morning of this party the Duke told us, that as he travelled incognito, he wished to be treated as a private gentleman. We asked him to dinner for next day; he accepted, and declared himself decidedly opposed to water drinking in tropical climates, and to a certain degree he was right, as the stomach there much more requires stimulants. At dinner he was wonderfully eloquent, told us tales of his travels in America, and that he had served as major in the Prussian army, and was aware he yet retained somewhat of his old commanding officer's tones. The wine, added to the effects of the previous evening's carouse with the Pascha, put his princely corpulence into a fearful state of heat, and the warmth of the day also conduced to his feverish state, so that my brother Joseph gazed on him with alarm, and in case bleeding should be necessary laid out his apparatus all ready in the next room; but his Highness's strong constitution held firmly out, not only then, but also during his further tour, which in spite of my brother's advice, and that of his



own private physician, Dr. Veit, an old friend of Joseph's, he undertook and luckily completed in safety. His train, besides the kawass, before mentioned, consisted of a lot of Yagers, and an American of Spanish blood. He passed most of his time with us, and took in our garden the latitude of Chartum, which he laid down as  $15^{\circ} 41' 25''$  N. He also selected from our small collection of birds the most curious specimens, and a good many too, for his rich museum at Mergentheim, from which we were in return to be allowed to choose other things. Soliman Effendi asked me if he might venture to invite the Duke, as this "*Altezza tedesca*" much pleased him; and more, he would like to give him the German national dish of "*Fava*." I delivered the invitation, along with some remarks as to this gentleman's poisoning habits, though I feared much less for the Duke than for my brother, who had already been named the Baron's successor. This mattered not to the Prince, and as I had before now placed myself on a decided footing with Soliman, I told him plainly he must reserve his revengeful feelings and poisoning abilities for some others, as both my brother and myself would come with loaded pistols to his feast, and if any of our party felt even a belly-ache, shoot him through the head (*bruciare il cervello*). His table was served in the German manner, and much to our surprise he kept his promise as to the *Fava* (large beans shelled). All invited appeared save Vaissière—formerly a captain in the French service, now a slave-dealer, and with the cross of the Legion of Honour—who would not trust himself at the Baron's table, as the latter had, after trying to purchase over his head a favourite female slave, managed, out of revenge, to poison her. All appetites were sharp, but we rose all sound. After a time the Duke altered his mind and plans as to Taka, but promised, however, on his return from Faszogl, to take a part in the campaign. I had to promise the Pascha, in his name, a rifle peculiarly adapted for crocodile shooting, and a hundred bottles of champagne.

On the 1st of March, 1840, my brother returning from the Pascha, told me that the vessels were again all in readiness for Karreri, that he had to accompany the Pascha, and we would meet again at Damer, the place of rendezvous of the army intended

for Taka. Karreri (by the Turks called Chirreri), a village some three hours below Chartum, and the residence of the friend and countryman of the Pascha's, Soliman Kaschef, has a healthy climate, and on this account Joseph had advised the Pascha to hasten there as soon as possible, for the latter was again suffering from fever, and would hear nothing of quinine, but insisted on bleeding; and that, Joseph in his turn, with equal stern pertinacity, would not allow of, let the other fume and look as fierce as he chose. Often have I admired the Pascha's composure during illness. The curtain of the great door was down, and I therefore entered by a side one, and there he sat as usual, occupied with various affairs, and all kinds of business; but at such times the Circassian lion was tamed and mild as a lamb.

The whole burden of our unfinished preparations now fell to my lot. For provisions, clothes, arms, ammunition, tent, &c., were already 6,000 piastres gone. As far as food and drink went, we might perchance have saved ourselves somewhat, as the Pascha had assured us of places at his table; but we could not depend on the Turkish complimentary style of promising, knowing the hungry state of his dependants, and were particularly anxious to reserve perfect liberty to ourselves. I still required ten camels for the conveyance of our baggage, as the golden cupolas of Bagdad yet held a place in our minds, and had bought, at a high price, two pack-camels (hamln) that had escaped the searching eyes of the soldiery, when Khaimakan (Lieutenant-colonel) Sorop Effendi offered me eight camels from government (belik), their price to be deducted from our allowances. Now came the puzzle, what was I to do with our animals? Our great pride, a young lion without a mane, was dead. Soliman Effendi, who was in terror of it even when it was shut up, had dared to poison it, as I afterwards learned from our servants, but not until the renegade himself was dead; but still there were the birds I had trapped, all in their cages, and these I turned out into the garden, and scattered about a good supply of food for them. Still there were the larger carnivorous birds, an eagle, and our special pet the black horn bird, Abu Goru (*Buceros abyss. L.*), who answered to the name of "Hans," came hopping up on being so called, took in his long bent beak the piece of meat offered him, threw it up in the air, catching it again as it

descended, and so swallowed it, as nature had only bestowed on him an apology for a tongue (this performance especially delighted his Highness of Wurtemberg), but who did not, however, despise frogs or lizards, and every morning at daybreak aroused us by his cry of "Hum! Hum!" till we replied to it by "Hans;" also two king-cranes (Gornu, grue royale, *Grus Pavonia L.*), a snake-devouring secretary, with handsome eagle's head, long tail, and heron-like legs; curious wild ducks, geese, and other much prized birds, some having been shot unable to fly, but others were perfectly cured of their wounds by my brother, who was most dexterous with his pincers, extracting with them the shot pellets, and not seldom making a perfect cure. Under these circumstances, equally pleasant and flattering was the visit of the Chasnadar, who came with the Princess's request that our birds might be confided to her care during our absence. Many a time before now had this lady, with her female slaves and eunuchs, been in our garden,—at such times, as a matter of course, we had to retire into our innermost apartment,—to visit our plants and flowers, that reminded her of Cairo; and much did it please her when requested to pluck or take with her such as pleased her, as the Pascha's great garden produced nothing equal to them, no attempts having been made there to raise flowers from seeds, and all I had having been grown from seed I had brought with me from Cairo. In this way she knew of our beasts and birds, and felt that they might help her to pass her time, as she, a well-informed woman, suffered much from the fearful ennui of comfortless Chartum, and even advised my brother to leave it, and go with letters of recommendation, and also her petitions to her father, Mahomed Ali, at Cairo, she not daring to place so dangerous a trust in any one else, for she did not live on the best footing with the obstinate head-strong Pascha. When the Treasurer asked how the bird with the horn was called, I answered, Abdallah Effendi, and this was the name of the Yakul or deputy of the Pascha, a good-humoured Turk, with a splendid nose, but a mere tool of his master's. As our pet Hans now went to the harem under the name of Abdallah Effendi, it became a habit at the Treasurer's divan, when any one asked where Abdallah Effendi was, to reply, "Hue fi Charim belal Effendi," which might be taken either in jest or earnest by the asker.

We had, in addition to poultry, bought for eighty piastres, or about 16s., a young ox, had him killed, salted, and along with a lot of ox-tongues gradually picked up, placed in our chimney to smoke, a simple enough business, but one unknown here. The naturalist Kotchi, from Austrian Silesia, had come with eleven people, from Kordofan, and joined us; and these for a fortnight kept up such an immense fire on our hearth, that all our smoking meat was singed and burnt so as to be useless, save two tongues, which proved excellent. Our house was ever a perfect *hospitium*; and now, when I had to look after and pack up everything, as nothing could be trusted to the servants, I had to run in and out in the sun, till I was completely done up. For some weeks back, Dr. Windgratzhofer, from Austria, had been with us, waiting till a boat was provided by government to convey him to his station at Faszogl. This good-humoured and droll *medico*, who had been nicknamed, by some of us "Dicksack," and which name he ever insisted on being called, I seated on our divan as guard over the numerous goods and chattels that lay open and exposed all round, knowing from experience the losses that were to be feared from the many curious callers, under excuses of paying farewell visits. Did I go out, there he sat, like a pagoda, on his post, grim, gruff, and surly (as far as his German went, for he spoke no other language) if any one only looked at an article, and on my return was ever ready with some humorous story, as to how faithfully and well he had filled his post, and how he had kept an eye at the same time on both sides, squinting most fearfully, to display his capability of doing so. But, alas! his jovial mood was checked in Faszogl, as his sorrowing letters told us. He had with him, as interpreter, the Pole Michel, a tailor, formerly in the Russian service, but who had been, for a long series of years, well known in Cairo, and was now a man over sixty. Besides these, we had also in our inn the unfortunate goldsmith, Erno, from Swabia, who wished to settle at Chartum, though he had sold all his instruments at Cairo. He, as well as old Michel, fancied that here, so near the gold hills, they would merely require to scrape with their hands the gold-dust from the Nile's sand, and at once be *made men*. Both afterwards died on the journey homewards. The dragoman discharged by Dr. Belloti, a Nubian,

also remained with us, as he was now and then employed by my brother; and at last, so that I might not have one corner to call my own, there came now on us Dr. Bellotti, a Bolognese, and the apothecary Dumont, from the neighbourhood of Marseilles, who had established himself at Wollet-Medine, with baggage and servants, having been ordered to follow their regiments on the chasua, or campaign.

## CHAP. II.

Embark for Damer. — Disastrous Voyage. — Reach Damer. — Joseph's Sufferings. — The March. — Banks of the Atbara. — An Arab Village.

THE troops from Sennaar and Wollet-Medine had encamped opposite Chartum in Chobba, so as to march by land to Damer. The garrison of Chartum, also, had all, save a very small force, been conveyed over to the right bank of the Blue Nile. As I felt very unwell, I proposed following them by water, but now not a boat was to be seen or heard of, all having been seized on by government, for the conveyance of military stores, munition, and provisions, and without either owner or sailor daring to claim any payment for such services. I sent our cook Achmet down the Nile to look out, and there he hit on a boat belonging to our friend Faragh Effendi, but sunk to its edge in the water, by the rais, who had also got out of the way, that he might not have to sail without a fee. However, on our offering a fair sum for the use of the boat to Damer, as the rais could not be found, his brother was dragged out to put it in order. Our traps were carried on board, the mast lowered down so as to form a tent, and we arranged our beds on our chests, placed alongside each other, — a necessary precaution in this inhospitable and innless country. Bellotti, Dumont, the merchant, Bruno Rollet, a stout Savoyard, of Chartum, and myself, formed our party, and our cook, Achmet, was to look after the kitchen and victualling department.

Our boat would not go on, and every moment we stuck on one or other of the many sandbanks of the river. Our rais had to be threatened with the kurbash (a whip made of the hide of the Nile-horse, or giraffe, both excellent), and he confessed that he expected the proper rais, his brother, to whom he had sent notice of his being compelled to sail the boat, as he himself dared not venture to take her through the cataracts. Nor were my recollections of these, as I saw them on the way up, most pleasant, although they had made a far less lasting impression on my mind than the splendid scenery had done; as when coming, as if from a prison, out of the six or seven miles long rapids (el Bad) of Geb'l Charri, all appeared so glorious, and we seemed to have arrived in a new land. Ere long the brother came down to the banks, and we got him aboard, but hardly were we again afloat, when he again ran us ashore on the rocks at the first tschellel or foaming rapids,—a special term for the white waters of rushing falls,—and instantly the whole bottom of the boat was filled with water, he howling like an old woman, as he feared for his head if he lost the boat. In consequence of my exertions during the last days in Chartum, I had, for the three days we had now been on the water, been suffering from fever, attended with vomitings and diarrhœa; weak and miserable as I was, I could not have saved myself by swimming, had it been necessary, but, as I knew that our boat could not sink deeper than the bottom, and that it was now firm and fast on the rocks, as the ark on Mount Ararat, I felt no alarm and consoled the others. The holes and splits of our really almost unserviceable craft were stopped up, and the rais and crew made desperate efforts to get it off the water-covered rocks. With much *naïveté* the former prayed us all to get out for a single moment, which brought down on him a volley of curses and abuse from my companions, who would hear of nothing of the sort. The hot fit of my fever was past; so I took off all my upper garments, keeping, however, my shoes on, so that my feet might not be cut by the many thornmussels (etheria, Caill.), and sending Achmet first into the water, slid, feeble as I was, down after him: on this, the others followed my example, and in a few seconds we again had our heavy-laden bark afloat. Hardly had the boasting rais again begun his lies, that he was at home in Assuan, and knew the Nile as well

as the palm of his hand, and had before now ascended it with Ismail Pascha, &c., &c., to all of which I calmly listened, when we again went bump on a hidden rock till all crashed again. Such was again and again our fate, till, after a long passage of eleven days, we arrived at Damer, during which we consumed various sheep, which we had forced the natives on the banks to sell to us. After my cold bath, my fever had left me, and all that remained of it was a real wolf's appetite, which I, without feeling any trace of indigestion, indulged by most ravenous devourings. So sudden, in these climes, is the step from severe illness to perfect health.

On the morning of the 18th May, we at length landed in front of Damer, some three miles above the debouchement of the Atbara into the Nile. No longer are any remains of this hierarchical city to be seen, such as Burckhardt, in former days, beheld them:—it is now only a village, with some high, decaying, loam walls. A sudden alarm now seized me at not immediately beholding my brother, and I hurried off to the Pascha's tent, pitched near the river's bank, to announce my arrival, inquire for my brother, and excuse the delay caused by our perilous voyage. The Pascha received me kindly, and told me my brother had been ill, but was now recovered, and busied with the sick in a neighbouring tent. When the doctor and apothecary, having put on their uniform, entered, his face flushed with anger, and he sternly alluded to their having quitted their regiments and come by water; he then severely reprimanded them, saying, they had thrown the whole burden of looking after the sick on Hakim Jussuff (Dr. Joseph), and dismissed them with a *Kedi-el-kanua* (καὶ οὕτως, such is the law). The merchant Rollet, ever a bashful man, now crept in to receive certain commissions, but I made him a sign that he would not come off well just at this moment, and we left the tent together; but later, I so recommended him to the Pascha, that, so far as his business went, he placed full confidence in him. I found my brother perfectly recovered, after having, almost by force, made my way into his tent, where he had got over his most pressing business, having now little more to do than hand over the sick to Doctor Bellotti; most of the cases were ophthalmia and fever, from the soldiers being allowed no tents to shelter them; these having

been looked to, nothing more had to be done than prepare for the morrow's medical inspection, when the really sick and unserviceable were to be sent back to Chartum.

We had mutually to confess, although now again well, that both looked as if we had undergone severe illness. We sought rest and shade, went up into the village, lay down under a tree, and he there told me how he had fared on his journey. From Karreri he had crossed over with the Pascha to Halfaia, where the latter had assembled the chiefs of the Schaigies, and reminded them to be with their men punctually at their posts. From there the untiring dromedary rider (the Pascha) would have ridden on to Schendy, but gave up the idea on my brother's remonstrances, as he feared both for the great man and himself; so they again embarked in the small quick kandschia, arrived at Schendy, and there disembarked; the Pascha wishing to see with his own eyes how far his arrangements there were completed. Mussa Effendi, who also had been ordered from the neighbourhood of Sennaar to take part in the chasua — a friend and countryman of the Pascha — was there, but ill. Soliman Effendi, the renegade doctor, had, too, arrived there, to take his leave of the great man (el kebir); but who, being in monstrous bad humour, demanded why he had quitted Chartum without permission, — how he had contracted so many debts there, and which, did he not at once pay, he would have him bastinadoed. Mussa Effendi had continued long ill in the Loam palace of the Pascha, and my brother had only saved him by placing a sentry at his door, to prevent his madly eating and drinking all he could get, as had been his practice till now; but this was for the future in so far put a stop to, as the sentry was ordered, under pain of five hundred blows of the stick, to cut off these supplies. The Pascha would most gladly have had Mussa with him, as he had been in Taka with Churschid Pascha; though he, for this very reason, prophesied no good would come of the present expedition. In the end, my brother had got matters settled. Mussa Effendi, and the renegade Soliman, whom the Pascha had not hesitated to recommend, on his head (the Turkish style, *bi Rasak*), to his friend, were to return to Chartum, and there have an eye to the Pascha's interests. Soliman Effendi had passed us on our voyage, and we could not then understand why he so cursed



and fearfully abused all Turks, exclaiming, as all renegades ever do, that he was the mere slave of a set of rascals.

On the 14th March, at two o'clock P.M., the hottest part of the day, when my poor Joseph was about to retire for a siesta, the Pascha, who almost never rested or ate, became gloomy, and ordered out the dromedaries. At once all the camp was bustle and confusion. The Pascha, once mounted, was happy, — more than my brother was, who was anxiously eyeing the beasts, and heard, with no slight thrill of alarm, the Pascha pronounce, as he pointed to a dromedary, the word “kerkab,” (mount); the more so, as he well knew the fearless style of riding of his leader, which his own native attendants much feared. Joseph now had to mount a dromedary for the first time; though in our desert-crossings we both had sat for weeks on the broad cloth-covered backs of the baggage camels. But, up he got; and there, high raised in air, he sat as if on a stool, all loose, without any hold as on a horse, and hardly had got the rope rein into his hand, when off he had to trot alongside his leader, who, of course, took no notice of his companion's dilemma; though the latter feared every moment to lose his balance, and break his neck or limbs.

At first the ride did him good, but, from the constant shaking, and from being at every step thrown forward by the animal's shuffling gait, ere long his bowels were set into such a state of inquietude, from the sharp ride of two hours under a burning sun, that he had to remain behind, on the thorn-covered waste near the banks of the Nile, and await the coming up of the servants and baggage, while all the others marched on and passed him. Only one pitying Ababdi-Bedouin remained by him; but, unfortunately, neither understood the other's language.\* Headache, convulsive vomitings, racking heat, horrible thirst, and no water, as he had no vessel to fetch any in, and the Bedouin would not leave him to fetch one, was Joseph's lot; then delirium, but still sufficient consciousness to be aware, now and then, of men passing and asking, “Min di ajahu?” (Who is the sick man?) “Hakim Pascha” and then “Huc bimùtt” (he lies

\* We did not again fall in with this singular man till encamped at the Kas-sela-el-Sus, when we richly rewarded and handsomely entertained him; he, however, had often seen my brother in the interim, but never came near him, or made himself known.

dying); and so they passed on, and still the servants came not. At last, about nine o'clock at night, came our hunter Abdallah, with coverings and cushions, and made him up a bed, on which he lay all night in violent fever, but recovered somewhat ere sunrise; and, after a six hours' ride, again rejoined the Pascha's camp, who had been anxiously looking out for him, and welcomed him with kind, compassionate concern. A wretched house was assigned him as a shelter against the sun's heat, but the soldiers had already got possession of it; — smoke, fires for baking bread, the chattering of the soldiers with the women and idle, restless villagers, added to the burning pain of his galled seat, from which the blood had run down into his trowsers, soaking his drawers, stockings, and all his under clothing — as I now saw with my own eyes — allowed him to find neither rest nor peace. His only comfort was a young black-brown girl, of some twelve years of age, whom the Bedouin had brought to cool him with a fan and keep off the flies and insects. In his dreaming mood he fancied this girl was some brilliant white guardian spirit, sent to give him ease. Next day, when on leaving he would have given her some small farewell present, she whom he had seen all night through, kneeling at his head and waving her fan, had vanished, and her mother with the utmost reluctance took the money; though, from her language not being Arabic, Joseph could not say why she so long declined it.

In the warmest part of the day, two o'clock P. M., the Pascha was again the first to mount his dromedary, and it really seemed as if he desired to find out how much himself and followers could endure. At rapid pace he rode on along the banks of the Nile, past the pyramids of Assur (to which I shall revert), through bushes and past some single Doum-palms, till he came to the village of El Djebl or Djebelab, situated in a small horse-shoe like bend of the hills. Before, when on our journey up to Sennaar, I had placed Joseph, who some days before had succumbed under the sun-stroke, beneath one of these palms, left him there, and at his repeated request had ridden on to examine the pyramids and their neighbourhood; but during my absence he was so annoyed by the blue-tailed lizards running backwards and forwards (his abhorrence) over him, that on my return I found he had left his position and been carried, more dead than alive, into the boat. The

road at the foot of the hills was villanous, and most dangerous from the large stones, that had rolled down from above, and Joseph's dromedary threatened, from the rapid pace, to fall at every step, he no longer having power remaining to support it or himself. After being led and borne for some way by Abdallah and the Bedouin, my brother managed, but on foot, to reach the village on the hill range where the Pascha had halted, though he was too weak to go to him and beg for a boat. There he passed the night in fever and delirium, on an angareb (the common bed place of the country, formed of small strips of plaited camel hide crossed on a frame), and in the morning felt so enfeebled, that he despaired of ever recovering, and only hoped once again to behold me, to warn me to quit the country. As good luck would have it, there was then in that neighbourhood a boat of our friend, the merchant Hassam Mosnùr from Berber; this was put into requisition. Placed on an ass, and held on it, Joseph rode over a well cultivated plain, regularly watered by irrigating channels filled from the Nile by water-wheels; and along with the Pascha's secretary, the Copt Chakill, embarked in the boat, in which, after daily attacks of fever, he at length, on the morning of the 17th of March, arrived, when sleeping soundly, at Damer. Even my lot had not been so bad as this, but now again we could both breathe freely, and heart and courage revived again.

*20th March.* — It was said we were to march at L'Asser, so we could not carry out our plans of together visiting the pyramids; as I have already given an account of my visit to them in my "Journey to the Source of the White Nile" (p. 55.), I shall not repeat it here. It seems, however, beyond a doubt to me,—who before leaving Bellad-Sudan also visited the mystic city of Mandera which many, without having seen it, are inclined to hold as the ancient city of Meroe,—that this ancient island city of Meroe did in former days extend along the Nile at the valley of Bach'r amie, westward from the pyramids.\* The river has since those days retired, as there are now to be seen, some two hundred paces from it, foundation walls and remains of buildings, behind which I hit

\* These are filled up with rubbish, and when much of this was removed by the treasure seeker, Dr. Ferlini from Bologna, no mummies were found, but many skeletons in sitting postures, which he stripped of their gold and ornaments.

on four male sphinxes, one of which a young vagabond, who had run after us, mounting, claimed as his horse.

I had persuaded my brother to purchase from Sheik Soliman a small, smooth-going dromedary, as the tall, hard-trotting ones the Pascha had presented to us at Chartum were likely to have thrown him into a fit of apoplexy, his slender form not being able to withstand rough usage and constant joltings like my much stronger one. His ride from Schendy having so much injured him, led me to mount outside the camp this new purchase of his, a lively little animal, a bischari, and I may say as boldly as when I, a boy, was thrown on the so-called wild horse of the stud at Embscher-Bruch, in Westphalia, much to my kind old father's delight and rejoicing, who, as he ran alongside, holding the cavesson, and delighting in his son's bravery and daring, little suspected this would afterwards cost him so much money. Riding here, however, was a different thing—no mane or saddle-bow for the boy to hold on by, nor any saddle or stirrup for the trained horseman: my brother laughed, but I held myself together, and all went on well. The saddle was certainly desperately slippery, although I did get some hold on it, when, after the custom of the riders here, I crossed my legs over its bow. The rich Turks always spread over the saddle a long-haired, red-coloured ram's fleece, like that thrown over a Hungarian coach-box; so we had two carpets (Siggadi), and our great dromedaries brought out, and one fastened over each of the saddles. The Zais (inspector of horses and fore-rider) of the Pascha and I placed ourselves on the taller dromedaries, and I looked proudly down on my brother, mounted on his small animal. We rode under the Zais's instructions, and fancied we were gaining some slight insight into the business, as we held in our left hands the halter and rein drawn through the left nostril, used for turning, and flourished the kurbasch in our right. The two-humped camel (*C. Bactrianus*) is unknown here; those used are smooth-haired, fine-coated, and of bright colour as any blood horse. The camel and dromedary are the same species, and there is no more difference between them than between a cart and a race-horse. The camels are trained to lie down for loading and unloading, and the signal for so doing is given by a peculiar sound made by drawing in the breath through the teeth, and a gentle

stroke of the whip above the knees. The dromedary is called *hagihn*; the camel, the *chimmal*, plur. *chomal*.

We had, at dawn of morning, started on an inspection of this ruined city, Damer, to see if any ancient remains were to be found; but neither brick nor hewn stone did we see. The houses not yet crumbled into ruins were built of meteoric stone (top).\* We made our way into a couple of such houses; inside all was dark, as windows there were none, but a few round or angular holes up near the flat roofs, such as are in the sloping walls of Egyptian temples. By these means greater strength is lent to the bad material used in building, and this is evident in the high towers or loam castles in the land of Barabra, and from the enduring remains of the pylones of the temples. Any one who doubts the durability of such loam edifices may soon be convinced both of this and the high national liking for them, by examining these old buildings. We generally found in the houses two monstrous clay jars, some six or eight feet high, such as are common also in Greece, for the storing of grain, bread, &c.; one bed-place for the whole family, and a bench or settle spread with mats, and raised some three or four feet from the ground. The other houses were the common *Æthiopian* tokuls, to which was attached an oblong bower of wicker-work, a tolerably cool abode, and called a *Recuba*. The tokul is formed by a circular loam wall, with a pointed roof placed on it; and such huts, with little difference, are to be found in every part of Africa and certain parts of America—Guiana, for instance, where, probably, the negroes introduced them. On entering one of these huts we were welcomed by a Turk from Bosnia, who, with grave face, told my brother he possessed a certain herb that would, in three or four days, perfectly cure broken bones; but he would not produce this wondrous plant, as he feared my brother might steal his secret. We also here heard that at the point of land where the Atbara runs into the Nile there was a village called *Kenisse* (meaning Church or Christian ruins), where were many old buildings (*bint gaddim*), in which bricks might be found. That in very early times the Christian faith spread widely in *Æthiopia* is well known, and we were about to start on a second

\* The word for brick is *top achmer*, red stone, and may point to a manufacture introduced by the Arabs.

trial ride to Kenisse, when we were told it was certain that the Pascha would set out at midday or afternoon.

We set about arranging our traps into camel-loads, a camel carrying about three cwts., so that all might be in order. To our cook, Achmet, as the most necessary attendant on the march, we assigned a dromedary, and loaded it with our most valuable articles, so as to always have these near us, as much was to be feared for all baggage that went with the rear-guard, this being much exposed to be cut off or plundered. In these climes water is ever a first consideration, and to each soldier had been served out a small leathern flask, while on our camels were placed many water-skins (*girbe*), and yet Achmet had, in addition, to hang on the shady side of his beast another water-skin, made of the untanned hide of an antelope, as we wished to preserve our own two water-filled *sensamien* (bags of leather, fitted with a mouthpiece, screwed in, with a hole and straw or reed to drink from) untouched, in case of any bursting; and also as the water in these keeps cooler, being able to ooze through the pores, which is not the case with the *girbes*, as so doing would cause too great loss. Then we had also to convey the *hammah*, a tripod six feet high, indispensable in warm countries at unloading or camping, to hang the water-skins on, as the ground is so hot as to suck up all the water, and where no *hammah* is to be got, some other means of keeping the skins off the earth is always invented. These water-skins are without seam; the heads of the animals are generally cut off (usually sheep or goats are the sufferers), their skins worked off the body, without outward cut, down to the lower joints of the legs, that are left hanging on the skin, and bound across two and two, or crosswise, to keep all firm and united; the neck of the hide forms the mouth, and is firmly bound round and round with strong cord. Some practice is required to drink while riding, out of one of these, without spilling much water, which, often being more valuable than all other treasures, it is ever looked on as a serious fault to waste. Besides some clean linen and clothing in a leathern bag (*jurab*), Achmet had on the other side our cotton-stuffed pillows; his saddle was formed of two Abyssinian cow-hides, placed above each other, intended to be used under our carpets, and these proved a most excellent protection against the numerous thorns that

covered the soil, or when covered with two great white barakans, folded four times together, formed a very perfect sleeping-place for us when suffering from cold or fever. Atop of all this high-piled load sat the cook himself. We had entrusted to his care some of our arms, three guns and an old-fashioned pistol, with some ammunition; two of the first he had fastened to his dromedary, as we carried our double-barrelled rifles, but a long Turkish gun he had hung over his neck, surely no very comfortable companion during a long, sharp ride. In addition to our double rifles, that we could have in our hands in an instant, we also carried pistols, strung in a belt instead of being stuck in the girdle, and by our sides hung proudly our cavalry swords,—our Turkish sabres, too light for our unaccustomed hands, having been safely stowed away in our chests. Our cook had wisely provided himself with some of the needful tools of his trade, things that neither Joseph or I had thought of. This seems a long list, but still it is but a very poor one of all required for a journey in this land.

At three o'clock in the afternoon (fi l'Asser), a cannon was fired, and soon a sudden commotion and stir was evident in the camp, this being the signal for starting. In an instant our tent was down, and as each camel lay already with shackled knee, between the chests and bags intended for it, and our girbes were ere now filled, all was so quickly laden that our people were at the head of the train, where by our orders they were to keep. We ourselves, mounting, rode up to the Pascha, who had halted to the eastward of Damer, his saddled horses and dromedaries drawn up behind, and here out of the bustle was making his further arrangements at his ease. He growled at the great disorder, but consoled himself that in future things would go on better. It was, indeed, a most varied scene: the Turkish cavalry, in their national dress of every hue and colour, with yellow or green standards and small kettle-drums; the cavalry of the Schaigies and Mograbin Arabs on horses, dromedaries, and on foot; the Sheiks and Moluk (little kings), with their little arm-bearers behind them on the same camels, with spears, lances, swords and shields of leather; the numerous asses and camels, the former led by the halter by almost every second infantry soldier, so that the owners might ride in turn; drums, trumpets, and all kinds of deafening music, &c.

The Chabir (caravan leader), with lance and shield, was on his dromedary, far in advance; him we followed, along with the Pascha, who was on horseback, and with picturesque disorder each detachment freed itself from the confused crowd, and came on in our track. The artillery consisted of two field-pieces drawn by camels which the Pascha had trained to this work, to take the place of the usual mules in the desert. Abd-el-Kader, the jovial Top-schi Baschi, mounted on his mule, led them on. The Turks, the greater number of whom were Circassians, the Kurds, Arnauts, or Albanians, who an hour before could hardly put one leg before another, were now changed men; the instant they were in their saddles they were galloping like madmen round the Pascha, and thrashing their horses with as little compassion as if they had been intoxicated with opium. But all this was in honour of the Pascha, and a show-off before him of their invincible courage. The way lay over the desert, but was tolerably well marked out. Towards morning the Pascha, accompanied by the Chabir, rode on in advance; but we did not follow him, as I felt unwell. It was dark night when we reached the left bank of the Atbara, where, throwing ourselves down among the bushes, we sought sleep, without waiting or caring for food.

In the morning we commenced looking about us, and came on two Saghies or water-wheels of the Kabyle Omerab. The Atbara is a fine, clear river, with high banks, pretty deep, though here fordable, and at this ford the Pascha posted a guard of forty men, so that the enemy might not take us in the rear. The country on the right bank of the river was yet called Dagheila; the forest opposite is a swamp, in which were yet to be seen many lakes full of water, and also a dry river bed, which, from its considerable breadth, must, at times, pour a large body of water into the Atbara. Some Omerabs having joined us, we asked the name of this gohr or rain-brook—often, in tropical climes, of great size and importance—running into the Atbara; to our surprise he answered el Mogren, which immediately reminded us of Father Burckhardt, who so named the lower part of the Atbara. We also knew right well that Mogren means the spot where two rivers join, as in the case of the Blue and White Niles; but here we were told, most distinctly, that the gohr itself was named Mogren. Unfortunately,



we did not ask if the people on the opposite side of the Mogren do not sometimes apply that name to the Atbara, down to its junction with the Nile, and if the gohr was to be merely looked on as an auxiliary stream, and included in the name. The Dutchman does not blush to call the main stream of the Rhine the Waal, because a river of that name, on which, perhaps, he once dwelt and still loves, runs into it and flows on with it into the ocean, but hails all on its banks as his countrymen. In Taka I saw the great Gohr-el-Gash, the waters of which are said to vanish — how, if this monstrous mass of water, which it is impossible the earth can drink in, were to collect again in the low lands and form this mogren? and this, the direction of the Gohr-el-Gash, and the slope of the country seem to me but too plainly to point out. Whence the gohr comes they know not; “min fok,” (from above) they said, and that in the rainy season it gathers from all sides, from which gathering may be the peculiar meaning of the word gohr.

The high banks on our side of the river, were at this season covered with luxuriant, beautiful turf, with strong, fruit-laden Dom-palms (*Cucifera Thebaica*), mimosas, and large thorn trees (nebbek), the bright green of which lent a freshness and enlivening colour to the scene, hardly to have been looked for from the slimy, sandy soil. The Atbara was some 150 or 200 paces broad, but seemed, from the distance of the opposite bank, to have, when full, a breadth of 600 or 800 paces. The banks consisted of layers of sandstone, and it was plainly visible, that this sandstone was in a continuous state of forming, as in some spots it was very soft, and in these we found encrusted wood and petrifactions, but no conchylites. Further upwards, the soil was good, the land well cultivated and sown with durra\*, divided off into small squares, intersected with narrow channels or canals; but we saw no saghies (water-wheels), so either must the river's overflowings have been guided into these canals, or they must have been filled by means of water-tight baskets (saduff), as in Nubia and elsewhere. We saw no one who could give us any information about this, and at midday returned to the camp, as we had been warned to keep near it, the tribes of this neighbourhood being neither most friendly nor trustworthy.

\* *Sorghum cernuum*, L., the ancient Egyptian bread corn — Sorgno, a kind of thick-eared, high-growing barley.

*21st March.*— On starting on our excursion this morning, we had felt pretty well, but now we suddenly felt as ill and downcast as ever, but the cannon-shot re-echoed through the wood, and all must mount again. At first steppes that threw back the sun's rays most dreadfully on us; we drove before us herds of thirty or forty gazelles, the Pascha and Turks setting off in chase of them. Ere long we again approached the river, where the most luxuriant vegetation was visible, also many Dom-palms, cut across under the crown (pollarded), the more easily to get at their branches for mats and ropes, though this kills the trees. Large fields there were none, but merely cultivated patches, and the green turf extending under the trees on the river's banks, as in Germany. The soil was dark, and seemed of similar quality to that of the Nile banks, cut up like it also, but in smaller polygons. A considerable deposit of slime was to be seen on the rough bark of the lower part of the trees; and were the height of these slime-marks carried out in a horizontal line over the land, the river's overflow would seem to reach to the stony ridges of the invariably higher desert land. Riding was most perilous, partly from the thorny trees with reversed hooks, strong enough to tear clothes from the body, or eyes out of one's head (and eyes were lost by some), partly from the crowding, when all had to make, in the dark, their way as well as they could, and then, from the ground being saturated with water, falls were many and severe. At last, at midnight, after a march of ten hours, a halt was made, not one of half an hour's duration having, until now, been allowed. In the Pascha's neighbourhood, a fire was kindled, but we sought out a dark spot behind a bush on the river's bank, and at once lay down, and so wearied was I, that I would not even drink the coffee which the old Deli Mustapha, the Pascha's kawedschi, brought us. One must have experienced what that weariness is, which, brought on and conjoined with illness, goes so far as to lead him to despise the choicest food rather than arouse himself to partake of it, to judge of my state.

*22nd March.*— The river's course here is from south-east to north-west, though as yesterday, any current is hardly perceptible. The banks are distant from each other, and the river is yet some 150 or 200 paces in width,—the bed sandstone, the country

beautiful and green as yesterday, larger durra fields, but only two water-wheels. The Atbara is not rich in fish, but crocodiles and Nile-horses abide in the deeper places the whole year through. We saw and heard many geese and ducks, but did not disturb them, as, had we shot them we could not have got them; other birds we saw not, nor did we fall in, outside the camp, with any natives, all of whom seemed, like the Omerabs, to have got out of the army's way, the Sheik of the latter, alone, being with the camp, and accompanying it through his country. From the fissures of the sandstone in the river's bed sprouted up a splendid species of willow, with bright green leaves, like a freshly shot oleander, full cup-shaped white blossoms. and odour like jessamine, but not so pungent or agreeable; pistils full of white bitter milky fluid; seed very small and hanging in threads of a finger's length, intersecting each other like a spider's web. The river makes great windings between its wildly beautiful banks, from which the trees hang down, often touching the water, and in many places having fallen into it, render its navigation somewhat difficult, though these hindrances could be easily overcome. The increasing heat, accompanied by a hotter wind, that blew disagreeably round our brows, sent us back to the camp. This district of country has as inhabitants, the Kabyle of Kammarabs, who are a considerable tribe, and extend southward to the lands of the Schukurie, under the great Sheik, Abu Sind, and has, as its superior chief, the great Sheik, Aburof. On the opposite right bank of the Atbara live the Kabyle of the Anafidab, a most thievish race, and much given to plunder and steal the Kammarab's camels. The Anafidab are of the race or tribe (Gins) of the Bischari, and form a kabyle (clan or community) of their own, under their own chiefs.\* We hear, that all grain, to be had here and hereabouts, is to be delivered up at the six day's journey distant from here, Gos Rajeb, where a great magazine is to be formed.

The cannon was fired at midday, just as we had finished our meal; although at first seeing this I had felt little appetite, and almost loathed food, still I tried to eat; but suddenly I became seriously ill,

\* How the French in Algeria, — called el Geseier by the Arabs, — can use the word kabyle for any particular persons, tribe, or country, I cannot comprehend.

and beheld with horror our tent struck over my head, my bed, too, packed up, and ourselves with our servants, obliged to follow the army. I could not mount, I felt as if the sun was heaping glowing coals on my head, but did not lose my consciousness. My brother and I, therefore, resolved to remain behind till the heat of the day was over, and ride on after the crisis was past, if I was ever to get over it. Supported by Joseph and Achmet, I was led to a Dom-palm, near which I sank down, as if dead, under shade, certainly, but on the burning earth. A fearful vomiting and dysentery, sending sweat from every pore, attacked me; I could not remain lying on my carpet, but to keep in the shade, I had, with my trowsers about my heels, to crawl on the sand, round and round the tree, while the spot I had quitted was covered over with clean sand. Dr. Bellotti and the apothecary, Dumont, having heard I was dying, had quitted the army's slow train, and come to see for themselves, if the report was true or not. They advised me to give up the expedition, the Italian, contrary to my brother's opinion however, holding my case as most serious. I made Bellotti a sign, and as he bent over me, prayed him, in case of my death, to do his utmost to persuade Joseph to quit Bellad Sudan, and then he could fill all his good posts. Dumont could hardly restrain his laughter, and the two mounted and rode off. Never in my life have I longed for sunset as I then did; the very last sun beams seemed to effect my hair, as if each separate one was electrified and discharging the fluid into my bursting head. Hardly was the torturing sun under the horizon when I felt much better, could again stand up and move slowly about. Good humoured Arab herd lads approached our fire, pitied my state, and brought me milk and durra bread.\* It was a beautiful evening, the full moon glittering on the waters of the Atbara, silvered the dark crowns of the Dom-palms; wild geese now and then screamed, and some pigeons cooed round us,—all else was silence.

*23rd March.* — There is a deep pleasure in sleeping in the open air, where weather and climate will permit. Often had I in Greece, even when most sleepy, sought the free air, and, particularly at Nauplia, mounted up to the higher Herculesburg of Tirynth and the rocks of Palmedes, and there passed the night.

\* *Kisra*, flat cakes like pancakes; other bread is called *esch*, as is also the *durra* itself.

What a waking in the divine dawn of beauteous, freest Nature! Much restored, two hours before sunrise, we mounted our dromedaries, but did not long trust ourselves in the sun, as at his first beams we dismounted at the tents of some Arabs of the Kabyle of the Kammarabs. We were hospitably received, and entertained with milk and bread; ere long they brought us a great wooden dish (gadda) of the lochma, a stiff soup or batter of durra-meal (hagien), with a hollow in its centre full of butter, and, even when only eaten with the hands, no bad food. At least a dozen men would have found sufficient to eat in this Arab polenta. The baker's oven, or brick-kilnlike tents (birsch; tents of canvass, gemma; those on boats, denda), are formed of mats of palm-leaves, stretched over boughs, low before but high at the back, where there is a sort of elevated bed-place, or divan, covered with palm mats, and over these a kind of reed-stalks, split fine, is bound by small stripes of hide. This elevation, when used as a bed or seat, is protected from cold wind and curiosity, by being hung round by black and white striped coarse woollen coverlets, and this part of the tent is called the beit, or house. Of such tents some thirty were here, not placed in the shade, but somewhat distant from the larger trees. In the time of the tropical rains these tents are much reduced in size by their inmates, who then sit in them like snails in their shells. Such rains do not extend beyond the mouth of the forest-surrounded Atbara, and seldom bestow a shower on the Berber lands (called by the Arabs el Mucheïrof), where the loam-built towns would soon go to pieces under the torrents of the Chariff, which the tokuls are needed to withstand. The older and principal men came to visit us, and the Wokul of the Sheik, who is in attendance on the Pascha, smoked out of a bone. The country round is flat, sandy, and covered with thorn-bushes. The Dom-palms do not extend so far from the river, as they love a moist soil. Grass and herbage we saw as little of as stones, although the river seemed to overflow far here. A shrub, Tundo, with many small red flowers, very similar to our wild rose, was abundant; birds, save pigeons, very rare; but numerous large white vultures, hovering over and devouring the fallen cattle it left behind, marked the way the army had taken.

Towards evening we again were *en route*, following the track of

the field-pieces, but soon had to halt again, as this guiding-trace was hid in darkness. So, like knights-errant, we turned into another settlement of Kammarabs, which was large and flourishing, and, with its numerous fires before the tents, offered a lively picture of native life. The head man received us most kindly, told us we had been commended to his care by the Pascha, who had also sent orders back to Damer that we were every where to be looked on as his friends. While we sat eating our durra bread and milk, and looking round us for sheep or goat to stick on the spit, twenty Schaigies, mounted on dromedaries, arrived, sent by the Pascha to seek us out and act as our guard. We now continued our march by moonlight, were again become great people, and looked on as Turks. We were told the tribe of Kammarabs was small, and therefore the Schaigies took the high hand, and would have made a sad business of it, had we not kept order, as in every village a guide was to be taken by force, the Arabs, holding us for Turks, putting no trust in our promise of payment. Our Schaigies proved brisk, merry fellows, and played many a mad prank to amuse us.

*24th March.*—We encamped, about midnight, some distance from the river banks, and found ourselves on a Steppe. The soil was bad and sandy; the barrowlike range of hillocks, that ran from east to west, were sparingly covered with herbage and a few white flowering Mimosas. At mid-day we turned into a small village of some ten huts, belonging to the Kabyle of the Wood Naga, a branch or tribe of the Bischari. These people had no durra for our camels, or would not give us any. The head man brought us milk and durra-teig, but demanded soap and medicine in exchange. On the right bank of the Atbara here dwell the Bischari; the banks of the river are high, nor does it seem to overflow them; but that falls of rain are frequent and heavy, is plainly shown by the high grass under the thorny nebbek and Dom-palm trees. All about the banks, trees are to be seen overthrown and floating in the water. The Schaigies hunted out a deserter, and we could plainly mark the hatred in which they held the Egyptians. I promised I would obtain the Pascha's pardon for him, and kept my word. At the next village men came at once up to us, offering us water, but for the Egyptian neither ass nor camel could be got. The huts of

this village, also, were without all shade. Here, again, two guides had to be seized on by force, and our presence alone prevented our spoil-loving body-guard from plundering it. We then reached the great village Wady, which was picturesquely situated under shady trees, along the river's bank. From hence our road lay over a wide plain, without tree or bush to afford us shelter; at midnight we halted and dismounted.

### CHAP. III.

Rejoin the Army. — Arab Sheiks. — Ruins of Herrerem. — The Mirage. — A Country March. — Corn Stores. — A Sheik of the Hallenga. — False Alarms. — A Skirmish.

*25th March.* — BEFORE sunrise we were off again. Coffee we could not prepare, for want of wood; one of the Schaigies milked his female camel, and gave us some of its milk, which tasted fresh and excellent. We now again struck the way the army had taken. Numerous wild Kurbissee (*Colocynthis*) covered the ground in many places. The braying of an ass was plainly heard in this soundless waste; on we went, and came to a female ass with broken leg, — seemingly the field-piece had gone over it; a newly-dropped foal stood by the mother, over whom already circled in air the vultures; from these she seemed to call on us to protect her. The young beast was placed in a net, slung on a camel, and the old one, at our express order, shot, to save her from a lingering death. By noon we were in the camp on the Atbara.

The Pascha, seated on the ground, in the shade before his tent, had remarked us when at some distance, though we could have dispensed with seeing him ere we had first taken some rest. He was, from exposure to the sun during these last few days, much burnt, seemed ill, and suffering; he nevertheless received us with commiserating kindness, and said he had already received a message telling him of our welfare. Tired as we were, we must mount again at two hours after noon. Many gazelles were started; the Pascha, gun in hand, galloped his Arabian stallion into the midst

of them ; almost all the mounted people galloped like a wild hunt after him, and we also advanced at a sharp trot, to behold nearer the extempore *chasse*. We fancied our chief had fallen from his horse, so speedily had he swung himself to the ground, and with three shots he brought down three gazelles, of which, in the evening, we received a good portion roasted. The river is here pretty broad ; on the opposite bank we next morning, when looking about us, perceived some crocodiles. On the river's edge were many very beautiful pebbles ; the banks are rocky and of sandstone, as is also the bed ; pieces of decaying Thorn-mussel were scattered about here and there, but we saw no other shells. In spite of the day being fearfully warm, the march was continued all day till evening. My brother, from his great exertions, was taken ill, had violent headache, and felt as if drunk, but luckily slept all night. The plain we had ridden over was monotonous, covered with reedlike mimosas ; the soil most sandy.

*27th March.* — Joseph cannot rise, has dreadful thirst, and complains that his hair is on fire on his head. We wisely halted here till after mid-day, let the army march on before us, remaining on the river bank till the cooler evening, and then hastened on after the Pascha. On the river's right bank was to be seen the *gebl* (hill) Job, or Joc, rising up, all isolated, like a pyramid : this hill was visible yesterday. To-day two other large hills have come into sight, one in the east, the other to the south. We have remarked that the birds gradually return after the army has passed on, and we only remain. The left side of the river is not cultivated, the right very much so ; many large fields of *durra* and *doggen* (*Sorghum saccharatum*). *Topschi Baschi* lent my brother his easy-going mule, which gave him great relief. Gazelles were seen in large herds, hurrying back from the desert, here very sandy and deep, to the river, by paths worn by their own feet. At our camping-place to-day the heat was so great, that guns and sabres, even under the tent, could hardly be laid hold of. For the first time, the soldiers had flesh served out to them, and each captain got a sheep ; on every camel and ass flesh was to be seen hanging, and the birds of heaven often approached most near to these, in their nostrils, sweet-smelling scaffolds. The right bank of the river, for the last two days' march, was the



habitation of the tribe of the Haddenda, hostile to us; to its west are the Schukurie, who live in perpetual feud with them. Two hours after sunset a halt was made, and the many fires of the camp, glittering among the trees, offered a pretty scene. Many scorpions showed themselves here, as if attracted by the heat of the fires; some we saw were a finger and a half in length, of a bright colour, one half of the tail a brown black, and covered with hair. Around us were huge flats, overgrown with long, thick, rank grasses, and in these the rain-water must stand long, probably dammed back there by the raised banks of the Atbara. The wind is warm, and by no means refreshing. For the last two evenings there have been continuous flashes of lightning in the south.

*28th March.* — We encamped for this night on the river, here in some places dried up. Its high banks were evidently never hereabouts overflowed, and so no Dom-palms were visible. Mohammed Defalla, a great Sheik of the neighbourhood of Wollet-Medina, arrived with many followers. He wore a suit of double-chain armour, under this a quilted shirt, arm-braces, and handsome worked steel gauntlets. His helmet fitted to his head like a shell, having in front, instead of a visor, an iron bar coming down over the nose, and behind, to cover the neck, a small guard or curtain formed of steel rings. His sword, the most common here, was one of the horsemen's straight swords, made in Sennaar, with plain bent hand-guard, golden hilt, with a thick crown-like knob cut out on its end. This equipment came from India, and he has forty or fifty such suits; his relations of the old royal family have whole heaps of such. Two Sheiks of the land of Taka have also arrived: handsome, tall men. Many people from the neighbourhood of Gos-Rajeb have also come to meet the Pascha, and have just dismounted from their dromedaries in the camp; they have their hair anointed and whitened with camel's fat, which the sun's heat has melted, and set trickling down their backs. For three hours during to-day's march we passed over a plain extending farther than eye could reach, with long withered grass, few trees, many gazelles, and some hares. In the morning we had remarked near, and on the river, thousands of partridges, various kinds of snipes, and numerous water-fowl. Our camping-place is two

hours distant from water : during the night a strong cold wind blew on us from the south.

*29th March.* — To-day we were to make our entrance into Gos-Rajeb, and we were in motion before sunrise. The infantry formed two columns, the Turkish cavalry the right wing, the Schaigies and Magrabins the left. About eleven o'clock we found ourselves in this order, and deafened by drums, kettle-drums, and all kinds of Janissary music, in the wide and almost naked plain to the east of Gos-Rajeb. The guns that had been in front did not retain that position, but were passed over to the right side of the here shallow Atbara, where, at the feet of the two rocks of Herrerem, our camp was formed, in a stony, almost treeless plain. Gos-Rajeb (Hill Rajeb) is some 400 paces distant from the river bank, consists of 150 or 200 tokul and loam houses, the former of these being unusually large, and displaying on their pointed tops ostrich eggs as ornaments. The inhabitants of this trading city are of various tribes : Bishari, Haddenda, &c. The few of them we saw were rather red in colour than black or brown ; but most of its inmates had fled at our approach. Gos-Rajeb lies in a desert, or nearly so ; the goods come from India to Sanakim on the Red Sea, and are brought thence on camels. On a dromedary the journey can be made in seven or eight days. Caravans take ten or eleven ; though the Sheik of Gos-Rajeb said seventeen days were required to Sanakim, but only five or six to Kataref. According to him, the inhabitants of Gos-Rajeb are a race of themselves, who have been located there since time immemorial ; though he allowed that another race, not of the same descent as them, had settled down there in later times. The Pascha has instructed the Sheik to give me all and every information as to country and people, and to accompany me to all most worthy of being seen, and all remarkable points.

*30th March.* — Our expectations had been highly raised as regarded the ruins we hoped to find in this city of the rocks, for we, as well as the honoured Burckhardt before us, had heard much of Kenisse betal kuf'r, and of memorials of a Christian race. So in the morning we climbed up both hills, and found a grotesque formation of granite rocks, worn by the action of weather and other causes into the most fantastic shapes, and here and there towered

up on one another as if some giant's hand had piled them. The grey whitish granite also shows in its refts round holes smoothed out by rain, and, in some places, crusts of red granite as at Assuan; but ruins there were none to explore. We saw much dried grass, and some small green trees like wild pear-trees, called Sammer: this shows the rain here must be abundant. A crowd of flints and pebbles of all colours were scattered round above, but almost all were broken in pieces, like those placed on graves here to prevent the wild beasts digging up the corpses. It is possible, however, these stones had been broken up to discover the precious stones supposed to be hid in the coarser casket.

The view over the plains covered with small trees and stretching out farther than eye can reach, is monotonous; and here the Atbara is very small, and resembles a brook with naked banks. To the N.W. is Gos-Rajeb with its tokuls and decaying roofs; to the N.N.E. a day and a half's journey off, is the Hill of Job. N.N.E. and by N. one day's journey off, is the Hill of Ofrek; the smaller hills of Derra, Tokul, and Aried, the centre one of which has three pointed tops, lie from W. by N. to W.N.W. The Hill of Sabbath, W.S.W. is about half a day's journey from Gos; behind the Hill of Job to the N.N.W. is a yet higher mountain, with a smaller neighbour, and a chain of hillocks. The distance as the crow flies to the hills of Kassela in the E. may be some thirty hours. The other rock of Herrerem lies southward of the first, and may be some 400 feet high. At the foot of it is a quantity of *débris* rolled down from it, and large pieces of rock also lie about. On this rough ground are many graves of later time; some old bricks red outside, black inside and very hard, lie about. A quarter of an hour N.E. of this Rockery, in a spot to which the Sheikh led me, I saw some broken and burnt bricks; hereabouts must once have stood a town as large as Massr (Cairo) and inhabited by Christians. The ground is now level, and neither grave-hill nor bone-house to be seen. There must indeed have been a fearful conflagration here, as the bricks at one spot are melted down into a black glassy mass. Most probably, the city was on both hills, and principally on the first, round which many isolated mounds or hillocks may be seen; but these are covered either with stones or small pieces of granite, and seem to have been used as sepulchres;

they have a round or oval form, and some are large and of good height. Often are six or eight such hillocks connected with each other, and on these we found some red bricks. The present inhabitants know not whether they are graves or what they are, and this alone testified to their belonging to older times. On the second hill lie blocks of rocks having much resemblance to colossal sarcophagi; and why these masses were so placed on it cannot be accounted for, unless to serve as memorials. The first hill runs up into two blunt points, on the foremost of which starts up a high rock like a monument, which, perhaps, may have misled Burckhardt. Above this, in the rivers here, mussels and small shells are to be found, similar to those in the Nile, and much petrified wood.

This morning has come in the son of Mohammed Din, the great Sheik of the Haddenda; but the Pascha has again dismissed him, with the necessary orders to his father. Almost all the inhabitants of Gos-Ra'jeb have fled from it, carrying off their herds, flocks, &c., so that nothing is to be got there, not even milk. In the rainy season, there is much life and bustle on both sides of the river, as most of the Arabs from the lower and overflowed lands then gather up here, especially those of Sauachinn (Sauakim) and Kataref, when on both banks there are large fairs, much bartering, and considerable business is done by the greater merchants (chawagat, from chawagi) and the slave dealers (djellabi or haddaiba). Only a small stripe on the left bank is planted with cotton; all else is barren wilderness. All the birds have also retired from this neighbourhood, save cranes and vultures. The ants here cause much pain by their bites; they are black in colour, carry the hinder part of their bodies upright, and are most rapid in their movements. Ever at night a strong cold breeze gets up; and even during the day the cold winds raised a feeling of the Chamsin. Tobacco we have never seen on all our journey, and this accounts for the everlasting begging of the natives for it. Much thieving goes on in the open camp, and the soldiers sell many things under the rose to the inhabitants, especially durra, of which 2000 ardips out of the magazine have been issued to the army. To-morrow is to be a grand review, to dazzle and impose on the Sheiks present.

*1st April.* — At two o'clock P.M., we were marched off in an

easterly direction, and kept at it till three hours after sunset, without coming on the promised water. All level, good soil, little or no wood. *Mimosas* almost vanished; but, on the other hand, much *Arrac* or *Tundo* with its bright green, its small red flowers and branches, very similar to our roses, only with longer thorns and thicker more shrub-like stems, growing more closely together, and of greater circumference, but not a leaf; many *Sammer* trees also, the leaves of which contain no sap. On the dried grass covered plain, gazelles, antelopes, and hares abound. From the distance, the two hills of *Herrerem* with their grotesque blocks of rocks still looked after us. At dawn we were again on foot, and marched for two hours, till we struck the *Atbara*. Over the ground in all directions stretched long runs made by the heavy rains. Nowhere was man or beast to be seen; all seemed to have hidden themselves; the very flocks of birds visible on our arrival we instantly frightened away. Towards midday, many of the *Sheiks* who accompanied the camp assembled in our tent, but being *Faki* they did not smoke; they could not comprehend that our magnet-needle pointed ever to the north. The Hill of *Kassela*, now to the east of us, was some two hours distant: this was the end of our journey, at least for a time, as from thence the *Pascha* intended to carry out his conquests, and spoke of founding a city there.

About noon, when the heat was greatest, off went the great gun, the signal for marching. A mere quarter of an hour's halt, as a rest towards evening, and then on for four hours longer. All were tired out, and not so much by the heat, which was bad enough, but by the hot wind, that threatened, on these immense level lands, to dry us up into mummies; and here the water-resembling *Devil's lakes* (*Bacher el Scheitan* — the mirage) were constantly deceiving us. In these the trees were reflected as in clear water, although the soil is good, and not mere sand and stones, as in the Desert. The frontiers of *Taka* are very ill defined, but it was said that our camping-place was in that land, which seems to be remarkable for its thick grass overgrown pasturage.

*3rd April.* — Two hours before sunrise the army was under arms, and in battle order pursued an eastward march, in which direction the hill of *Kassela* and the blue mountains of *Abyssinia* were plainly visible; but, as road there was none, the column of

march soon fell into confusion. The soil was of a dark colour, and looked as if it had been rained on but yesterday, and this morning's sun had called up on its surface a coating of slime of an inch thick. The durra fields still threw out fresh shoots from their ten feet high stems. To the left extended an impenetrable forest of uschar (*Asklepias procera*), which, with its fresh narcotic green, its verdant hues, and white violet-tinged flowers, was a most pleasing and refreshing sight. After a ride of some three hours, we arrived at a settlement of a Kabyle of Soggilabs, under the Sheik Haddab, some thirty mat huts, enclosed in a seriba (thorn-hedge); a little distance to the east many tents and some Tokuls showed over the green stalks. The larger village is called Soggilab, from the race of that name. A crowd of men, each with the lance or sword, dressed and frizzed out like the other Arabs, were assembled to gaze at us and receive the Pascha, but still no cattle were to be seen; it was plain enough they were all driven away. As far as eye could reach, all the ground was covered with a species of arborescent lucerne (loid) some five or six feet high, on which the camels feasted with delight. The richness of the soil is most evident, from the great luxuriance of all its herbage and shrubs; running water there is none, but the twenty or twenty-five feet deep wells give good drinking water in copious supply. Of such wells I counted forty-eight, which denotes a considerable population. There were many birds, especially pigeons; but, as usual, very shy. Both to-day and yesterday I had shot some hares, smaller and brighter in colour than ours, and with much larger ears. Many lions were said to be about, and we were warned to refrain from hunting. A great part of the bushes were fired and burnt down, to give open space round the camp, as the inhabitants of Soggilab were not to be trusted; and this conflagration made all so clear, that we did not require to kindle any lights at night.

*4th April.* — To-day is a day of rest. Some horsemen from the village of Soggilab arrived to salute us; their horses, mostly stallions, were small, but of great speed, seemingly a cross of the Arab breed. The saddles small, and of wood; stirrups as ours, some having shoes fixed on them for the lance, as with our lancers. Our poor soldiers are without tents, having nothing to eat but belila, *i. e.* durra boiled in water, without salt or grease; even with us salt is

scarce. Up to this date flesh has been served out but once. The Schaigies are ever the first, form the advance guard, and is any thing to be got, or any booty made, it falls of course to their share, as they are first in the field. Often at night thirty or forty of them in all secrecy quit the camp, surprising any village they can hit on, lay hands on all they can, and ere morning are again returned to the neighbourhood of the camp, and assume the demeanour of men bringing in their horses from pasturing.

*5th April.*—Contrary to all hope, the signal gun awoke us to-day at dawn, calling on us to march, though we had fully trusted that this day would also be a halt. Ere long we joined the Pascha's motley train, and found ourselves, along with other Europeans, mixed up among former kings, little and great Sheiks, and their armour-bearers, officers, scribes, and body-guards; and equally singular must we have appeared to the others as they to us. We wore over our Turkish dresses, loose wide blouses, with doubly padded hoods as a protection from the sun's rays. Right and left surrounded us the wild crowd of Schaigies, on horseback; and little peace or concord was there among their horses and the timid camels and dromedaries; so that at length the Pascha ordered all riding the latter to move on in advance. We did so, and at once found ourselves in a thickly overgrown underwood, where the thorny mimosas ere long again raised their heads, putting our tarbooshes in much danger. Besides these, we observed tombusbushes (hombuck), with rose-red round fruit, with a gelatinous sweet inside, about the size of a common gooseberry; high heaths, and *sammer* of brightest green, as also a profusion of uschars overloaded with flowers, and great green seed pods.

The main road had been here and there widened by hewing away some of the trees, but it had already been taken by the cavalry and infantry on their asses; so we had to make our way through the thick close bush as well as we could. All was now indescribable confusion, and had the foe set on us here with their javelins, things would certainly have gone ill with us. We came, even in the bush, to some spots cleared by fire, probably for the cultivation of durra. After a good hour, the ground became more favourable, a halt was at last made, and some order restored to us. The soil here seemed excellent, all covered with grasses, and

very deep two or three inch wide water runs intersecting it in all directions, plainly showing by these deep and wide excavations, how heavy the rain torrents must be here. The Pascha we found already encamped, in full security and utmost unconcern, while for a long time the forest kept throwing out his soldiery in beautiful disorder. Each took up his position as he pleased, — cavalry and camel-mounted infantry followed the example, — while a much longer tail of the ass-mounted came slowly creeping out of the defile. Our confidence in the Pascha's generalship had been much shaken, and it now fell off much more at this sample of Turkish indolence, to which it never occurred to take any measures, or make any proper disposition of his forces.

On pursuing our march we came again to forest, but much opener, and we were now free from crowd and confusion; but from this all the more likely to fall a prey to the foe. Soon there stretched out before us a long wide field, full of numerous holes; these seemed, above, one and a half to two feet in diameter; but below, some four or six, with a depth of the same. They were pear-shaped, and said to be used by the natives to store their grain in. A town must once have been here. Before now we had observed such open spaces; — a sign that this fruitful stretch of land, on which we had now some days been marching, was at times inhabited in certain places by some nomade tribes; and we also remarked, especially at Soggilab, ditches and walls, though not of the most artful structure, to retain the rain water and guide it in irrigating the soil. The soil is lighter than that of the Nile, but covered with the same crust of some fine substance most similar to Nile slime, and must from its lightness be looked on as of vegetable origin; the more so as this is only to be found in the neighbourhood of the Atbara, and the deposit left by the rain floods from the mountains can only be looked for in their channels, or where such gather in the low grounds.

After a further march of three good hours we arrived at some wells, which, like those at Soggilab, ran in a line or course from south-east to north-west, and which might lead one to suspect a subterraneous river, or river bed, as here no great fall of the ground is to be seen. Near the wells were flocks of handsome birds, called Honey-birds (*Nectarinia lucida*); but they were soon frightened



away by the numerous noises. Here were, as at Gos-Rajeb, and more so at Soggilab, many cotton fields ; the *Asclepias*, also, again grew in full luxuriance, covered in greatest profusion with their pendant green air-bottles.

Achmet Pascha had galloped on in advance to look about him, and now off went a cannon as a signal for the army to encamp, or, rather, for each to throw himself down where he pleased. But soon, at my persuasion, came contrary orders ; viz., to get clear of the bush, and encamp somewhat 'farther east, in the open ground. Now, again, all fell into somewhat better order. The infantry enclosed the camp towards the eastward woods ; the cavalry faced the south ; the Schaigies, Schukuries, and Magrabins the wells towards the west and north. Our two field-pieces were before the infantry ; the few tents, along with the baggage camels and asses, were in the centre of our rather irregular square.

We brothers were just trying to gain some strength by a midday siesta, when some shots were fired, followed by a loud confused shouting of "*Arab, arab ketir!*" The Pascha at once threw himself on his horse, and, followed by all the mounted, galloped on, while the soldiery in the utmost confusion ran to the quarter where all looked for the "numberless enemy," who had already three times defeated the Turks, and where about again to, or had risked an attack. We also loaded our rifles, buckled on our swords, and set out on our way, but had not advanced far in the thick underwood, when there advanced from it to meet us the so-called "Old Knight," the Bischari Sheik Wood Naja, in full suit of armour, but his grey head bare, riding a most splendid black stallion, with tidings that it was only a magazine that had been discovered, where durra and lubia were stored in immense quantities, in the midst of numberless holes dug in the earth, belonging to the Haddenda Arabs, who had fled from hence only the night before, under their great Sheik Mohammed Din, into the Chaaba, making with all possible speed their way out of the Pascha's reach, whose arrival they had not so soon expected. On the discovery of the corn a fight had arisen between the Turks and the row-loving Schaigies, our friends, the expert goat milkers, but of the enemy not one was to be seen. The Pascha had given orders that every one might help himself at will from the prize ; and when we arrived at the spot,

we found all in the fullest activity with hands, bayonets, spears, sabres, hooks, axes, sticks, groping in the pits; and as each found anything, in it went to sack, bag, or dress, and on horse, camel, or ass-back away off with it to camp; and left there, the finder was instantly back again to try his luck once more. The army might have been subsisted for over two months on this store of durra, although the Haddenda had before carried off all they could. Besides the grain, the soldiers found beans, wood, mats, supports for mat huts, and many such things. As we returned to camp, all the army were going to or coming from the plunder, and again we were in a critical state; but the Pascha trusted to his lucky star. The Sheiks, put in action by the false alarm, in their full iron panoplies, their swords in hand, and horses covered with ornamental saddle-cloths, looked proudly and splendidly out among the thickly dusted and sweat drenched soldiery, laden like mill-asses. We ourselves got back to our huts as if drenched in water, but, in spite of the midday-sun's heat, we were not there long ere we felt a thrill of frost all over our bodies.

*6th April.*—All rejoiced that to-day was a day of rest. We learned we were in the neighbourhood of the now deserted tent-villages or camps of the Arabs of Issi and Teschum. The soldiers could now, by aid of their hand-mills (tachuhn), slowly grind their grain; and the Khaimakan, that they might not altogether want meat, did not fail, in his high humanity, to sell them for 60 paras the heads and entrails of every sheep he killed, probably thinking these were too small matters to make a present of. This generous man was the Circassian Sorop Effendi. But even while eating this meat, the purchaser had to keep an eye on his dearly won prize, as the numerous vultures, hawks, and ravens were daring enough to have carried it off from under his very nose, and these bold birds repeatedly succeeded in snatching the flesh away from its possessor, especially from the small slaves of eight and ten years old, a number of whom were in the camp. How these little beings held out under the great fatigues is to me incomprehensible, nor less did the soldiers' power of endurance astonish me, as no arrangements or provisions were made for such as fell sick, neither tents for their reception nor attendants provided, and the medicines laid in were not sufficient for an eighth of them. We rejoiced that

we had bought at Cairo a small travelling medicine chest ; this had already done us good service in Chartum, and we had brought it with us : the Pascha also had a similar one with him for his own use, and lucky it was so, as all the medicines furnished by government were bad, and the quinine, here so necessary, fearfully adulterated. Although a breeze does occasionally blow here, and one may as much as he can shelter himself by branches, mats, cloaks, &c., from the sun's rays, still the glowing heat will not long delay to make its unhealthy effects fearfully felt. The black soldiers have taken the wiser course, as many have been daily deserting, and the day before yesterday fifteen of them left us.

To-day the Sheik of the Hallenga, Mohammed Eli, has arrived to meet the Pascha. He looks a man of some forty years, is of stately, warrior-like bearing, with a noble expression of countenance ; his hair, greyish about the temples, is there cut short, but long at the sides, and behind hangs down at its full length ; he had by his side a small Turkish sabre, probably some present of honour, but most wisely had slung on his saddle behind him his more trusty long-sword. But Mohammed Din, the most dreaded of all, alone came not in ; indeed, he has had the Pascha informed, that he will give such grain and beasts as are required, but he will not visit him. He had already, as I mentioned, sent his only son as an hostage to meet the Pascha at Soggilab, but the latter, either from generous pride or some other motive, in my own presence again dismissed him. As his not coming to meet the Pascha is not the most peacelike sign, Achmet has repeatedly warned us not to go far from the camp. Doubtless these Arabs, in larger numbers, lie hidden in the impenetrable bush, and that they know right well how to throw their javelins they have more than once shown. In the meantime the all undertaking and the all attacking Schaigies have to-day slain some of them, though in the skirmish many of themselves have been wounded.

On a large scale the Pascha cannot act against these people. Roads and ways there are none ; rapidly do they pack up their all on camels, and with their herds, fly into the Chaaba, where to follow them with an army is impossible. Where will the Pascha procure the heavy expenses of his expedition, where will he pass the rainy season ? These and others are questions, the answers to which even he himself has not yet arrived at. His plans he holds most

secret, often says the contrary to what he intends, either to do, or not to do; but the truth is, he is without any well considered plan, and the doubtful reports of the Sheiks are not sufficient to let him clearly see the outs and ins, the why and wherefore, of his proceedings. That these Sheiks who have now come in so friendlike, or that those who have accompanied him on his march, can at heart wish well to the Turks, is not to be easily credited; they who before were independent, ruled over a free people, could act and do as they willed, are now deprived of all those privileges, treated with contempt by the stupid, proud Turks,—nay, even subjected to the bastinado, loaded with heavy taxes, and hardly enabled, from diminished revenue, to live, while formerly they fed thousands. Mohammed Din sees these lords' lot, seems determined to preserve his freedom as long, and sell it as dear as he can, should things go ill for him. But if matters come to extremities, to war itself, setting the Pascha aside, where is there an able, even a tolerable leader? Abdin Aga, the commander of the Turkish cavalry, a puffed up Arnaut; Sorop Effendi, stupidity grafted on avarice; Hassan Effendi Bimbashi, a quiet glutton; Solimon Aga, greedy and without all or any education; Hassan Effendi of Sennaar, a Turk in the true meaning of the word, commands the Infantry; Mohammed Ladjam, a good-humoured but inexperienced youth, leads the Mograbin horsemen: all these leaders are distinguished from one another, only by the one knowing less than his fellow. What can be expected from an army under such commanders, and more, when that army knows no discipline, and where its best and bravest, the Schaigies, do and ever have done how and what they pleased, and might at a critical moment ruin all? Joined with these are the endless mob of useless rabble, idlers, slaves, and strumpets, dangerous allies, a mere burden to any army, and a fearful impediment to its powers of action. But there is comfort in "Allah Cherim!"

*7th April.*—To-day we were stationary, so could enjoy a small hunting excursion round the camp, during which we saw many large and small turtle-doves, crowds of guinea-fowl and partridges, and a perfect swarm of finches, but the variety of birds must be far greater in the rainy season. The thick bush is everywhere most green, everywhere bound together by square-limbed, cactus-like

parasites and climbing plants, but thornless. From the earth in many places sprout out small grasses, and when it is kept in mind that from the thickness of the bush, the sun cannot exert its full withering powers, the idea of some subterraneous moisture is much strengthened, as the dew is perfectly insignificant. Stones we saw none.

The excursion did my brother no good, as, after his return to camp he felt extremely unwell, out of spirits, complained of insufferable headache, and burning heat. He had hardly lain down, when shouts of "Arab! Arab!" set all again in motion, and made all run to arms. At such a moment my brother would not even seem sick, so we hurried off to the wells, where we met the Pascha already returning with the cavalry. Some thirty thieving Arabs (Garami) had endeavoured to steal the beasts out of the asses' pen, had thrown some lances over their guards heads, and these, though unharmed, had raised the shouts and tumult. The camp, as we, on going out of it, discovered, had neither pallisade, ditch, nor any defence towards the east. Enriched by this new proof of Turkish tactics, but unfortunately poorer by a handsome hunting-knife, which my brother lost on the way, we returned back to our tent.

*8th April.* — During the past night, which we spent without rest, as my brother's sufferings were much increased by violent vomiting, incessant thirst, fearful burning in the bowels, restless dozing, and delirious raving, there all at once arose a fearful noise and a little firing; in spite of it, I, however, remained in our hut, as my brother could not move, and the infantry did not stir, trusting to their cavalry comrades. Only when I saw the Bimbaschi Hassam Effendi lead his company past our hut, and commence, in his mad zeal, firing away over the powder barrels, as if he intended to use them as a defence against hostile lances, did I rush on him, sword in hand, and threaten him both with the weapon and the Pascha; on which the idiot recovered his senses, praying me not to betray him. The whole proved a false alarm, but the tormented Pascha had again started into activity, as he never made the slightest use of his aid-de-camps, and seemed to hold that his own presence was necessary to inspire his troops with courage. Some foes had, however, been brought down, as many traces of blood ran into the bush.

although all the shots during the night had been fired on the happy-go-lucky principle. The tactics of our Napoleon-honouring Pascha went so far as to leave the wells, though some 200 paces from our camp, all night totally unguarded, and these might therefore have been with the greatest ease poisoned or filled up, by an enterprising enemy. A real piece of good luck it was for us that no large stones were to be had near to fill up these wells, as we had neither tools nor any means of removing such.

As a variety, the bands were ordered by the Pascha to perform; but a fearful punishment their music proved to our European ears, and how could it be otherwise, as no two instruments were in tune, nor was there aught to soften the banging of the brass instruments. The Turkish cavalry, as well as the Magrabin, have some few small kettle-drums of four inches in diameter, which are incessantly thumped, while the Schaigies of Melik Mammud had only one great copper drum, on which were struck single blows at long irregular intervals, at the performer's pleasure.

*9th April.* — The Arabs rest not; about midnight some slaves, having occasion to go to the wells, saw a crowd of them approaching, either with intent to fill up those by no means deep springs, which they ought already to have done, and which even now they could yet so easily have done, as, in spite of their high importance to the camp, their distance from it, and my urgent representations, that as usual were vain, these wells had been left all night without a guard,—or to attack the weaker side of the camp, make themselves masters of our supply of powder, or blow it and us into the air. That our whole store of powder was only guarded by a weak picket of one sergeant and ten men, was doubtless well known to them, as well as the other arrangements of our camp, for they had many spies among the attendants of the Sheiks who accompanied us, and every day many Arabs were admitted to the camp, who brought for sale butter and honey, here very white and excellent. On this night alarm, a part of the infantry, without waiting for orders, had advanced to the wells, but the incompetency of their leaders had here again done wrong, as the Pascha immediately sent them back again. The guard over the powder store had also quitted their post to take part in the dearly loved firing, and what was yet worse, a Bimbaschi had posted himself and party

close beside this powder, and set his men firing right over it towards the wells, though on that side it was totally without any protecting covering, even such as a few branches or sods of turf might have given it, and by his doings threatened death and destruction to all. Fortunately, the Pascha soon observed both these stupid tricks, and instantly replaced the guard over the powder, forbidding all firing near it; if he went a little farther, and made a small example of the offenders, we cannot say but it would certainly have been well. I now see every day more clearly, that if I would gain any point with the Pascha, I must not give him direct advice; and that by doing so, I also expose myself to be used as intercessor with him by his officers, when they wish any of their own numerous wants, or those of their men, attended to.

The Arabs had instantly retreated after the first firing, though not without loss, as some dead men were found near and about the wells; so it was boldly asserted, that their loss was not less than the round sum of sixty men, and certainly there were many more bloody traces running into the bush than yesterday. That during the skirmish some of our own men were killed and wounded by their comrades, we cannot state as fact, but it is highly probable it was so, as our people shot in any direction they fancied, and so, during future night attacks, we being more alarmed for our friends' fire than our foe's lances, resolved to remain quietly in our tents, and this we did even after my brother was perfectly recovered.

The blacks do not seem at all to admire the business, for with them desertion is the daily order of things, and they are in the right; the soldiers are miserably off for food, they get nothing but belila (durra boiled in water, without aught else), and the water must be allowed to stand and filter for twelve hours ere it can be drunk, so dirty is it. But the most dreadful plague is the intolerable heat, and this is doubly torturing from a hot wind, like a simoon, which suddenly fills the air with a fine sand that produces itching eruptions on the skin.

## CHAP. IV.

A Turkish Camp. — Mohammed Din. — Negroes. — Egyptian Apothecaries. — Tribute. — Nile Expedition. — Monsieur Thibaut. — Diseases. — Natives' Self-Admiration. — An Adventurer. — Madame Vigoureux.

*11th April.* — At last we are again in motion, having started at mid-day, a comfortable hour truly for both man and beast; my brother so weak he could hardly sit on his camel. In the bush we again saw the marks of burning, but the effect was here trifling. After half an hour we reached open ground, where the Pascha, as was his custom, lay down under some trees, and concerned himself not as to what might happen to the rest. There he remained upwards of an hour, awaiting the enemy, as it was said, but none appeared, though Mohammed Din had threatened something of the kind, asserting he was resolved to die, as the Pascha would give him no *aman* (pardon or quarter). At three o'clock the army were allowed to form their camp, while the Pascha rode out right and left reconnoitring, advancing on till he came to an endless *durra* field, yet green, but no water was hit on. The Schaigies had to accompany him, and, alas! we also, though half dead from the dust and wind.

*12th April.* — Yesterday's ride has told. I have almost all night long had violent fever, with nervous convulsions; my brother escaped no better, and we passed all night in delirious dreaming, unable to aid each other. It was a mad conversation. When I had an easier moment, and somewhat recovered my senses, I heard



Joseph talking away in all languages, but not to me; when he had a lucid minute, then his case was mine, mine his. To-day we mutually joked each other, but a sorry jest it was, nor could we hide from each other our mutual fears for each other's life. Two nights before I had been slightly delirious. What can courage or heart do without health or intellect? In the morning the Pascha sent the cavalry on to some wells that the Schaigies, with keen scent, had smelt out, not far off, behind the durra fields. Ere long, he, leaving camp and baggage without any covering force, set forward himself to have these wells opened, as they had been filled up. Again at mid-day, in the most fearful heat, came the order for the camp to follow him; but no one troubled their heads as to any regular order, or protective measures during its advance. My brother gazed in alarm on me, as, besides other bad symptoms, my tongue had become brown; we wound our long white shawls turban-like round our heads, and placed our hoods over them, as some protection against the sun's scorching rays. We rode almost an hour in a track running through immense fields of exceedingly high durra, here and there intersected by rows of trees; the soil all along seemed exceedingly good, and everywhere the Arabs had most neatly led runs for irrigation. On arriving in camp, we found some dozen wells had been cleared out, and for each so cleared, the soldiers won fifty paras; but now all were in full work, forming with trees and thorns an inclosure round the camp. Mohammed Ladjam sent us a curious scorpion, — pity it was so much injured; it was almost two fingers in length, black-brown in colour, tail and feet covered with thorn-like hairs, and nippers as large as those of a small crab. The Pascha stated that he had seen one in Hedschas, though somewhat less, with a double sting.

Axes were issued out to the troops, but such axes! — one finger's length long, and two broad! It is certainly a most amusing scene to watch a Turkish camp being pitched. All run against and through each other, men, camels, horses, asses, all mixed and mingling, each chooses out the spot that suits him best, there plants himself and beast, without the slightest heed being paid to forming divisions or leaving passages. We threw ourselves down under a green tree near a cotton plantation, while our servants unloaded our camels, pitched our tent, &c., and from under our

carpets, over my legs and my brother's face, out hurried and made off, a snake some six feet long. Astonished we indeed were, but too wearied to move, and remained calmly reposing, though ere long the very same snake, having been killed by the attendants of the Sheik Defalla, was brought back to us. After a time one becomes careless as to scorpions and other such reptiles. The Pascha had also hit on a shady tree, but had not allowed his tent to be set up, which led me to fancy he expected an attack, when his tent would have pointed out his whereabouts to the foe. About evening we struck our own, and for the same wise reasons as had prevented the Pascha's being erected. But the tent of the Kaimakan Sorop Effendi had to remain up, to pass, in the enemy's eye, for the Pascha's, although it was not fifty paces from the tree under which the latter had settled himself.

*13th April.*—The country where we now are, is called El Gash, from the Gohr of like name; the nearest village is one named Aronga. All over our camping ground are now built bower-like huts, of branches and fresh green durra straw; these, called Recubas, are far cooler and pleasanter than tents. From the hut of our herculean neighbour, Mohammed Defalla, crept about mid-day, a snake like that of yesterday: it was, too, soon killed, and measured six feet two inches; they called it an assala (Python Sebæ); about the same hour came into camp, with six hundred dromedaries and seventy horses, Abu Sin, the great Sheik of the Schukurie. The Pascha had gone out to meet him, with all the cavalry and regimental bands. Abu Sin is a handsome large man, with noble countenance, and his character is described by all as vigorous, able, and generous.

*14th April.* — It is certainly, as usual, excessively warm, but the air here seems better and purer than at any of our former camping places; the same may also be said of the water, which, though drank in large quantities, has no ill effect. Serpents are brought us daily, but generally so much injured as not to be fit for stuffing. After much negotiation, there arrived to-day the much talked of and feared great Sheik, Mohammed Din, with a pretty numerous train, and dismounted at the hut of our neighbour, Sheik Defalla, who had ridden out to meet him on his great war horse. Greatly was our curiosity aroused to behold this so famed man, the

defeater of the Turks under Churschid Pascha ; but far greater was that of the soldiery, who, with unblushing boldness, pressed into the tents, although most assuredly, ere now, many of them had trembled before him. All were satisfied, and went away from gazing at him gladdened and rejoicing. Mohammed Din is of middle size, black-brown like all his race ; at first sight his face says little, but more closely examined, one sees in it much cunning ; his head, bald on the crown, is uncovered, his dress Arab, but his trowsers of fine red cloth. The Pascha well sees the importance of the moment, and excuses himself from receiving him under plea of illness, but appoints this morning for an audience. The train of Mohammed Din most truly consists of a parcel of most unmitigated looking rascals, and it really does seem as if nature had stamped on the faces of these Haddenda the faithless character ascribed by all to the race. All are above the middle size, and armed with shields and lance or sword.

*15th April.*—This morning we beheld the Effendina sitting on the throne of his angareb, while on both sides of it stood on the ground, in solemn silence, many Sheiks, and among them the great Mohammed Din, who seemed in deep thought, and gazed as if much humbled on the earth before him. Much cause he has indeed to muse, to reflect on his venturous step, for he has walked into the net, a lion in the toils, and our friend the Pascha seemed resolved to let him feel it was so ; only after a time did he present him with the dress of honour, a red shawl and tarboosch as turban, an under dress, and purple mantle with gold buttons and tassels, but the sabre that generally accompanies the dress was not given, and this is held as a bad sign. Mohammed Din promised to send presents of cows and sheep to the camp, and next day rode away with his followers. A number of snakes were this day slain, many soldiers having been bitten by such reptiles. In spite of the friendship entered into with Mohammed Din, the Haddenda still hover round the camp stealing the camels.

*17th April.*—Mohammed Din has arrived with a present of two hundred cattle and two hundred sheep. All pots and pans are sought out with smiling faces, although the great men have appropriated the lion's share of the prey to themselves. Mussa, the twelve year old son of Mohammed Din, paid us a visit in our

recuba ; he has a negro cast of features, wore heavy gold rings in his ears, and coloured silk trowsers. He showed no curiosity, nor did his mental faculties seem to have been cultivated ; he could not talk Arabic, only his own Aggem. A great stretch of the woods is on fire, how or why no one knows, such things are matters of indifference to the Turks.

19th April.—To-night it has rained, a curious occurrence here at this season of the year ; from this the air is somewhat cooler, the breeze for the first time refreshing. Mohammed Din has again departed to bring in a part of the tribute laid on his tribe ; he wore the same dress as at first, with the white handkerchief the Pascha had given him as sign of pardon, tied round his neck. Poor man ! what will this sign of peace avail you ? Melek Mammud accompanies him with his Schaigies. He took a mysterious farewell of us, inviting us to visit him, and become acquainted with yonder country. This daring leader of Schaigies seems to have received some secret instructions as regards Mohammed Din, but how far his men may follow them seems doubtful, as they are all for war and nothing else.

22nd April. — Mohammed Din has again returned, but tulba, (tribute) he has brought none ; so to-day all the Sheiks have been warned, that only one month's time will be allowed for them to bring in their contributions, and in that time it must unfailingly be done. We, brothers, are in the meantime laid daily under contributions by these Arabs, for their much loved aragi (properly araki, from *arak*, sweet, a kind of brandy made from lees of wine or from rice). Not a little were we at first astonished at their coolness, nay, barefaced impudence, in their asking and begging for all that pleased them, while it never occurs to any one of them to make the slightest return on their side, and any little courtesy these men do deign to display, is only when they hope to gain a special advantage by it. My brother has long ere now attended professionally on many of the Sheiks, furnishing them with medicines from our own store, and now, in their own land, it is almost impossible to procure milk, honey, or even a fat sheep, though all of these they have in abundance. To-day we have had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the great Sheik (Sheik Kebir), of the tribe of Beni-Amer, between Habesch, the Red Sea, and the country of the

Haddenda; but he must pardon us if we style him *Pecus campi*, and express our surprise how he can be held in any respect or estimation whatever, even by his own race. He is great, powerful, rich in camels, horses, cattle; in constant barter-trading with Habesch, and therefore has to pay a heavy tribute. The uncle of the Scheik, a very aged man, is of true herculean figure, but rather stout. My brother cured him of a disease in the leg, and, as his fee, had also to give him some bottles of aragi. He is still, though very old, with white hair and limping, a wild fellow, and an old lance is never out of his hand. If by chance he has drunk too much aragi or merissa, no very rare occurrence and sees a handsome horse or camel (in his own land), he at once asks for it, and if the Arab owner does not immediately comply, away goes the old lance through him. For his ferocity and strength all fear him; these, and his colossal figure, such as is seldom seen in this land, have gained him the name of Fill (Elephant).

It is singular, that with the strong bodies that both Negroes and Arabs here possess, none have any calves to their legs — neither man, nor woman. In the Negresses especially, as also in most of the women of Bellad-Sudan, the posteriors and thighs are much developed, but the under part of the legs are like sticks. None can boast of finer arms than these races, the women's full and round, with well-turned elbows, and small delicate hands, the men's strong and muscular, the breast high and arched. Truly beautiful are the bosoms of the young maidens, and of the women who have not yet borne children; small and most symmetrical in form, hard as stone to the touch, the nipples generally pointing outwards, and in such an erect state, that not rarely the firda is worn through in front by them. But, alas! alas! for these beautiful bosoms after a single child-birth! During child-bearing these are swollen, often to double their former size, and after the child has been long suckled, or at the end of that business, one sees on the youngest and prettiest wives, long empty breasts hanging down to the belly, which, from their smoothness, limpness, and many folds, resemble two long empty tobacco pouches, or, if one likes it better, two pieces of skin laid flat on each other. These repulsive looking bags they always leave bare and exposed to view, without the slightest blush, and it seems that here men's ideas of beauty in a woman do not

depend at all on this part of the female form, but include all in her *facultates occultæ*. After the first child-bearing, the abdomen, before so delicately arched, is disfigured by knobs and wrinkles, to an extent that as far as my brother's medical experience went, he had never known common among white women; and this appearance among the women of these races, plainly declared, that they marry and bear children ere their bodies are fully matured. Nothing arrives at such sound maturity in these warm climes, where all develops itself so infinitely quicker than in cooler lands, and this rapid development, especially during child-bearing,—an epoch of evolution, which even with our matured women forces the body into all fulness of bloom,—works doubly injuriously on these half-matured girl-mothers. Nature and bodily power have both been overtaken; then comes the long suckling, the exclusive conversion of the small supply of nourishment to the use of the child, at the expense of the mother's body, which afterwards cannot recover its exhausted powers, or gather sufficient strength to return to its former state. The extension of the skin and enlargement of the vessels are too sudden and rapid for the diminished powers of contraction to bring them back to a normal state; and herein lies, aided by the ever bad food, the continued consumption of vital power, which evidently, in every warm climate, produces that rapid advent of old age and ugliness among the women, as is only too plainly the case, even among the boasted beauties of Greece and Circassia.

As an exception, and perhaps from a feeling of good neighbourhood, the Sheik Defalla sent us to-day some sweet milk, but it had already been drawn some two hours, was firm, and in this state tasted well here, though it had neither the slight sourness, refreshing flavour, nor slight coating of cream, like our fresh milk, but a much sweeter taste. So rapidly and inexplicably does each change of health and body go on here, that at noon to-day both myself and brother were well again, and eat with excellent appetites; but after a short siesta which we took (when our meal was over), I awoke with strong fever, without being able in the most distant way to account for it. The great difference of temperature between day and night has, however, brought catarrhs and coughs on one-half the inmates of our camp, although it has hardly gone

so far as to reach ague or intermittent fevers in any; but, on the other hand, syphilis prevails among the soldiers, as is most commonly the case. The Pascha to-day told us that in a weak battalion at Wollet Medine, 250 men suffered under this disease. Our cavalry, as well as the Schaigies and artillery, are ill off when sickness attacks any of them, as they have neither surgeon, medicine, nor hospital; and when my brother cannot prevail upon himself to leave them totally without medicine, he is compelled to prescribe it as if for some man of the infantry. The medicines for such stranger Sheiks as fall ill, are charged to the Pascha's account. He has now at length finally settled with these Sheiks their tulba or contributions, and they to-day all set out, to proceed to their countries beyond the Beni Amer, to collect it. Some take small guards of twenty or thirty soldiers with them, thus to give more weight in their own lands to their demands, as there hatred against the Turks is united to Arab innate greed and avarice. Some few single Arabs still prowl about our camp, and it is therefore dangerous to send out the camels to feed, as they steal the beasts, or take them by violence from their keepers, when the latter are asleep or alone.

There have already been many establishments set up for the sale of merissa; the blacks seem totally unable to exist without this noble drink, or perhaps they would, by copious libations of it, repay their throats for swallowing the horrible mixtures which, during illness, the field apothecaries force them to take under the name of medicines. It is most scandalous to see how the Egyptian druggists, without exception, cheat government. Not only do they embezzle all linen furnished for hospital uses, to dress their own servants out with it, but they themselves use all the sugar intended for the sick, sell the medicines clandestinely, and have carried this so far with the here so all-necessary quinine and spiritus wucher, as to have none left, and now do not blush to manufacture false trash to issue in their stead. Ill it must go with them if any change of rule in Egypt causes a sharper eye to be kept on their doings; and among all of them in the Egyptian employ, there are not three who could pass the slightest medical examination of any European College of Surgeons. And where is the wonder it is so, as they are mostly a kind of wholesale, sham production, from the

manufactory of Mr. Clot Bey, who, as *Chef du conseil général de santé*, can, in three months under him in Cairo, form out of common artisans skilful medical men, as was the case of the apothecary under my brother, who had before been a working goldsmith in Cairo; and of another of these *medicos*, whom I had known before as an honest knight of the thimble. As a matter of course, such men as these were ever going wrong and committing the most fearful blunders; but as for money-making, "*per fas et nefas*," they were more expert, and follow ably the example set them by all the higher officials. Often did these gentry seek to make money in an allowed but most degrading way, and among others Gaetani Bey, the private surgeon of Mohammed Ali, who in Fas-zogl sold at enormous prices, with his own Bey's hands, false pearls, large and small, to the negroes, and cheated them in the counting too. No one would credit the roguery and cheating that went on in the *conseil général de santé* itself, who was not well acquainted with the state of things in Egypt; but all formed themselves after the example of their great master, and from him down to the lowest *employé* of his department, runs a firmly-linked chain of like-minded and like-acting officials.

Already are the new branding-irons fabricated by Topschi Baschi, all in readiness to mark the expected contributions of camels, horses, cattle, cotton goods, &c.; and also two iron stars have been made—horrible barbarity!—for branding the new-made slaves. Our greatest plague is again the fearful heat, especially at noon and in the afternoon; one is ever in a constant sweat, even when sitting perfectly quiet, and everything is now wanting that could contribute to the commonest wants or enjoyments. Our Arabs are equally great admirers of tobacco as of onions, but in Taka there is as little of the one as the other, and not a single date is to be got, as here no date trees are known. Myself and brother would only too gladly advance farther into the country, and so become more closely acquainted with it, and its inhabitants, their manners, and way of life; but with one voice all counsel us, as we regard our own heads, to await a more suitable time. No great friendship does, in truth, seem to exist between the inmates of the camp and the natives, as never are any of the tribe of the Had-denda seen inside our fence, although these have retired no further



into the Chaaba than some two hours' journey from hence ; but well do the measures of precaution, daily taken, show the light in which these people are viewed. Not only, every night, do the Turkish cavalry, Schaigies, and Magrabins bivouack outside the main camp and keep strict watch, but the infantry also place strong guards at the thorn bulwark, one half of this force being under arms before, the other after midnight. Most nights the Pascha himself goes, with his rabut, patrolling, and this, wielded by no light hand, plays all night, not on the soldiers' backs alone, but on the officers also, when anything is found out of order. Doubtless, all this is most necessary, for leaders as well as soldiers are just the men to sleep all night long, and leave it to "Allah kerim " whether the enemy are to surprise them or not.

These bivouacks were not without their accidents. During one a Magrabin's musket burst in his hands, and not only was the inside of one hand carried away, but part of the fore-arm shot off, and so lacerated, that most of the bones and sinews were laid bare and torn. As another surgeon wished to amputate at once, the Sheik Selim brought him to my brother : he put it to rights as far as he could, sewed up and plastered it, ordering constant cold bandagings, though he had little hopes of the lacerated parts uniting, as the accident happened yesterday, though the wounded man only came to him to-day at noon. When Joseph visited him this evening, no cold applications had been used ; the patient fancied he must eat first, and as he had no food of his own, thought we might, perhaps, send him some ;—a pleasant reward to my brother for all the pains he had already taken about him, and for which he had not received even a single word of thanks from any party.

A considerable number of the soldiers have been sent out to hasten the bringing in of the tribute, as in their presence each Scheik makes greater exertions, and it is possible they may pick up some knowledge of his country. We now at length discovered that each tribe under tulba pays 20 piastres each male (children not counted), and a tenth of all beasts and produce of all kinds. This tribute is not great, but still it will be heavily felt, and difficult to raise in those lands, where all trade is carried on by barter against cotton cloths. What taxes these tribes may have hereafter to pay,

when the Turks find they have a firmer footing in the land, time will show.

After the Pascha had again to-day called his most devoted follower, the Major of Kordafan and Sennaar, an ass, complaining that everything fell on his own shoulders, he turned to me, and with much seeming satisfaction told me that the exploring expedition had returned from the White Nile, having traced that river for 600 miles upwards from Chartum. Now, this is either a great error or a great falsehood; nor can I resist the inclination I feel to investigate how far the Pascha's favourite epithet may not apply to the leader of this expedition.

The chief commander of it, and general of its 400 soldiers, was Soliman Kaschef, of Karreri, a countryman and friend of the Pascha, who had sent him on this expedition to look after his interests, and have a special eye on Selim-Capitan, sent from Alexandria as chief leader. Men call Soliman Kaschef a good man, but though he may understand justly to allot and gather in the taxes of his district, still he is certainly no fit person to judge with accuracy of foreign countries and people, as regards their geographical position, cultivation, produce, industrious arts, and other such points, or to give them any hints how to better or increase them; nor is he fitted to observe if the Nile flows from a lake or hill, whether its course is east or west, &c. He has neither education, nor, as far as I know, inclination for such matters, and assuredly will ever have been thinking more of his harem at Karreri, and comfortable life there, than the aims of his journey; so the first plausible cause for a return will have been the pleasantest of all occurrences to him.

As admiral of the exploring fleet went the already-named short and well-fed Selim-Capitan, of Candia, a better judge of the qualities of young slaves than of navigation; and even only so far qualified and equipped for his office as one would expect from a proud, arrogant Mussulman. In one word, he is a perfect specimen of an Egyptian man-of-war captain. Such a one would not even admit of the idea of laying down a degree of latitude or longitude, to determine the position of a country, or the course of a river. [This however proved, as often happens in this world, a hastily formed opinion which I had entered in my journal, possibly from

vexation at being prevented by sickness from personally taking part in the expedition, and partly because I could perceive no scientific knowledge about him; but I must now bear testimony, on the contrary, to his ability as a practical navigator, of which I had full proof during my later expedition on the White Nile, and in my account of that voyage I have already done so.] Besides, he is a man of mean, avaricious habits. The Soliman Kaschef is a liberal person, a quality that, well used, may do much in these exploring expeditions. The vice-admiral, by name Feizulla Capitan, is a man of good character, but, like the others, most remarkable merely from his ignorance. He indeed had passed five years in England, receiving instructions in naval science, and such matters; but every one asserts he came home as wise as he went, though he has picked up a smattering of English, with which he manages to make a show on all occasions.

These three gentlemen were the chiefs of the exploring expedition; and being such as they were, who could expect that any one of them could be of any service in such an affair? and as their rank and authority was pretty equal, it could be as little looked for that they should work in unison, or do their best, bad though that might be, to carry out the aims of their enterprise.

Besides these, the others were Turks of ordinary life. But a special mention is due to that chief of adventurers, Monsieur Thibaut, who was selected as engineer to this expedition, by reason of his various capabilities and genius. Whether at this moment many cities dispute the honour of his birth, I cannot tell; but as far as my information goes, Paris is the honoured place of his nativity, and there he passed his younger days as one of her famed *gamins*, without acquiring further knowledge than to read and write, or troubling his head about more. When Greece strove to burst her bonds of slavery, his heroic heart beat for her, and for two whole years Greece had the pleasure of admiring his deeds, but then the misfortune of beholding him quit her soil for Egypt, and join the foes of Hellas. There, however, he rested on his laurels, scorning fresh ones, till he joined his compatriot Seves (the present Soliman Pascha in Syria) who was then in Assuan, where, and in the opposite island of Elephantina, he organized the two first regiments on the European system, and, as all must allow, did

so zealously and well. There it pleased M. Thibaut to fall into serious meditations over Europe's weal and woe, from which not even his best friend's persuasions could arouse him, or prevail on him to embrace some more active career, as then every thing was open to Europeans, who had only to choose their own degrees, as doctors or apothecaries, professors or instructors, to have such allowed them in Egypt. But the philosophic Thibaut would have held it a disgrace to have resigned his valuable meditations for the duties of instructing and drilling recruits, so did not in any way trouble himself about an instructor's office or the good pay attached to it; till at last Soliman Pascha lost all interest in a man's affairs, who, as he said of himself, was without mind or energy, but who had in the meantime been brooding over another, though far less honourable plan, which he now put in force. He became commissioner to the great slave-dealer, Joseph Vaissère, a Frenchman of Languedoc, who with the "Croix d'honneur" (?) on his breast, parades the slaves' bazaars, buying and selling these unfortunates; with him our philosopher journeyed to the Bellad-Sudan, the Gold-rich Land. But ere long he had bored himself enough with men and men's affairs, so he now cast his eyes on the animal kingdom, of which, with other men's money, he picked up some curious specimens, and so ere long we find him first in London, then at Paris, where he gained himself high fame as showman and proprietor of some living giraffes (*saraf*). His project of conveying a living hippopotamus to Europe failed, but he at least bore off in triumph with him the brute's skin. In London he became acquainted with his present *Dulcinea*, Madame Sara, who had arrived in that capital with an English family, a slave from Kordofan, a most interesting person, and who, in addition, is the one with whom the Vice-Admiral Feizulla displays his accomplishments in English. It is said that in former years she had been most pretty, as far as a black can be so; of this, indeed, some remains may still be traced, though now good living, high indulgence in idleness and repose, have swollen out her once well shaped form to colossal dimensions, and repeated and full draughts of darling *merissa*, it is whispered, have aided much in this. Mrs. Sara had picked up some property, reason sufficient that Mons. Thibaut should pick up her, and with her and her money return to Chartum, where he again set up his

staff, and lived comfortably enough on his wife's means, till the Frigate-Capitan Achmet (a Swiss named Baumgarten) was sent to examine closely the White Nile, and took our friend, then Chawagi Ibrahim, with him. Achmet Capitan died after fulfilling his task, but during his dying moments no one was near him save Thibaut and Dr. Soliman Effendi, — a singular loneliness, more remarkable as many matters belonging to the dead man were missing, as books, maps, charts, manuscripts, and some instruments; but it is possible these had been given away. Baumgarten had employed Ibrahim, at the recommendation of Achmet Pascha; and Ibrahim, by what means I know not, got himself recommended to Mehmet Ali, then in Bellad-Sudan. In short, all of a sudden, Mons. Thibaut was named engineer to the expedition, with 1000 piastres a month, and travelled on in full security under the guidance of Baumgarten's notes, maps, papers, instruments, &c. The instruments, however, must have had an easy time of it with him, as our hero had not the smallest idea of their scientific uses, nor even of how to handle them, nor would he learn. So what could be hoped for from him? Nothing but the journal, notes, and charts, of Achmet-Capitan, altered and garbled, with favourite places and races set down where fancy dictated, and others that did not please struck out.

Lies, — adventures, — wonders, — were there in over abundance; such as the 600 miles of course surveyed, as the Pascha told us. The expedition was five months out; allow them three consumed in upward progress, and two for returning, thus to arrive at the 600 miles, seven miles a day must have been for three months the advance; a thing utterly impossible, taking into consideration ignorance of the river's channel, the long and large shallow reaches — so many of which are to be seen in the White River — the knowing nothing of the languages of the countries, the halts necessary to make inquiries, and the still more necessary ones to procure provisions; then the total indifference of the Turks to all pushing on, or discoveries of any kind; and, finally, the disunion of the leaders among themselves; — all these considered, I say, made such progress impossible; and, were these not enough, the heavy-laden state of their vessels of itself made the thing impracticable.

But, be the 600 miles' survey as it may, this much is only too

certain,— that the hopes raised in all Europe as to the results of this expedition will be as little satisfied, as science or knowledge will be advanced by it.\*

Mohammed Din has again visited the camp, and the Pascha has announced to him, that he must remain a hostage here till the tribute is paid, and probably also to answer for the lives of the thirty soldiers sent into his country. However, it seems to have occurred to the Pascha, that it was more than probable that the great Sheik's absence from his own tribe might cause matters to go totally wrong, as he has again dismissed him to his people ; but, as hostage in his stead, his only son Mussa has been placed under Mohammed De-falla's care and guard.

We have now, in the early mornings, a good many clouds (Nedde), and tolerably cool air. At night the breeze is actually cold. The soldiers suffer much on night guards from this, as also from their bad food, which for long has been nothing but Belila. That the white soldiers from Syria and Egypt hold out far better against fatigues and heat than the blacks, is remarkable, as these latter should be far more accustomed and used to the heat.

The medical lessons and occupations of my brother have begun to attract much of my attention, and he has promised to keep a medical journal ; but he must first get himself well, as he ever returns from his medical duties perfectly disgusted, complaining of the insufferable stench arising from the patients, and, worn out, falls back in perfect apathy on his cushions, with sunken head, sleeps with his eyes open, — often seeming to me as if something unnatural had come over him. So gets on my Joseph as doctor !

Later, when I had joined the expedition up the White Nile, he wrote me from the camp of Kassela-el-Lus to Chartum, that he had compiled a stout volume on African diseases, but was inconsolable at having lost all his labours. Ten days' dangerous illness, during which he sadly missed me, had rendered him delirious ;

\* Although this short description of Mons. Thibaut is merely truth, and nothing but truth, even to his having been a *gamin* of Paris, still, after having journeyed with him on the White Nile, when he admitted that we had known each other in Greece in 1822-23, I see, from the style of it, that the warm climate calls forth a passionateness that one can hardly explain on calmer consideration ; but even for this psychological fact, I give my journal word for word.

during the time he was in this state, on his servant's asking him for some paper to light a fire with, he had given him his manuscript journal, and the stupid blockhead had used it for such mean purposes. In the same letter he bewailed the loss of our small menagerie, all of which had been starved to death. Topschi Baschi had, at the Pascha's order, who had visited and beheld the state my brother was in, taken charge of his money that it might not be stolen, and issued to the servants the necessary coin for Joseph's expenses, as also that needed to purchase food for the animals, which latter money they had spent in Merissa. Joseph, on being a very little better, opened the Fagged (a species of lynx), that had held out longest, having just then expired, and perfectly convinced himself that starvation alone had caused its death. The annoying vexations one suffers from these servants is beyond belief; and even the gentlest and mildest of men, like my brother, are compelled to do violence to their feelings, and have recourse to the Kurbash (hide whip).

The blacks in large numbers are suffering fearfully from the heat of the sun. They complain of horribly torturing heat, and burning in the head, and over the whole body; of such relaxation and weakness in the limbs, especially the legs, as not to be able to walk, and hardly to move them; the pulse is much quickened, at times hard, but never full. They are generally, after a few days, restored to health by bleeding, and cupping in the neck; but a bad case it ever is, when a negro becomes seriously ill, or is attacked by dysentery, for seldom does he survive it. Still, as before, one half of the army suffer from catarrh. Considering how we are situated, fever is rare; and only in very few cases does it reach *stadium frigoris*; but then, the hot fit, with violent headache, and often gastric complication, is all the longer and more severe. As yet we have had no deaths from fever alone, violent though in many cases its attacks have been. Diseases of the eyes have been rare if one does not regard as such a kind of œdema of the eyelids, which often goes so far as to prevent the sufferer opening even a hair's breadth, the rima palpebræ. Often, in one day, six or eight sufferers under this, come to us; the reason they give for it is, they have been cutting durra, and must have rubbed their eyes

with their hands, and some hurtful herb been among the durra. But as the conjunctiva balbi et palpebræ, as well as the pupil of the eyes, are wholly uninjured, Joseph doubts much that it is the effect of any blistering or deleterious substance. Probably the cause is cold. The men are highly heated by day while cutting durra, and then exposed to cold on night duties, without a sufficient covering for the head ; for it is at these times, by their own showing, that the evil commences.

To-day the Sheik of the Beni-Amer, with his elephant uncle, left us for his three days' distant home, to bring in his Tulba. Hassan Effendi, of Chartum, accompanied him with his soldiers, and also Melek Aat and his Schaigies. Our hunter Abdallah goes with this party, to shoot, and collect specimens for our collection. His Mentor is an old Schaigie named Hami, who is answerable to us for Abdallah with his head. Mohammed Defalla may once more rejoice in being master in his own tent, as this heretofore has been ever filled with these Sheiks and their attendants, so that he could call no part of it his own ; besides, on him fell the heavy burden of providing for all these people. If a stranger arrives, and asks the Pascha where he is to lodge, the reply, without a moment's consideration, is, "Go to Defalla!" Unalarmed at his thus ever increasing expenses, the good-natured Defalla, into whose head the idea of repayment never enters, replies, "Taib (Well, good) Effendina!" and has another guest. Our fat friend comes daily to our tent for his cough mixture, *i. e.* a beaker of strong punch, after swallowing which he never fails to remark that his Battè (paunch) feels much better. This Battè of his is much in his way when he would kneel to say his prayers ; so he now holds it wiser to sit quietly down on his hinder end. For our bodily refreshment he often regales us with Kuschab, a kind of mead made with dripped honey, water, and much pepper ; by no means unpleasant to the taste, and slightly intoxicating. We received to-day, as a present from the leader of the Magrabins, Mohammed Ladham, of Tripolis, the skin of an antelope (Ariel) as large as an ass, with legs like those of a cow ; on the back and sides it is bright brown, white under the belly, greyish on the sides of the head and under the eyes ; over the forehead and nose runs a broad brown stripe, and the horns are black, twisted, rising upwards from behind, and turning away from



each other at the points. It is a pity that the hide is completely severed across at the throat, to let out the blood; the custom of the Mussulmen in killing all beasts and birds, for so it is ordered in the Koran — the beast must be living, and the flesh (*debieg* — with the Jews, *Koscher*) quivering, when this cut is made. In general, a Mussulman, immediately after firing at any animal, exclaims, “*Bismillah!*” to propitiate Allah, as the chase is strictly forbidden by the Prophet, save under peculiar circumstances.

To tempt into the camp the Arabs round, not one of whom is hardly ever seen inside our fence, the merchants accompanying the army have been permitted to form a bazaar outside the palisades, and there by day expose their wares for sale. The most favourite articles for sale are small mirrors or looking-glasses (*Marrai*, or *Mirroa*, from the French, *Miroir*); these are offered cheap, and must be highly pleasing to the Arabs here, as they will sit the whole day gazing into them, and even the eldest among them seem never to weary of this unrelaxing admiration of their own reflections. As a variety, every now and then a camel, horse, or ass of ours is carried off by these gentry. Not very long ago a *Soggilab* stole a horse of one of the *Schaigies*, and bringing him up close to the camp, killed the beast with many stabs of his knife; thus displaying the deep innate hatred of these people to their oppressors. And this would be most assuredly proved to us in a very different manner, were it not that the *Pascha* has concentrated so large a force as to overawe them; and so many being armed with firearms, of which the natives' dread is almost childish. Even at present they show how deep their hate is, by not one ever bringing us the smallest article for sale, flesh, milk, honey, &c. — we can get none, no, not by an offer of ten times its value. Then, from their repeated refusals of money, it seems probable, all trade among themselves is by barter; coin they certainly have none. How under such circumstances the *Pascha* will get in the tribute, and in the short space of thirty days, is to us incomprehensible. It is true, that at a village some hours' journey from hence, the present abode of *Mohammed Din*, a considerable number of cattle have been collected; but it is equally certain that far greater numbers are held in concealment, and in this way the tithe of both beasts and goods will be much reduced. That the

number of men will also be in some similar manner made appear much less than the real number, and so diminish the head tax, is also not to be doubted. And who, save a Turk, could blame the people for doing so, as it is only what self-interest teaches?

The lot of the oppressed and enslaved is pitiable enough in its best view; but doubly enraged must every right-minded man be when he sees how inhumanly even Europeans allow themselves to act towards the unfortunates who have the ill fate of being their slaves. Thus the tender-hearted apothecary Dumont blushes not constantly to vent his uncalled-for passion in the most savage manner by kurbasch, fist, or foot on his little slave Amber, though the poor lad does more than all his other servants—but then the slave cannot defend himself! Often have we before now left this brute's presence not to be spectators of his savage cruelties, but he seems determined to persist in these in spite of all our remonstrances. I have, however, at last informed him that I will call him to an account with my sabre if he does not desist, and also have threatened him that we will take Amber away from him, give him letters of manumission, and employ him as our servant, as he (Dumont) being an European and Frenchman has no right to possess a slave; and this we have already done in the cases of some ill-used slaves of Europeans in Chartum, and in these acts the Pascha ever supported us. Unfortunately, he is not the only Frank here who acts thus tyrannically; nor can I refrain from mentioning by name another, the Frenchman Vigoureux, an old corporal of Napoleon's, at present living at Kordofan, who is also guilty of even worse cruelties. That his manner and habits have not lost their old corporal's tinge is no fair charge against him, but it is a nameless disgrace to him that his newly-imported Parisian wife should be allowed to exercise on her female slaves the cruelties of all sorts she too often is guilty of. While in Chartum, my brother, one day at noon, during its fearful heat, saw this man's small ten-year old female slave Nimra bound perfectly naked to a post, so that her body, all marked with bloody wheals and clotted, drying, and bleeding cuts, was exposed to the sun's glowing rays, without her having the power of moving it. On his demanding the cause, madame and monsieur smilingly replied, that the little girl had not done something exactly as this Xantippe had ordered, and that

he, this old soldier of the empire, had with his own hand flogged and cut the wretched girl with a kurbasch, till wearied out he had, to make the punishment complete, thus bound and exposed her to the sun's beams, that the cuts might smart the longer; nor would these worthies consent even now to put an end to their barbarities, and madame most particularly showed her total ignorance of mercy. Pity such a woman should boast European blood! My brother came home, when I soon remarked something unpleasant had befallen him, and set about questioning him. "If you will promise to keep cool," he said, and told me the story; but no remonstrance was of any use; I was already dressed and soon on my legs; so buckling on my sword, and taking up my 10½ lb. iron staff, well known in Chartum, and from which I was nicknamed Abu Nabut (the father of the stick), I set off at a pace that soon left my brother behind, who followed, fearing some mischance. Over the low but bolted court-door I beheld the poor girl, and, as I was afterwards told, shouted in furious tones for Vigoureux; but he, though in all haste, held it advisable to unbind the girl ere he admitted me. At first I was furious, but he called his wife to the rescue, and as her interference prevented my punishing him on the spot, I grew calmer, and at last cooled down. He, after this, told me, as he had done before, of a curious escape he had made when in former days pursued by our black hussars, by bending down over his horse's neck while urging him to his utmost speed; he had to thank his carbine, slung across his back, that he was not sliced into ribbons.

This *ci-devant* corporal of the Grand Army has now been sixteen years in Egypt, having arrived in those times when all Franks were appointed, at their own choice, to high offices and good pay. Himself a soldier, he soon obtained the office of instructor to a regiment, with a salary of four purses (2000 piastres) a month, and 1000 for clothing or equipment. During his stay in Hedjas, and by his gold and slave dealings in Kordofan (where he passed his time, his gold scales in one hand, a brandy bottle in the other, and his female slaves dancing before him), he saved some 12,000 dollars,—all the more easily done as he spent little on himself, his habits being low and mean, and he being well skilled in the art of living on others. With the Pascha's leave he then went

to France, returning with soldier-like punctuality at the expiry of his year's leave, in company of his noble-minded wife, who was to serve him as a companion and stay during his old age. But that no very high age will be his, is visible in his premature decay, and continued ailings, nor is the unhealthy climate of Kordofan in his favour, to which land, and to his ruin, his love of gold has again decoyed him; and his stay, who is far more ill and crazy than himself, is also sinking under the load of cotton wherewith she burdens herself to supply those beauties of form nature has denied her. Churschid Pascha, the predecessor of Achmet, had brought with him from Cairo a carriage, in pieces, so as to pack on camels' backs, the ruins of which Achmet made a present of to Vigoureux, who, aided by a carpenter, converted them into a cabriolet. Into this he stuck his riding-horse, and, aided by two slaves who led it, drove in great state past our house in Chartum. He drank a glass of rum we offered him, and congratulated himself on the numbers who had admired him and his turnout. Soon after, however, one of our servants informed us that the wheel had passed over one of his slaves, and broke the man's upper thigh bone, forcing it through the flesh. Vigoureux himself said he had expected something of the kind, and that the dog might die, as he had already paid too much for him. My brother promised to cure the slave for nothing, if he would give him his liberty. He was healed and supported all along and for a time after the cure at our expense; all at once, however, he vanished, and it was only some time after we learned that Monsieur the Corporal, in spite of all his promises, had laid hands on him and packed him off to Kordofan, to work in his garden.

Between this man and his wife existed a singular unanimity of feelings. Both were alike miserly, which was plainly enough written on their faces, and when at home kept most wretched commons. Both, too, gladly accepted any invitation, and in real gormandizing style devoured all food set before them. Neither ever thought it necessary to offer any return, but excused themselves under the plea of having no cook; but this would not go down with ourselves and others. But too much of persons of whom we know not one good trait, and who will find no pity from any one when the punishment justly due to their barbarity and fearful

greed of money falls on them. Once, however, we did feel pity for the lady, as she told us this history. She was already in the family-way when she and her husband reached Cairo. Though advised by all to leave his wife there for her confinement, he was barbarian enough to drag her, well veiled and with black gloves on, to make the camel drivers believe she was a black woman, across the desert; and during the journey she one afternoon, under a glowing sun, on a camel's back, gave birth to a male child, that instantly expired. No halt could be thought of in the desert, and the half-dead woman went on to Chartum, where she first obtained medical aid. Often has she begged of me to prevail on the Pascha at once to give her husband his discharge, as she was still so young, and longed so much again to behold *la belle France*; but Vigoureux would neither ask nor hear of discharge, so I did not interfere, as I might have incurred the blame of being an intriguer. On my return from the White Nile, and when in Chartum, I received a letter from her from Kordofan, in which, in language of despair, she described to me her situation, told me her husband was now always laid up, and praying me to recover some part of the arrears due to him. I, therefore, on asking the Pascha for these arrears, did not hesitate to tell him, that to keep such a man in his pay any longer was merely throwing away money, as he could no longer serve him. The Pascha's reply was, "I know that, but he can die!" *i. e.* then all arrears will be paid, too. I told him of the lady's sad state; he only quietly smiled. On my journey back to Egypt, I found the two at Dongola; he was free—was really discharged. They had been more than a month resting there, and indulging in an immoderate consumption of grapes, which regimen had had such an excellent effect on both, that I hardly again recognised Madame Vigoureux in the amiable and affectionate wife of her already in secret despaired of old corporal.

## CHAP. V.

A Pilgrim Town.—Nimr the Tiger.—Character of the French.—Blood Feud.—Excursion from the Camp.—Arab Infants.—Medical Advice.—El Soffre.—Interview with Mohammed Din.

1st *May*.—How often have the Germans sung the praise of lovely May ! But here all is hot, brown, and scorched ; and day by day these horrors increase ; our wines and spirits are dwindled away under this heat to two bottles of Geisenheimer, which certainly will not be too liberally sacrificed. All is quiet, as before. We remain here awaiting the Tulba, and while doing so seek amusement in converting our straw huts into large mansions, as no one now can exist under a tent. At times it thunders, a sign the rainy season is within a month or two, and no very pleasant look-out. Yesterday evening, when with us, Topschi Baschi perpetrated the bad joke, after sundry glasses of araki, of sending his Mameluke to fetch to our Recuba the dancing girls (Guawasi), who are also the women of the camp ; nor did he trouble himself that, it being evening and the hut lighted up, it could be seen into from all sides. Ere long we beheld two brown nymphs enter, who would have entertained us with dancing and moving songs ; these, though lost on us, gave him such exquisite delight, and put him into such boisterous spirits, that he commenced a series of personal jokes with the frail ones, thus in his turn affording amusement to the Arabs and soldiers gazing in at the door and other openings. That an European officer of like rank (major) would, for a moment, think of thus joking in public with such women no one will suppose ; but Topschi Paschi had, doubtless, intended amusing and affording us pleasure by calling these young dames to our tent, as he afterwards insisted on paying them himself. Moral, and truly Turkish ! In Chartum no feast, public or private, is considered complete if these women are not present to dance and sing, and there the almost naked Bajazzo (procurers) never fail to carry on the lewdest jokes with them. Any day one may see even the most respected Turks talking with these girls in the bazaars, as also with well-known procuresses ; stand-

ing and doing this before the coffee-houses where these girls principally resort ; and no one looks on it as improper, or any breach of decorum. In Cairo and Alexandria these dancing girls are forbidden even to practise their public trade, and all procuresses and brothels strictly forbidden ; and most roughly, indeed, are any young Arab girls there handled, who may be caught in any such practices, or in houses of ill-fame—floggings, imprisonments, banishment—nay, even being drowned in a sack with a cat—are the punishments for such doings.

To-day the Schukurie and Haddenda Arabs have had a slight quarrel, during the fetching in of the durra-stalks, much to the Pascha's annoyance ; but some well-administered bastinadoing brought all again into political equipoise. These two tribes dwell next to each other, and are at continual feud, on account of mutual robberies. The Schukurie and Habbabee Arabs, on the left bank of the Nile, and on the White River, are held to be the most numerous, powerful, as well as the most rich in herds, of all the tribes of Bellad-Sudan, and are only equalled in these points by the Beni-Amer tribe, that extends up to the Abyssinian frontiers. The small country, also on those frontiers, and called Kalabat, with its little town (Helle), is curious from being solely inhabited by black or negro pilgrims (the Tokruri) from Darfur and the neighbouring lands, who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. A number of these settled down in Kalabat, who had either fled out of their own country, or, from its being very distant, did not desire to revisit it, and their numbers were increased more and more by other pilgrims, who here meeting with friends and relations, settled down among them. But notwithstanding their holy journey, their prayers in the Chubba at Mecca, and on the prophet's grave at Medina ; in spite of their washings in the well Semsem, which was called into existence by Allah, when Hagar and Ishmael, driven away by Abraham, were nearly perishing for want of water in the desert ; in spite of all these high merits, the Tokruri are looked on as the worst and most faithless of men, a race that no one will or can trust. Under their lately-deceased Sheik Myri, who possessed more than ninety suits of chain armour (Labbis), and other equipments for man and horse, as also an equal number of strong Dongola steeds to mount his

heavy-armed followers on, the Tokruri enjoyed a pretty considerable power, highly dangerous for their frontier neighbours, as they had also for warfare about a hundred muskets, a large number for these lands; but since Sheik Myri's death, they have sadly declined in power and force.

Arabs are now and then at length seen in our bazaar, and various goods are brought in for sale, but the Arab sellers are yet very few. The Okka ( $2\frac{3}{4}$  lbs.) of beef costs twenty paras, about one penny farthing, and the same weight of mutton about double, or one piastre. A whole ox of the better kind could have formerly been bought here for fifty piastres, nine or ten shillings, and government (Bilik) gave forty. In general, the cattle are not large, but strong-built, with high withers and flanks, and large fat folds about the belly; the cows are larger, but not so comely to look on as the Swiss breed. The beef, from the better pasturage here, is far tenderer and better flavoured than in Sennaar, where it is generally tough and hard of digestion, trying both teeth and stomach.

Mussa, Mohammed Din's young son, a sad and silent lad, who seems, while now a hostage in our camp, to pine for his home, paid us a visit to-day; but we unfortunately could do little to cheer or amuse him, as, from his ignorance of Arabic, all our intercourse had to be carried on by signs and gesticulations. When this lad waits on the Pascha, his short, curly, but not woolly hair is whitened with camel-fat; he is ever closely and carefully guarded, and never moves without an escort; but that this escort is furnished from Defalla's followers, the Pascha having given that Sheik the special charge of the lad, surprises us, as Defalla has already given many causes for suspecting his fidelity, and both his own and father's names are too often connected with that of Nimr (tiger). The Pascha wishes to send the lad to Cairo (this being the best thing for his country), to receive a Turkish education. May this education be better conducted than usual!

Mohammed Nimr, called Sedab by his own people, from the village in which he usually dwelt, was Melek of the Gallihn; or Djalín, a numerous, far-spreading Arab tribe, which chiefly frequented the eastern bank (Scherk) of the Nile and Blue River (Bachr asrek), from Abu Hammet to Abu Harrasch; many also of them were to be found on the western banks (Garb),



in Metemma, Omdurman, &c. From him Ismail Pascha, son of the Viceroy of Egypt, demanded a monstrous tribute, to be paid in three days, treating, at the same time, this far and widely-respected Sheik with harshness and contempt, and went so far, it is said, as to strike him over the face with his pipe-stem, as he knelt asking some abatement of the tribute, or longer time to collect it. Nimr gasped for revenge. Under pretence of collecting fodder for the camels he had to contribute, he surrounded the residence of the Pascha in Schendy with durra-straw, and firing this at night, burnt it down, and with it Ismail and his attendants. At the same time, the father of our Defalla, Mohammed Adlan Defalla, Great Sheik of the Fungh, on the Gesira, murdered all the Turkish soldiers to be found in his countries. Soon after this, appeared in these lands the bloody Defterdar Bey, to bathe himself in the blood of the inhabitants of it, and especially in those of Schendy, which place and race he totally destroyed, and proceeded burning and slaying all that came in his way, men, women, and children, with such cruelty and barbarity, that men of the present day shudder as they relate his deeds. Melek Nimr, however, had, in the interim, escaped with the greater part of his tribe to the land of Raujahn, at the foot of the Abyssinian mountains, between the two small rivers Bassalahm and Settiet, which afterwards flow into the Atbara, and settled in the neighbourhood of Sofie. After a while the ever restless and discontented Gallihn joined him, some, however, remaining in Taka, and with them came the Angareb into this country, which, without any reference to the length of the person, is made as small and short as possible, so as to be the easier transported with the owners on the camels during their constant moving and shifting of residences and wandering journeys.

The now aged Nimr did not in his new country forget his old, so gave to the new villages he found names that reminded him of his old fatherland, as Schendy, Damer, &c. Every now and then he heads plundering forays against his neighbours the Schukuri, Beni-Amer, and others, carrying off their camels, cattle, and other possessions, while his many sons, principally borne him by his Abyssinian wife, a daughter of a Sultan, or Ras, of that land, are his constant guards and attendants. He is now in possession

of many stands of fire-arms, and his troops are similar to the Schaigies, being mounted on camels or horses, and armed with muskets, pistols, swords, or lances. His followers, like his people, increase daily, for now, as at all times, numbers of the Djalín tribe are driven away from the banks of the Nile. This is the reason also why that land seems so ill peopled and badly cultivated, and displays so many Sagies in ruins; and perhaps more now than before, as the Pascha's oppression in taxes, levies of recruits, &c., cause the people to fly in hundreds, most of whom join Nimr, as well as many more from Schendy, Damer, and other places, as with him they live in content and security. If a Turkish force prepares to take the field against him, he has instantly notice of it, either from some of his own widely-scattered tribe, from the people of the island, who, as is natural, have a better feeling towards him than towards their oppressors, or from his spies, and is then at once off with his people and possessions to the neighbouring Abyssinian mountains, which afford him secure shelter, and where, from his connection by marriage with many of their chiefs, as well through his friend Wood Auet, Sheik of the Dabaina-Arabs, he can be ably protected and supported. Besides, what can be won by warring on such races? Their only wealth, their herds, they ever drive away before them; their huts are of no consequence to them, — destroyed one day, they are rebuilt the next; means of existence in food and forage no enemy will find, and how, under such circumstances, can war be carried on or continued?

Mohammed Adan Defalla had also fled from the Gesira, and, according to report, died in Habesch. When his father cleared the island of the Turkish troops, our fat friend Defalla, though not then grown up, had done his best, slaying many of the enemy. Whether this, easily excusable from love of country and hatred of the foe, be now forgotten, or Achmet Pascha only pretends it is so, we know not, but at present he bestows on this man, his companion and auxiliary with 150 men in this Chasua, many marks of full confidence. But the other Turks see in Defalla a faithless, false man (Ragil batal, misaur), whose heart is as black (Kelbe assuet) as his face. Even the negro says of a man whom he would designate as false, that his heart is black.

The form of countenance of the Fungh does not seem to us to be so similar to that of the negro, as to that of the Barabra.

although the skin is certainly much darker than that of the latter. They wear their hair long and loose, though some plait it into knots; their arms are small oval shields,—which they procure by barter from the Kabbabee Arabs, and these are made from the hide of the wild buffalo,—and the usual sword or lance. They are a strong, well-built race; are yet in considerable numbers located on the Gesira, between the Blue and White Nile, and though much mixed up with other tribes, are to be met with all the way from Damer to Gos Rajeb; they still possess their old pride of race and country, and do not wish to be looked on as genuine Arabs. Of a national language we found no trace; but after they were subdued by the Arabs, this may have vanished before that of the conquerors. As a matter of course, they have no love for the Arabs, and less for the Turks, who suck the very marrow from their bones; but their chiefs, who lately have been taking a greater interest in politics, than formerly, hope that, with a change of rule in Egypt, their own lot will also alter, as they are now better acquainted with the use of fire-arms, and they trust that the forcibly raised black regiments in the Turkish service, will, on the first opportunity, disband themselves, deserting their Turkish masters, and all connected or concerned with them. And this we fully believe. According to their own tale, the Fungh descend from races of inhabitants of the Defafonj of the lands of the Dinka and Schilluk, where yet their forefathers' race may be found. [No such land is now known, but there is a hill of the name, an extinct volcano, in the land of the Dinka, about 11° N. lat., which I afterwards ascended. Had I followed my own ear I would have written the name Defafaungh, although the Funghs themselves pronounce their race's name so feebly, that one might almost suppose Fonj with an hardly audible *e* or *i* was the correct pronunciation of it.] Near this hill live now no people of the name but the tribe of the Dinka, though in their traditions this hill plays so great a part, that it looks as if round and behind it had been the gathering of the whole race, which may have descended from the high lands along the Sabat, and, after delivering battle to the Arabs, poured down on or by the White Nile for 300 years into Sennaar, and there founded an empire. Burckhardt holds, that they had, as a savage race, burst down from the great mountain range. Six

hours' journey above Fazogl there is, among populous and large hills of the Tabi, (who can turn out 100,000 men able to bear arms, and have 500 villages, which the Turks have not, as yet, ventured to approach,) a hill of considerable size and many people, called Fungh; but it is not inhabited by the race of that name, but by the Hammeghs.

The chief country of these Hammeghs extends from the Blue Nile, above Sennaar, from Sero to Rossères, but they also have settlements higher up. The head Sheik was the old famed Soliman, whose name was held in the utmost reverence all over the Gesira, and a single word from whom was sufficient to set it all in uproar. He numbered some eighty or ninety years, had been in his youth a man of wondrous strength, and even in his old age this mummy, for he is nothing but skin and bone, still displays remarkable power. Scars cover his body over and over, the remains of fifty battles, before each of which, knight-like, he measured himself in single combat with the leader of the adverse force. The ability and sly wisdom with which he managed his own people, and also the Turks, is the more remarkable, as he was thus ever fighting and totally uneducated. His honesty, openness, and bold bearing, called forth like qualities in others; and his meeting with Mehmet Ali, when that ruler travelled, in 1838, into Sennaar, and summoned Soliman, as head Sheik, before him, was characteristic of both. It is well known, that the former Mudir of the Berbers, Abbas Aga, who by all kinds of ruinous imposts had gathered up large sums of money, was, by orders received from the highest authority, poisoned by a Copt, his secretary, and all his wealth seized on by government. This Copt, now the renegade Challill Effendi, was rewarded for the crime by being appointed Sheik of Metemma and Schendy! Formerly, this Abbas Aga had caused the Kalif of the Wells of Atmur (the desert between Korusko and Abu Hammet), who was very wealthy, to fall under the suspicion of the ruling powers, who without further to do, at once sentenced him to be hung, and drew in his riches, at least all of them that Abbas Aga had left. The brother of the latter, Soliman Aga, set out for Cairo, but was, at Atmur, set on by the Bischari Scheik, Barakan, brother of the murdered Kalif, and, along with nine of his companions, fell a sacrifice to the

revenge of blood. Barakan seized on every thing save the dead man's harem ; this he allowed to go free, with all its property, and also all who had not raised weapons against him. He then, with his own large means, and 1000 purses he had spoiled the dead man of, fled on his way to the Red Sea, probably intending to take shelter in India ; but, owing to his provisions falling short, he and his party lost time on their flight, and this enabled the Ababde Sheik Soliman to overtake him while resting on a hill two days' journey from the Red Sea. After a desperate resistance, Barakan and seven of his followers were slain by Soliman, who afterwards brought his head to Chartum, where, after it had been publicly displayed in the streets by a crier, we were shocked to again behold it borne before Sheik Soliman, a sly and ever-smiling smooth-countenanced rascal, at his triumphal entrance into the Pascha's divan ; there, held up by the bloody hair, it was exposed to the latter's inspection, who gazed on it with a truly blood-thirsty look. Some of the Bischari, tribe-fellows of Barakan, such as Sheik Mohammed, Issa of Elbe, on the Red Sea, &c. had united with Soliman in the pursuit of the fugitive, and they and their people, from their dexterity in slinging stones, had been the main cause of the victory. But what would not the treacherous Bischari do to gain the Pascha's favour ? Between Sheik Soliman and Barakan there were, on the contrary, old feuds and hatreds ; as, in earlier days, the family of the former had had the charge of the wells, and the supply of camels, but had been deprived of these profitable resources by the family of the latter. To turn the tide in his own favour, and regain these privileges, was the aim of Soliman's pursuit of Barakan, and in this he succeeded, for, on his return to Chartum, he was named Grand Sheik of the Wells, and presented with a dress and sabre of honour. During this pursuit he had followed Barakan for twelve days, without giving himself or dromedaries more than two hours' rest during the whole time, or ever lying down to sleep ! And still the Pascha was not satisfied ; the man was dead, but where were his treasures ?—for these are ever the main point — and Soliman had received the strictest orders to produce these also. We were in the divan when Barakan's brother, the Kalif Hassan, took his leave to set out for Berber. The Pascha was violent, harsh, and rude towards this

young man, and told him, in the plainest language, he would have the money, or it would go very ill with him (Hassan), as he knew well where this was to be found, and if he did not produce it, he would sell him and all his family to indemnify himself for the great loss. Such is Turkish justice — and enough of it.

A few days ago the Pascha issued orders that all fires in the camp should be extinguished at evening's gun-fire, — a most wise and proper order, as the carelessness, and want of caution of the soldiery was now doubly dangerous, the huts having become much more inflammable, from the straw they are formed of being thoroughly dried; and at length it was found proper to collect all the supply of powder into one hut, dig round it a wet ditch, and surround all by a wooden fence, near which all fires were strictly forbidden. But now again there burns, not fifteen paces from this fence, one of the largest fires; nor is much watch kept over it, even in the windiest days, and of an evening, one sees fires in the camp as numerous and late as ever. So it is ever with the Turks. An order is issued, and no sooner is it so than it is forgotten, nor is it recalled to mind till some smart bastinadoing in consequence of some misfortune caused by the breach of it, thus forcibly awakens the memory. Carelessness and dependence on a merciful Providence are here equal, and go hand-in-hand. When on the Nile, we often fell in with vessels loaded with dried straw, and heaped so that the crew had barely room to work them, but this did not by any means prevent a roaring fire from being kept up between the piles of straw for cooking, and other purposes.

Every day the soldiers bring to myself and brother numbers of dead snakes, but, unfortunately, so mangled as to be useless as specimens; the soldiery not fancying we merely want the skins, but believing our wish to be the flesh to prepare medicines from. Some of the men have confidently assured us, that, in a thicket, they came on a snake some twenty-feet long, and as thick as a man's thigh. A kind of boa, probably; pity they could not kill him. The great number of snakes hereabouts, almost all very venomous, make our living in the open air and on the ground very unsafe, and it is by no means a matter of indifference here under what bush, or among what long-grass one sits down: a loose stalk touched, or the bite of an insect, immediately calls up one's fears

that it is a snake or scorpion; and when out shooting we move with eyes bent on the ground, more anxiously looking out to prevent ourselves treading on any venomous reptile, than gazing about for our game. However, during such excursions, we have fallen in with many nebbek-trees; and, during the rainy season, the plants and herbage must be full and numerous, as even now there is much verdure, though the soil is covered with withered grasses and herbs. There are also many cotton plantations that seem to have been tended with care, all being hedged round and cleared of weeds. In this neighbourhood the durra grows to an astonishing height; on one field it had an average height of four or five times the length of our double rifles, and stood so close that it was with difficulty we could force our way between the stalks.

*6th May.*—Early this morning we mounted our dromedaries and, attended by a servant and guide furnished by Mohammed Defalla, took our way to (the two hours and a half distant) El Soffrè, where at present Mohammed Din and most of his people reside. The Pascha very reluctantly granted his permission; and it was in truth an adventurous enterprise, thus, without any protecting escort, to place oneself in the power of these faithless Haddenda. But we were safer all alone, than if accompanied by the few soldiers the Pascha offered us as escort. Our course was eastward: for the first half hour it lay through large durra fields, in which the heads of the grain were cut off from the tall stems, for it was free to any one in the camp to provide himself and beasts with as much of this as he pleased, these Arabs not having as yet shown any great inclination to follow the Pascha's orders of forming a grain magazine, as they put no faith in his promises of payment for their trouble. The greater part has, or will be gathered by the Arabs, who hang about here in troops, and this is hidden by them in their secret stores, so as to render the stay of the army here impossible, for want of this necessary bread stuff. The Arabs (Haddenda) met us often when some little distance from our camp, and, at last, in large numbers; and the whole path from these durra fields to El Soffrè was one procession of people, camels, and asses laden with durra. Among the former were many crowds of women, but all old and ugly, who sweating under their loads, trotted behind the beasts, while the men, armed with lance and shield, rode or walked proudly and burdenless in rear

of all. Most of the burden of labour seems here to fall on the women, and it is plain they hold no high place, as they are not allowed to anoint their hair. It was soon evident that large bodies of Arabs were assembled somewhere near, and that the population of Taka was greater than given out,—a suspicion much strengthened by such extensive durra fields, and by the many wells sunk; as also by the extent of ruined huts and enclosures within our camp, where, ere we came, the Arabs had had their abodes. All we met were most civil, “Mirhababa” being shouted to us by almost all. After the first half hour’s ride we came to a wood, but were much surprised to see only young trees, and not, as we had hoped, old and venerable timber. But we soon discovered the cause, in fires still glimmering in different parts around, so placed, that it was evidently the inhabitants’ intention to burn down the trees to manure the ground, and also thus to gain clear ground for fresh fields of grain, and better pasturage for their herds. To a great distance round their camping places, which, like all Nomadic tribes, they frequently change, these new copses are found in large quantities.

Incredibly rapidly does all herbage spring up here, called forth by the great warmth, and the regular tropical rains, from the rich fruitful earth, and especially where subterraneous water affords moisture, even to the surface soil. This was here evidenced, by the patches of green grasses, the trees, and especially the durra, which now, under the glowing heat, not only sent out from the under joints of the stem beautifully fresh and vigorous shoots, but, from the tops, where the heads had been cut off, a verdant crown of graceful sprouts. Most of the copse, besides some nebbek-trees, mimosas, &c., consisted of a species of tree that sends out from the root many stems and branches, with leaves small as needlewood, and much resembling the cypress. The wood is very weak, excessively light, gives little charcoal, and is very pithy and brittle. If these trees are deprived of their leaves by fire, or have got no water for a year, they wither and die away; they give little shade, and our people called them Aetle. Some quarter of an hour ere we reached Mohammed Din’s abode, the trees seemed far larger and of considerable age; the woods also were thicker, as the fires had not, seemingly, raged so furiously here. But the older trees



looked most mournful; the tops and upper branches were withered, without foliage, and not seldom were the under ones in the same state.

Much to our vexation, we learned that Mohammed Din had gone with fifty Schaigies, to a camp of his nephew, Sheik Mussa, some two hours and a half further distant; and his absence was all the more annoying to us, as it nullified our purpose of alighting at his tent, partly to gain a better knowledge of this far-famed man in his own household, and of the manners and habits of his tribe, and partly to fill our empty and craving stomachs. His absence, therefore, caused us to dismount at the entrance to the village, at the hut of Jusbaschi (Captain) Sali Effendi, where he and the liquor-loving Sheik Ali were making very slow progress in arranging and collecting the tribute. We had intended remaining with them till four o'clock P.M., when the worst part of the day's heat would have been over; but we soon perceived remaining here was out of the question, as the small hut afforded no protection from the sun, and was constantly crowded with Arabs delivering cattle, who never ceased wrangling and disputing among themselves, as well as with the tribute-gatherers. We therefore resolved, in spite of the sun, to push on and reach the village of Mitkenab, two hours and a half distant. Another reason, too, urged us to move, viz., to regain our liberty; for hardly had we dismounted at El Soffrè, when my brother was recognised by some Arabs as a Hakem, and was instantly mobbed by real and fancied sick in such numbers, that ere long we had half the village round us, demanding medicines and medical advice, and both gratis. Great patience is required here by any one acting the part of Doctor, as all directions must be repeated over and over again, and after all, it is more than probable, these are neither understood nor followed, and the parties return again and again to ask questions, and torment the prescriber. The people here not understanding us, an Arabian interpreter was necessary, and this made matters worse, as he could not convey medical directions. Here, too, a sick man never comes alone, but ever accompanied by six or eight relations or friends, every one of whom must interfere, and give his opinion as to the illness, and, as may be easily imagined, all this severely taxes the medical man's patience and temper. All Arabs and Turks

long and beg for medicines, and with the dose the illness must at once vanish, or else both doctor and medicine are held valueless. To repay the doctor for advice or medicine, never, by any chance, enters their heads, they hold the furnishing of the one as the other to be only the doctor's duty, before both man and Allah.

After we were thus for some time pestered, we again mounted our dromedaries, and left the Arabs to their own devices, who gazed after us with no pleased eyes, and showered curses on us, as we would not remain and serve out medicines to them, although not one of them would, on being asked, procure us even a little milk, but slunk away behind his companions on our requesting it, and pointed to his neighbour as better able to furnish it than he. For more than half-an-hour we rode on through the far scattered village, nor even then did we see any thing like the half of it, as most of the huts lay off the main path, concealed among bushes and trees, and great numbers of the tribe, also, had no huts at all, but lived under the forest's shade. All the huts we saw were composed of palm mats, circular and kiln-shaped, high behind, but so low in front, that one has to stoop much to enter them. The interior arrangement is most simple, a raised sleeping-place, called an angareb, a few stakes driven into the ground, or a low bench covered with mats, woven of reeds or dried twigs, form the whole furniture. If the owner is well to do, the sleeping-place is covered or surrounded with a great coarse grey woollen cloth, to keep off wind and weather. A murhaka (two stones to grind grain with), and earthen pot are all the moveables, as these, with a gube (leathern water-bucket) are all required for Arab housekeeping, so that, without any great preparation or loss, they can desert the birsch (huts), and proceed on their constant wanderings. Some twenty or forty huts, inhabited by families related to each other, are generally surrounded with an enclosure or thorn fence, called a seriba, and so a settlement or village is made up out of a number of these smaller squattings. Each of such family seribas has the most respected or oldest of its occupiers as its head or Sheik; and this dignity is often even hereditary, so that the children frequently have a wokil. In the evenings a fire burns before each tent, on each of which may be seen, in every position and posture, the

earthen pots, filled with durra; and as every pot is, more or less, cracked and broken, considerable ingenuity is required so to place them, as to only expose to the fire such parts of them as remain sound, and capable of holding in the contents while the cooking is going on. Round these pots crowd the women, occupied in preparing the food; all of those we saw were old and ugly; but, by all accounts, there is no want of young and pretty girls here, and such are also in much request as female household slaves in Bellad-Sudan. Of these, however, we saw none, as all held their faces closely muffled up in their dirty and torn ferdas; and all the young-looking women we came upon ran off sideways into the bushes, or hid behind trees to avoid our gaze. Almost all the women wore a skin round the hips, which reached down to the knee, and was lapped over in front. On the march they let it hang down behind like a tail, and when they sit down, they draw the part hanging down behind in between the legs and up in front, fastening it to the girdle. Some of the men were also thus dressed. Two men from the hill regions we fell in with had a similar skin round the hips, and, in addition, a sheepskin, wool inwards, hanging over the shoulders: this was the whole dress; and when to it were joined their long hair and fierce wild faces, they were excellent specimens of truly savage life.

In the centre of these family divisions there is always an open space, on which the children, always numerous, play and amuse themselves, all naked as when born, under the burning sun. Their activity and rapidity of motion joined to their dark colour and grinning faces, give them much resemblance to what we would picture a parcel of young devils to be; even such small children as with us would be in the cradle or nurse's arms, roll and tumble about in the sand, without any one heeding them, but left to look out for themselves. Nothing is more amusing than to watch these young imps, only a few days old, as they crawl and roll about, for in these warm climes development is rapid. Clothes they have none to dirty or spoil, and mixed up among them may be seen cattle of all kinds; and the lambs and goats jump over and play among and with the merry little black creatures.

As we all alone rode on through the village, the men gazed most savagely and angrily at us, and as they certainly took us for

Turks, did not bestow the kindest or most friendly wishes on us. All the natives of these lands have a wild and defiant physiognomy, and, with their long black hair and fiery eyes, are by no means unlike their companions the beasts of blood and rapine of the shaaba. At home here, among their own settlements, no man moves unarmed, their round shields and lances are never for a moment out of reach. He who has no iron-headed lance or javelin, is sure to have a long slender staff, of some hard wood, pointed at the end, which, against a naked foe, is little inferior to a more finished lance; the higher orders wear swords in no way differing from those in common use in Bellad-Sudan. Their build is generally tall and slender, but powerful, and a proud feeling of self-reliance and self-esteem is plainly displayed in all their movements and gestures. In colour most are dark brown or brown-black, but many, especially the women we saw, are brown-yellow, or even yellow itself. Some few Negro slaves we saw were perfectly black. Their manner of dressing their hair is similar to that of the Bischari. They have on the crown a toupé, on the sides and behind the long hair is laid in small round twists or curls, first plaited and intertwisted and then frizzed out, so that a strong head of hair makes the head itself seem more than double the usual size, and when beheld from behind, gives the wearer the appearance of having no head, but an immense pyramid of hair rising direct from the shoulders. Thick beards they cannot boast of, and as little of thick calves. Water and wells were in plenty; the latter, holes of twenty or thirty feet deep, going down into a clay subsoil; from these the water is drawn by the women and poured into great circular flat troughs, made by a low small surrounding wall of clay or mud, for the cattle to drink from. The keeping these troughs full, as well as fetching all water for household purposes, falls on the women; these, as we passed, were standing in crowds round the wells, drawing water or filling the skins which were enclosed in a kind of cord net-work. Some bore off these to the huts, some loaded the many asses with them, while the men sat looking calmly on, nor did one of them stir to aid or assist the women in any way. The asses here, as well as the camels, are all trained to lie down, so as to be more easily loaded. Herds of cattle we saw every where, and often remarked

how these were being driven off by their owners into concealment in the forest.

The number of huts and tents we beheld were some 1500 or 2000, but far the greater number we did not see, and many, very many of the natives have no fixed dwelling. At all events, from the numbers of men, women, and children we met, double the number of huts we saw would have been necessary to house them. In the present critical times, doubtless many natives from other places (such as the settlements of Issi and Teschum, nearer our camp) have joined Mohammed Din, but it is equally certain that a greater number (30,000 or 40,000, according to Sali Effendi) have, from terror of the Pascha, or to conceal their herds and other goods, fled to the chaaba, to which wilds Mohammed Din himself has sent off 6000 camels, that they might be out of the way of the Turks. On reaching the centre of the village, our path led up a gohr some twelve or fourteen feet wide, which must at times contain a large body of water, and which runs from east to west. In it, and on both sides along its course, were the greater number of the wells. It seems as if here, either a subterraneous stream ran, or that some sunken supply of water filtered up to the surface through the clay subsoil, as at all seasons of the year, water is to be had here in plenty. In the country of the Haddenda is one spring, which supplies nearly the half of it; there one can plainly observe how the water runs strongly below the surface, and the land of Taka is also full of such underground watercourses. But, perhaps, after all it is a mere gathering of water caused by the soil some twenty or thirty feet down being a stiff clay through which water cannot penetrate. However, in the gohr of the hills, even where the ground slopes, and a constant dropping of water must be going on, this element can every where be found. From this under stratum of clay, the inhabitants procure the material from which they form the burnt red earthenware water jugs, which they use in their washings before prayer and at other times.

In this gohr we came upon a great mass of men and beasts, and much surprised the former seemed at our appearance. We now understood our guide's anxious hurry to get us on to where Mohammed Din was. He believed us not to be in safety among

these people, and he was in the right, for as Mohammed Din was not at hand, who alone could answer for our lives, it were better we hastened to him ; though it was highly improbable he would neglect to provide for our security, as his only son Mussa was a hostage in our camp. We kept up this gohr some half hour, having all the time many wells and springs on our right and left, and meeting many Arabs. Our way lay north-east, and all through bush that often compelled us to lie flat along our dromedary's back, not to be left suspended on some tree, although no old or high trees were to be seen among it, from the constant devastations of the burnings. Ere long the wood became thinner, the trunks of numbers of trees, withered and uprooted by the heavy mass of the flood, lay scattered on the ground far and wide, in many places blocking up the path, and every where annoying to the rider and dangerous to the legs of his animal. In many places the water had dug out large hollows in the soil, and here the ground had fallen in, as if the under soil had been carried away by the waters.

These continued for an hour of our way, and the grey soil uncovered by a single green stem, with its holes thus excavated, and small gohrs, devastations, leafless dead trees standing erect or thrown to the earth, and covered with slime and mud, with no bird or beast visible on or near it, showed out most mournfully and disheartening. But these holes, sinkings, lifeless and uprooted trees, bore strong testimony to the great gatherings and deep floods of waters, the more so as the ground is level, and so no great stream can be looked for. From all appearance, the mountains of Abyssinia must shed down much water on to these lands.

One hour before we reached Mitkenab, the country altered. The trees again showed green leaves, and were enlivened by some long tailed birds, which we did not venture to pursue, but remained sitting quietly on our beasts, as the glowing sun shone directly down on our skulls, and no refreshing breeze made its way in among the trees. We caught sight also of some antelopes, vanishing like lightning in the distance. The whole way now showed one uninterrupted stream of people and beasts, and great numbers of persons on camels, horses, and asses. Some few women and girls we got a peep at might be called pretty ; they much resembled those of the island, and had, as all women in Bellad-Sudan, large

black though not fiery eyes, round faces, small rather stumpy noses, and thick though not blubber lips. Their greatest beauty was small very white teeth. All gazed with angry and hostile eyes on us, taking us for Turks, as we were the only Franks that had as yet found their way into these lands.

Again, ere we reached Mitkenab, the country altered, and for the better, becoming almost beautiful, at least beautiful as far as any scenery can be without hill or water. All was now bright green; older and finer trees were in numbers on the edge of the chaaba (bruch, thick jungle or bush). We were most particularly pleased by the great nebbek-trees, forming bowers and halls, which were overgrown, and joined together by a bright green creeper till complete roofs were formed, affording perfect shelter from the hottest sun. The under branches of many of these trees were cut half through, and their ends being trained down to the ground, thus formed an enclosure for cattle, the entrances to which were stopped up with thorny bushes. In all these lands the trees in general afford but a poor shade, and one can easily conceive how gladly we availed ourselves of such perfect camping places as these bowery trees offered. In their branches cooed thousands of doves. We met hereabouts a large number of camels loaded with salt, which is procured in masses by evaporation of the waters of the Red Sea (Bachr male); and brought from thence by Sauakin, and sent even to India; packed up in pear-shaped basket-work cases.

Mitkenab at last came into sight through the trees, offering us an asylum from the burning midday sun. On our halting outside the village under some shady trees, numbers of Arabs as usual gathered round us, curiously inquiring who we were, but it never occurred to any one of them to offer us, thirsting as they must have seen us to be, either milk or water. Ere long the two Sheiks of the village appeared, but evidently regarded us as very suspicious characters; they did certainly give us their hands in sign of welcome, but did not invite us to enter the village. Soon after one of them sent us a present of a fat sheep, but we declined accepting it, as we expected food would be provided *us*, and we saw no means of carrying the animal away with us. In its stead we begged some milk, though in vain. It was joyful news to us, to learn that some Schaigies had arrived at the wells near, belonging to the village of

in low tones ; on his waking, all still remained reverently standing, nor did they seat themselves, till he requested it. He was again all smiles and most friendly, but did not offer us any refreshment. He, like all Sheiks of high rank and Faki, neither smokes nor drinks any kind of spirituous liquors, not even merissa, but yet takes snuff in large quantities. He examined most closely our basket-hilted dragoon swords, and said they were good. We complimented him on being known everywhere as a warrior, even by the Franks ; he shook his head, said, he had seen on the Salt Sea, near Sauakinn, large ships with cannons, but that he did not desire aid from the Ingleb (English), and added some more words that were not translated to us. I unthinkingly asked, how many his people might number. "Count the trees !" he replied, looking proudly round him. Our talk having to be carried on through an interpreter soon wearied us, and we took our departure.

## CHAP. VI.

Merissa Huts. — Arab Gratitude. — Splendid Soil. — The Pascha's Grand Projects. — A Pleasant Servant. — Turkish Eating. — Turkish Faith. — Arabs of Hedjas. — Mehemet Ali's Campaigns.

ON one side of Mitkenab there is held every morning a great market (sukh), to which the natives come in streams, from all parts round, to dispose of cattle, grain, honey, butter, cotton cloths, &c., but all trading is by barter, and by him who has no top, or dogk\*, or such cotton stuffs as are made by the natives themselves, or at least some durra, no business is to be done, or purchases made. And even, though we had possessed all these we could not have traded, as in these villages the hatred against the army was so great, that it seemed as if all the inhabitants had mutually agreed, to allow the foe to procure nothing they could possibly prevent, by the strictest care, nor could we obtain the smallest morsel of flesh, and now much lamented we had not accepted the sheep proffered us in the morning. It is true, it only required a sign from Mohammed Din,

\* Top, in plural Topchan—pieces of cotton cloths twenty or thirty ells long and one yard and a half broad, which come from Hedjas. Dogk—pieces twice as broad, from Habesch, of two reals value.



and we would have been supplied, and in abundance, with all we could wish for; but as he mistrusted us on account of our note-takings, and classed us among the Turks, this sign he did not give. Little or no coin is to be found among these people, but they are acquainted with the Theresa-thaler, or dollar (value one thaler, twenty piastres), which they call a real, and this they demanded from us for the merest trifles, the true value of which was not two or three pence. Austria still continues to have these thalers coined from the old die, for eastern use, and these are called by the Arabs here "Abu Nukta" (father of drops, *i. e.*, the pearls in the diadem of the Empress Maria Theresa, of which there are numbers). The Kolonates in the land of Sudan call them "Abu Mutfa," mistaking the pillars of Hercules on them for cannon. In the Levant the Spanish money is commonly called piastres (from piasto), although it is reduced to one twentieth part of its value, and it is possible, that the Arab and Turkish words gersch and grusch for piastre, may be the origin of our groschen.

To see at least as much as possible of the village, and its environs, we two, arming ourselves only with our sabres, now set out for a walk, but without our knowing it, two completely armed Schaigies followed us, and ere long, two young lads, relations of Sheik Mussa, joined us, to provide for our safety, as we afterwards learned. The whole village is formed of mat huts, and is similar in all respects to El Soffrè; its extent is great, and its population numerous, and seemingly rich in cattle. As we marched through it, the people stared greatly at us, the women ran off to hide themselves, as if from evil spirits, and the children who rushed out from their so-called schools, laughed at and mocked us, for they had never before seen white men. To our great satisfaction, we turned into a merissa drinking shop, which, erected under a large tree, was filled with men. We seated ourselves on some square stools with backs, and were at once supplied with some stout beakers full of merissa, which, being good, we relished much, and it even made us feel somewhat in the wind. In such places, the Arabs will sit from early morning to late eve, drinking and carousing, and often eating nothing for many days, as merissa is meat and drink too. Here I remarked for the first time, that even among these dark-skinned men, some red colour is perceptible on their cheeks, such being the case with some of the toppers here, who, from copious libations, had

sent most of the blood into their heads, as was shown by their deeply flushed though swarthy faces. The nephew of the Sheik Mussa, whom our old camp-neighbour Mohammed Defalla had made our friend, had, on our entering, explained to the company, that we were not Turks, but Inglebs, English, a word which here seems to answer to the Frank of the East; all therefore were friendly and kind, and more so, when they found we drank stoutly. They were particularly pleased, when we taught them the *a tempo* drinking, in which, from our old student-habits, we came off victorious. In their now confidential intimacy, they told us, they would soon settle matters with the Turks, if Mohammed Din so willed it.

The chaaba near here shows a thick strong bush, intermixed with high old trees, the ground below strewn with uprooted trees and bearing tall grasses. Many fine trees were not to be seen as the violent and sudden hurricanes that occur in the rainy season break over or uproot the high trees, for the soil becomes so saturated with the heavy floods that the roots retain but a poor hold. The chaaba or forest extends from the Atbara to the Red Sea and upwards to Habesch. It is the abode of unnumbered elephants, many of whose immense spinal joint bones we found lying among the grass, of rhinoceroses, lions generally without manes, tigers, hyenas, giraffes, gazelles, large antelopes, wild asses, wolves, cats, &c., and immense numbers of most venomous snakes. From fear of these no Arab will at night move outside his seriba. To form a clear and broad path, such as the Romans cut through the German forests, through this overgrown and dense wilderness, would require many thousand European axes, but such as the Pascha has already given out to the soldiery, many times during our march to clear the way, would be perfectly useless for such a gigantic task. On our return to the well a little before sunset, we found all the Schaigies on the move to take possession of a seriba outside the village, partly for security against the lions, who at night come out from the forest to the water, and partly as a precaution against the hostile-minded Arabs. We could not decline going with them, and encamped with Melek Mammud, in the centre of his troop and of the seriba, thus forming the staff. In the evening some bread was brought us (thin cakes piled on each other like pancakes), but neither flesh, milk, nor butter. Fortunately we had got our rice and

chammerdin; flat cakes made of apricots and other things, a sweet compound of Syria; still left us, and at length the old Chingi, whom Joseph had often in the camp given medicine to with satisfactory results, sent us some milk in a girbe. We passed the night in sound agreeable sleep, and were only once awakened by the horrible howlings of troops of hyenas prowling around the village, and setting all the dogs into commotion and uproar. At the entrance (bab) of our seriba slept Mohammed Din himself. In such good odour did we stand with the natives.

At sunrise next morning all in our seriba were in motion, as the soldiers were to accompany Mohammed Din, who was about to go, with the purpose of gathering contributions, to his tribe in the large village, Fille, which lies some two and a half or three hours' journey to the S.E. of Sheik Mussa's village, and is similar to all these settlements. Between the villages extend large fields or plains covered with durra, with a few trees interspersed among them. We also prepared for the march, and as we did so had again a good example of the ingratitude of these people; — the old Chingi did not blush to demand back the old worthless girbe he had sent us the night before with the milk, and which, there being yet some left in it, we had already had packed on our camel. Furious at such niggardly conduct in one who owed so much to my brother's care and medical attention, I threw the skin, milk, and all to the ground, and rode off. We should have liked to have remained some time longer in Mitkenab, but the young relative of Sheik Mussa urged our departure, ready for which waited an Arab escort; and we held it wisest to follow his well-meant advice, the more so as a report had been spread, — we knew not how or why, — that we had been expressly sent by the Pascha to take notes of the country and all we saw, so that he might hereafter be guided by these when he advanced into it. So had we not soon taken ourselves off, it might have easily occurred to the natives that it would be as well to put such dangerous notes and note-takers out of the way. At the edge of the forest a troop of Arabs, armed with shields and lances, friends of the Sheik Mussa, awaited us and accompanied us on our journey; and as long as our way lay through this forest, we had to sit crouching on our dromedaries' backs, from the lowness of the

branches, till we again got into our old path among the durra fields. This young man, who, next morning accepting our invitation, accompanied us into the camp, acted thus to protect us from an intended attack, which might have cost us our lives, had he not fortunately heard of it, and so avoided it. This evil opinion of us Melek Mahmud afterwards confirmed, and told us the people were very much excited (*salahn*) from our taking such accurate notice of every thing.

Our way back led through the same country we had already seen, but our march was very slow, as our dromedaries, from all supplies being yesterday refused us, had been without food; and on their account we were often obliged to stop to allow them to browse on the trees as they went along. We again rode along the gohr in Mohammed Din's village, and quietly dismounted at Sali Effendi's small branch-formed hut, he having proceeded somewhere else on his tribute-collecting business. Although this hut was open on both sides, we fortunately found here a store of some pieces of flesh which we much enjoyed, and by promise of some medicine for the cholic, we obtained from a Sheik some merissa; but from the natives themselves, as before, nothing was to be had. Towards evening we reached our own camp; but some half hour before doing so we came on some trees, where many hundreds of turtle doves were roosting, so that we soon supplied ourselves with materials for a supper; though many we shot we had to leave on the ground, as we dared not venture into the bushes to pick them up, from the numerous venomous snakes and other insects, and the darkness, too, which was setting in. On our return, we had again been met by long trains of Arabs bearing away durra from the fields to their hiding places.

The cotton plantations round our camp of Aronga were, indeed, of considerable extent, and even during the present dry season offered a vigorous and fresh verdure that showed their healthiness, but neither in extent or luxuriance are they to be compared to the durra fields, nor are they, considering their great importance, at all in keeping with the numbers of the Haddenda; it is true the Haddenda are yet too much of the Bedouin, — a race that shun and despise all kinds of domestic labour, and who, if they had cotton plantations, would be tied to these spots; but

loving wandering much more, they prefer bartering their durra for cloths made at Hedjas, to growing and preparing such themselves. But yet what might not be made of this splendid land, the fruitfulness of which is so well nourished by the moisture of subterraneous waters, the regular fall of rain, and overflows from the Abyssinian mountains and the hills of Kassela, Abrit, &c.,—a soil that, in spite of hurricanes and the ever repeated forest burnings, never ceases to produce splendid trees, and crops of tallest durra, without tilling or manure, with stalks of fifteen and twenty feet in height, and yielding fifteen and eighteen fold of the best sort and fullest ear, growing cotton within one year to a height of five feet. What, I ask, might not be done with and grown on such a soil? And what is it now? Nothing! save this durra, some little cotton, and a few beans;—this durra, the straws or stalk of which are left standing on the fields, the cattle turned in to feed on it, then left to wind and weather, not to decay, and so return something to the soil as manure, but to be almost wholly swept away by the floods in the rainy season; this from the extraordinary moderation of the natives answers all their wants; for with it, a little milk, and a few beans, all their wants and desires in the way of food are fully satisfied. Undoubtedly all our grains and vegetables would grow splendidly here, so that this land might be made the granary for the grain-needing Hedjas, which is only saved from famine by the gratis delivery of the whole annual crop from the district round Kenne; or when this is insufficient, has to be fed from the lands of Sint and Manfallut in Egypt. Indigo might be cultivated here as well as in Egypt, where its culture is by no means inconsiderable; rice also, tobacco, oil, flax, and especially sugar, which, from the quantity of wood in the neighbourhood might be refined on the spot, whereas it has now to be brought from India. A matter of high importance would also be the planting of date trees. For many days' journey from Gos Rajeb, the banks of the river are covered with dhom forests; here, too, in certain spots are to be seen magnificent dhom trees, and where these flourish, all the date tribe will do so; and this might be a source of much profit, as in Egypt. Gum-trees we have as yet seen none, many as are their uses. Where now old useless fruitless trees cumber the ground, might soon flourish, oranges, sweet and bitter

(Portugahn), pomegranates (Ruman), figs (tihh), nay, even the vine itself (einap).\*

The position of the land is also highly favourable for the export of its superabundant produce. It lies between the Red Sea and the Nile : to Sauachinn, on the former, is fourteen or fifteen days' journey for laden camels ; to Berber, on the Nile, ten or twelve ; from both of these places there is abundance of transport. Then it is more than probable, that, without much difficulty, the Atbara might be made navigable as far as Gos Rajeb, for at least four months in the year ; for though, as far as we could judge from a view of its bed in the summer or dry season, this is full of sand banks and sunken rocks, still the banks show most plainly how high the river rises, and what an immense body of water it contains in the rainy season, and as far as my opinion goes, I see no reason why it could not be easily made available for transport. To found stores and magazines at various places, and convey the produce there would certainly be necessary, and this, ere the rainy season set in, as then all roads become impassable for man or beast. But could not these channels of communication be improved ? If the natives, by widening these, cutting down the large trees, and clearing the dense bush, would only expose them to the drying powers of wind and sun, then would undoubtedly the roads be available for traffic a month earlier than now. The present so-called roads (derba, sicca, main roads) are nothing but narrow, nay often hardly traceable footpaths, at times formed by the wild animals, which, by their constant and repeated windings to avoid thickets or other small impediments, greatly lengthen the way, and such paths too are ever overgrown with trees, and choked up with brush and jungle.

At present all trade is confined to honey, durra, butter, and salt, brought by the natives on the Red Sea ; but this might be much increased and extended to other articles, — cattle-breeding, for instance ; the present most numerous herds, by a little attention, might be easily improved and greatly increased, as their support is a matter of no difficulty, and hides might thus become articles of trade. By like care and improvement of the flocks of

\* These names, Ruman and Portugahn, point to emigration from Greece and Portugal, although the first fruit may be found among the hieroglyphics.

sheep, wool might be added, while at present these animals are only used for their flesh, and that not as a source of gain. Even the very beasts of prey, lions, tigers, panthers, &c., although their numbers would certainly much diminish with a better cultivation of the land, might for many years to come be a source of great profit in their skins and furs. This the natives would soon find out, and with the knowledge of their value would soon evince the wish to procure them, even though at the cost of a little toil and danger. But most of all would the cotton, at present grown only in such small quantities as not to suffice for the wants of the land, become a trading object of the highest importance. When one beholds in what abundance and beauty it flourishes, even under the present careless and low culture, one must at once be convinced what an immense crop might be produced, merely by some little more attention being bestowed on it. Here there would be no need, as there is in Egypt, to provide for the regular watering of the plants, a work of immense labour; and to this great advantage it is to be added, that the larger mass of the people have at least some acquaintance with the management of this crop,—an advantage inestimable with a race that clings so inveterately to all that is handed down to them from ancient times, manners, habits, customs, modes of life and labour, and who look upon each change and innovation as a diminution of the dignity of their free descent, and a violation of their hereditary rights from oldest time. Trade in elephants' teeth and tusks there is at present almost none, although, from the immense numbers of these animals, such might be furnished in abundance by the natives, and much more easily and readily than those brought, with long delay and much trouble, from the distant country of Darfur.

A great saving on the other hand might be made by discontinuing the expenditure at present laid out in the purchase of horses from Habesch; the breed, too, is small and ugly, and it is only too evident that here far better animals might be bred and reared. If these and the numerous oxen were trained and employed in agriculture, what a large body of men would be left disposable for other branches of industry — by their employment, arrangements might be made for a general and regular irrigation of the whole country. At present many large fields are, for irrigating purposes, intersected

with ditches and small walls of six inches or one foot deep or high, but this is far from sufficient, and only by wisely regulated and extensive arrangements, could the power be attained of watering all at a wish, and only by proper machines for raising this wealth of nature from the subterraneous streams and reservoirs, could a certain and secure supply be depended on during the dry season of the year, for the crops which here require an ever copious and repeated supply of moisture. And why should not manufactures be introduced into a land where hands and wood are in plenty? Everywhere at a greater or less depth clay is to be found in abundance, and out of this, from which the natives form good and lasting dishes and water jars, surely bricks could be made. The capital required for carrying out these plans indeed would be large, but then it would as surely be repaid, and with interest, in a very few years, and it would also call into existence a people and country, who, from agriculture, manufacture, and trade, would be entitled to rank among the most thriving.

On our return to camp we were questioned by all, and about all, but most especially as to the numbers of the natives. In the evening we waited on the Pascha to report our return. He was also most curious and anxious to gain information, and to lead us to speak freely he again went over his before often declared magnificent plans for the future. His views as to the goodness of the land, and its fitness for growing all kinds of produce, as also of its happy position, were on the whole most just, only he allowed far too short a time for the realization of his ardent hopes, and would with too hasty zeal at once set about its improvement and alteration, only, like all Turks, the sooner to leave all off again. Even now, when as yet not a step had been taken, he set about counting up the sums he was to draw from these lands, for the Turk will hear or think of nothing else but gathering money in such sums as by cunning, injustice, oppression, or violence, he can lay his hands on, nor even trouble his head that in so doing he may ruin the future welfare of his subjects, and at the same time destroy all source of revenue to himself.

An idea, that has originated in the hatred borne by the races to each other, has been put into the Pascha's head by Mohammed Ehle. This is, that the fall of the waters can be cut off above the



Gohr el Gash, and thus the lands of Taka be deprived of the necessary supply for agricultural purposes, and the forests of the Chaaba be caused to wither. He now firmly believes he can carry this out, and so force the people of Taka to purchase from him, by an immense yearly tribute, the waters for the irrigation of their fields, congratulating himself greatly on the completion of this wondrous deed, of which he seems to dream day and night. How far such hopes are reasonable we cannot determine, as we know so little about the size of this gohr, and its influence on the lands of the Haddenda and others. But still we think that were the streams of the gohr diverted, sufficient water would yet sink into the ground to keep the wells supplied, and that from the falls of rain that occur before the regular rainy season, as well as from the immense floods that, according to all accounts, pour down during the Chariff, the damming up of the gohr may not have those consequences of which the Pascha dreams, and this we suspect will be the fact, even after hearing his most vivid and certainly biassed account of his scheme,

To in some degree justify so harsh a measure, the Pascha is to-day of opinion, that the present natives are mere children, and must be treated as such; that one must have patience with them, and what cannot be got out of them this year, they must be compelled to pay the next; this, he says, is why he has observed the greatest moderation and kindness towards them, and not set on them with fire and sword. So far as we have got any insight into the character of these races, such kindness seems little likely to be estimated by them; only a stern and strict rule that inspires fear (but not such as the Turks practise, which inspires more vengeance than terror,) will keep them in order, and in time, perchance, overcome their opposition to all reform. To once accustom these unruly tribes to settled dwellings and regular labour will be a formidable task, and of all the Turks we have met with in Bellad-Sudan, not one seems in the least qualified to effect it. Besides, the smallest change in the rule in Egypt might rend altogether from Turkish dominion the countries of Taka, Baraka, Atisch, Kataref, &c., as then the troops necessary to hold them, would be nowhere to be procured.

Some days after our trip a violent attack of fever overcame us

both, and for some time deprived us of all power of writing or thinking, and also caused us to lose our reckoning of time; so that for the future no more journalising or exact dates can be attempted.

At length the confusion of the camp has been in some degree put an end to; between the seribas and the small huts of the soldiery a free space is now left of some fifty paces broad, the various bodies of cavalry and infantry are separated, and each have certain places allotted to them. Still in the various divisions there is yet much confusion, every one setting down his hut where he pleases, and never heeding in the slightest how it blocks up or impedes the way. The Pascha is perfectly ennuied, seeks to make time pass by, exercising himself in the sports of the jerreed, with his Schaigies, who perform this oriental tourney in all its dangerous irregularities, in the most masterly manner, as if they were real centaurs—or he makes the Dinka practise before his tent the staff-throwing at each other, which causes many bloody mouths and severe contusions for the doctors to attend to. He also labours hard in his own person, at that most important business, the tavela reale, of which he never wearies, and in which in turn Topschi Baschi, Abd el Kader, and Abdin Aga aid and assist him, so that a lively rattling of the dice is ever kept up, the sound of which is plainly audible to all who pass his tent. At first, when thus engaged, Topschi Baschi was so fortunate as to be allowed to sit, but now he must stand the whole time, so that a proper respect may be maintained between him and his master. As another relief to his overlaboured mind, the great man has caused Mohammed Ehle to procure him an Abyssinian damsel, whom he has quartered in a hut with a high enclosure round it, and for whose amusement he often of an evening orders the heart-delighting band of the 8th regiment to perform; this never fails to call up an accompaniment from every ass in the camp, and it is yet an undecided point whether the band or the asses have the best of it. But these long-eared gentry do not disdain to get up a concert of their own, as hardly a night passes that we are not repeatedly awoke from our sleep by the sweet voices of some 5000 or 6000 asses. Let one only commence, all chime in; the splendid deep notes of the older males mix with the shrill treble of the young females, and then the more stately

camels fail not with vigorous roarings or growlings, to join their voices in good time and tune, to the harmonious concert.

We should have often been much pleased, when thus agreeably aroused from rest, to have sought some consolation in a good supper, had not our cook Achmet, a long, lanky native, too often left us unprovided with the materials for one. Long had this man been our daily torment, from his ill-conditioned, obstinate, and contradictory spirit; and even the most vigorous appliance of the karbatsch failed in effecting his cure, as he submitted standing erect, stiff, and perfectly silent, never giving sign or note of pain, and treating our most cutting blows with stoical indifference, and when all was over asking, "Schenu di?" (What's this for?) He even now and then ventured to set us to rights, and ever was at open war with all our other servants. The man was born with a mania for discord; could he not get up a squabble with his fellows at home, he would sally out and cast about for some cause of quarrel amongst our peaceful neighbours. That he ever lived in peace with any one, or spoke a good word of another, we never heard. With us and our actions he, as a matter of course, constantly found fault. Out of revenge, he for fourteen days in succession gave the other servants no butchers' meat; and often when we had a sheep killed, he purposely kept the meat till it was putrid, so that they might not be able to eat it. He also carried off our and the servants' things, and hid them, merely to be able to turn with his slanderous words suspicions of theft on some other one. The only good about him was his talent for cooking, as he could, indeed, produce a good dinner out of almost nothing; but this he never would exercise unless we stood over him and compelled him, or when he desired to appear exceedingly active in our eyes, for some purpose of his own. From a fellow of such character we had every thing to fear; and when at last we discovered him to be a thief, and learnt from his own confession that he had often, ere now, stolen money, clothes, sugar, coffee, rice, various bottles of wine and rum, and sold them, our patience and forbearance towards him were at an end, and, ere half an hour was over his head, he found himself enrolled by the Bimbashi Hassan Effendi, as soldier in the 1st regiment. We had at first pardoned him, merely dismissing him our service; although the persons to whom he had

sold the stolen goods had come forward to give evidence against him, and had proved him beyond doubt to be the thief: but, on the day we made him a soldier, I was lying, much worn out, on my angareb, the fever having just left me, when I heard in the back part of our hut a case of provisions being broken open. I looked round, and there was Achmet, who had taken out a loaf of sugar, and was about to carry it off by the back door. I cried out, "Rugh fenn?" (Where with that?) He put down the sugar, and with a snarling "Aus è?" (What's wanted?) advanced up to me, as if, I being all alone, he would have throttled me; but, at the instant, I seized one of my pistols, which hung near me, and pointed it at his head; on which he remained as if rooted to the ground, his eyes glaring on me like a tiger's. As if it had been arranged, and perchance fortunately for me, my brother at that moment entered the hut by the back door, and Topschi Baschi by the front, at the same instant; and now I had to spring up to prevent the wild Kurd, who at once comprehended how matters stood, from splitting Achmet's head on the spot. Although our friend Achmet came from the land of Djaal, the inhabitants of which, as well as of Barabra, are not compelled to serve as soldiers, their countries being much depopulated, still an exception was made in his favour. He was thus rendered harmless to others, as now the Nabut would take care of his doings; and the example we made of him had the best effect on our other servants.

The noble art of cooking is as little known in Bellad-Sudan as in Arabia or Turkey. Cleanliness, there, is even less attended to than it is generally among the Arabs and Negroes, and the cook is ever distinguished by being dirtier and more filthy in his dress than others. Even in Europe, it is said, if a man would enjoy his dinner, he must not see it cooked; but let one here only cast a glance into the filthy hole they call a kitchen (*matbach*), see the dabbings of the cook with filthy hands, an equally dirty pipe ever in his mouth, and how, without knife, fork, or spoon, he tastes every dish with his fingers, and with these arranges each *plât* on its dish, and he must indeed be a man of strong stomach, and stronger appetite, who can eat at all. Arab cookery is certainly very simple, as it is composed of boiled beans, and flesh, either boiled (*lachame masluk*, or *mistai*) or roasted (*kabab*). This last consists of small pieces of

meat stuck on wooden skewers, and roasted over the embers, and if it be desired to make it somewhat better than common, pieces of flesh, fat, and liver are placed on the skewers alternately. The Turks of rank have generally their food prepared for them by the female slaves of their harem, but, even then, cleanliness is no matter of boasting, and none of the Turkish ladies know anything of cookery, and their laziness prevents their acquiring any knowledge of it. Soup is never seen at Turkish tables, as it would be impossible to eat it with the shallow spoons they use, generally made of wood or horn. All the meat to be used for the dinner is boiled or sodden together in one great pot; from this mass afterwards the various *plâts* are prepared, almost all of which have a similar taste, having been all at first subjected to the same treatment. In some the meat is cut down smaller than in others, in some smothered by a vile sauce of butter or melted fat; some slightly roasted, and otherwise disguised; but in this way the cook prepares a number of dishes, as quantity, not quality, is his object, and constitutes the goodness of the dinner; but in none of them, is there either nourishment or flavour,—all are sodden and tasteless, from want of salt, pepper, spice, &c. The vegetables are ever villainously cooked, and floating in grease, or the water the meat has been boiled in. The sweets, of which all Easterns are especially fond, are better and more varied; but even these are very similar in taste, and cannot for a moment compare with an European dessert.

All food is served, not on dishes, but on plates, many often not larger than a saucer, and all are at one time crowded and heaped on a *sennié*, *i. e.* a large copper flat dish, with a low edge, which is placed on a stool a foot or twenty inches high, or an equally low table. The honourable company sit round this, on carpets spread on the floor, and each at once plunges his hand into any or every dish that pleases him, and gropes about till he gets hold of the best bits, pulls them out, and swallows them. Very often a bite is only taken from the piece thus seized on, and the rest returned to the dish; but, in spite of the cleanly treatment it has undergone, it is again soon seized hold of by another, and, perchance, again similarly handled, till all is finally bolted. The Turks eat incredibly rapidly, as they bolt every thing, and keep cramming into the mouth

more ere the former mouthful has been swallowed ; while a smacking of lips, and licking of sauce-dripping fingers succeed, and proclaim their pleasure in the meal. Bread is generally to be found on the table, but neither salt, oil, vinegar, or pepper ; although when they dine with Europeans they show no dislike to highly seasoned dishes, or strong drinks. Although their dishes are numerous, they contain but little, and that little by no means of a quality suited to a German stomach, and this, too, would require to satisfy its cravings as much as four Turkish ; but, after all other *plâts*, comes the never failing pillau, and he who has not already got his fill had better now lose no time in rolling up between his two first fingers and thumb some balls of its mass, and cramming them down his throat ; as the pillau is an invariable sign that the feast is ended. If there are many courses, or more dishes than the table will hold at one time, the entertainer is ever busied making signs to the attendants which are to be removed ; and not seldom the guest finds that the very dish he was about to help himself from is carried off from under his very nose. The Pascha used often to amuse himself by playing tricks on his guests, by ordering off with the utmost rapidity those dishes he found their longing eyes fixed on, ere their outstretched hands could convey any portion of them into their watering mouths. Water, in abundance, is never wanting to wash down the repast, as many slaves stand by, in readiness to pour it out, as well as to keep off the flies. At first, in spite of the pillau, we never were quick enough to get sufficient to eat, not having been brought up to bolt our food ; and that the Turks are so quickly satisfied, and by so little, is wholly owing to this bolting of their food, is undeniable : and this, also, produces the repeated eructations they so loudly and joyfully give vent to, as proving their high health and vigour. A newly arrived European is almost certain to rise from table unsatisfied, on dining with a party of Turks ; for this dabbling of hands in the dishes, these handlings and tastings of the meat without taking it wholly away, must be disgusting to him ; and, even now, when we have become pretty well used to it, we cannot wholly get over our dislike and loathing to the whole eating business ; yet all the other Franks here have adopted it, looking upon it as a most comfortable method of feeding.

The contributions come in very sparingly, and are so small, that they more resemble presents than tribute. Of cows only 300 have been delivered, while Churschid Pascha, and with much less ado about it, got 3,000, and also managed in his two campaigns to pick up some 950 purses. When the wealth of these people in herds and flocks is considered, it is no small piece of daring in them to fancy they can make the Pascha credit that these 300 animals are anything like a tenth; and he is furious at the return thus made him for his mildness and forbearance, has sharply rebuked all the Sheiks about it, and has summoned Mohammed Din, Sheik Mussa, and the two Sheiks of Mitkenab to appear before him. All have appeared, though their people, fearing evil, would have prevented their coming in; but they felt secure, depending on the Amàhe already granted by the Pascha to them. But he, like all Turks, faithless in word and deed, had instantly all four made prisoners and laid in irons; chains are placed on their necks and feet, besides their being chained to each other. When we first beheld in camp, with the white handkerchief (mandilla) round his neck, as sign of submission and pardon, the great Sheik Mohammed Din, we more than suspected that old fox would soon be trapped, have, as hostage for his tribe, to travel to Chartum, and most certainly not die in his own land, like the other chiefs of the island. He may, indeed, then have in his heart laughed at his investment in a robe of purple and red shawl, and fancied he had done well in coming in; but, in spite of all his cunning, he has fallen into the snare, and his fate is fixed. Could not the old freebooter have been once again as wise as to confide his fortunes to his forests and arms, instead of having, as now, advanced with steady step to certain ruin? For most surely for long, if not altogether, would the impenetrable and extensive forests have afforded him safe shelter, and there might, indeed, his javelins have dealt death and destruction on our army; but perchance his policy was to hold the Turks here, by empty promises and false hopes, till the rainy season, and then to have seen them, in this inhospitable and totally over-flooded land, perish, man and beast, from sickness and starvation, aided, if needed, by his tribe's arms. But the Pascha has forestalled his plans.

The day he was put in chains the evening gun was loaded with

grape shot, and fired into the forest of the Haddenda land, probably to alarm any Arabs concealed in it, as the thunder of the great guns ever strike terror into the souls of these Arabs and blacks, even of such of them as should be well used to the noise ; for we often have seen these, when by any chance near the cannon when fired, start back some six or seven paces, pale and trembling at the report. When the Turks attacked a large, populous, and fortified hill near Faszogl, the blacks sent out spies to learn how strong were their foes, and how they were armed ; these spies came back laughing, with the report that there was no great body of troops, and such as there were had no other arms than polished sticks over their shoulders, but neither lances, swords, nor shields. Ere long, however, the ignorant unfortunates discovered the fearful efficacy of these polished sticks, though they could not for a moment comprehend how such small pieces of lead could so speedily wound, nay, slay outright ; so the general opinion pronounced that an Afritt scheitàn (devil or evil spirit) lived in the muskets, and under this idea a black, who had laid hold of a soldier's musket, instantly placed his hand on the muzzle to keep the scheitàn in ; the soldier drew the trigger, and the leaden devil shattered the hand and breast of the poor negro. Still they hold their own lances as much the most deadly, and far superior to the invisible balls ; hence a negro, after a skirmish, having got possession of some six or seven muskets of the slain soldiers, bore them joyfully home, to convert the barrels into lance heads, in the midst of a circle of admiring countrymen. Some of the former, however, chanced to contain the charge, and becoming red hot in the fire, burst, and sent wounds and death among the astonished lookers-on.

The mere cocking of the piece, and, far more surely, the report, will send most Arabs flying, though no damage has been done, as we have often beheld in the tribes of Taka ; but the inhabitants of Hedjas have taken a wiser part, having managed to provide themselves with muskets, and though very slow they are sure shots ; hid behind their rocks and walls, they are pretty sure, with their far carrying flint-guns, to hit their man ; and in most skirmishes with them the fallen soldiers are found to have been hit on the foreheads, as the red tarbush affords them an excellent mark to aim at.



These Arabs have been known from oldest times as a brave and freedom-loving tribe, and even withstood the conquering arms of Rome, preserving their liberty. The mountains of their country (Hedjas) rise some short day's journey from the Red Sea, steep and high, so that almost two days' laborious travel is required to reach the plateau on which they dwell. The path up is steep and rocky, and gives even a good climber enough to do to ascend; and yet these Arabs have trained their horses, and even their camels, to ascend it with heavy loads. If these latter come to a steeper or more dangerous place, they kneel down and crawl along on knees and belly. On the shore are coral reefs. The hills themselves are composed of granite, naked and rugged, to the sea; but no sooner is the plateau or inhabited land reached, than one beholds the most luxuriant verdure, splendid though wild cypresses, oranges, peach, apricot, plum, and pear trees, and, above all, the most flourishing vines and date-palm trees. Hill streams pour their crystal waters from rock to rock, while from their banks rise the balmy perfumes of herbs of all kinds, balm, fennel, &c. &c. The fields, however, are poorly cultivated, as the constant feuds of the various families or clans among each other prevent any careful culture of the soil. Only during a short armistice for sowing and harvesting, do they live at peace and work together, nay, even visit one another; for then, by ancient and inviolable custom, all feuds are at rest; but hardly is the last seed buried in the earth, or the last ear gathered off it, when the old feuds again commence and continue as bitter as ever. *Blood-vengeance*, which reigns there in full force, is usually the origin of these feuds, and ere long the whole clans on both sides are involved in the quarrel. From the ever-enduring feuds one sees none but armed men in this country, and their houses are converted into small fortalices, in which they can hold out and defend themselves; these are built of stone, in a tower-like form, but with only one very low entrance, through which men can only pass by stooping much; and the upper story of the house is used to contain the horses, camels, cows, &c., all of which have been used from birth to creep in on their bellies through such low doorways, and the inside thus gained have again to mount up a narrow, small stone staircase, at which they are all most expert, difficult

though the task may be. Instead of windows these houses have small arrow-slits, and when the inmates have (if necessary) built up their doorway from the inside with stones and stakes, the fortress is in readiness for a siege, as care is ever taken to hold it provided with stores of food for man and beast.

Hospitality is ever and at all times a sacred duty with these Arabs, even towards an enemy ; and they have, too, held fast to all their old virtues and good customs, which is far more than can be said of the tribes of the sea coasts and plains ; but this may be easily accounted for, from the latter having been more thrown in the way of holding intercourse with foreign nations, and from their trading much more with such. They are particularly distinguished from the mountain races, who will have nothing to do with them, by their darker skin, but they wear a similar dress, and all acknowledge themselves to be of the sect of the Wachabites (Wahabi), thus distinct from the Mussulmen as also by building no mosques, smoking no tobacco, nor adorning their dress with silk or gold, &c. ; as they plundered the chaaba in Mecca, and robbed the richly endowed groves of Mahomet and his daughter Fatima in Medina, so also did they take from all caravans without exception, their silver, gold, and valuables, and when they no longer dared venture on such robberies, they invented another means of levying toll on all pilgrims, by compelling them to let fall on the ground their money and other valuables, so that they might afterwards take it to themselves as windfalls ; but this procedure is also now forbidden them.

Against these Wachabites, whose warlike qualities were well known, Mehemet Ali declared a religious war, which was highly approved of by the Porte. The latter hoped to see that by this the ever-increasing powers of the Pascha, would be much weakened (a favourite plan of the Porte as regards such powerful vassals) ; but the old wily Pascha gladly used this approval of the sultan to increase his army greatly, and organise it in European style and to European tactics. Nor did he fail to inflame the Moslem with zeal for the holy war, and so win again to his side those bigots who had been much estranged from him by his many innovations and new institutions, and lead them to publicly proclaim that it was the duty of every Mussulman to advance to the aid and pro-

tection of the country of the Holy Prophet, especially to that of Mecca and Medina, the former of which, along with the great chaaba, contains within its walls also the Well and Baths of Purification. Never, for a moment either, did his calculating mind lose sight of the ports of the Red Sea and their trade with India (Hind), the influence of the large caravans, which brought from all parts of the world where Islam existed crowds of pilgrims to the holy shrines and purifying springs, or the quantity of gold these pilgrims or future Hadji expended (a highly honourable title among both Greeks and Turks, and gained by such pilgrimages), and by their means opening up an intercourse with the land of Yemen, and its rich and important trading city of Mocca, where coffee already yields such great gains. It may here be remarked, in passing, that the richer inhabitants of Yemen, as also those of Hedjas, do not use the beans of the coffee in preparing that liquid, but the inner shell or skin that contains these, which they hold to be much higher and better flavoured; they also mix in their coffee cloves, cinnamon, aromatic spices and gums, so that this beverage with them is very similar to a perfumed cordial. Nor do they drink it in such small portions as are usual in Egypt and Turkey, but the attending slave holds ready a large vessel, from which he fills the cups as often as they are emptied, while his masters sit and smoke their well-loved long dschihschi\* pipes, with long tubes passed through water, that the smoke may come cold to the mouth, and which, when a few inveterate smokers meet together, keep up a boiling and bubbling noise, not unlike a distant corps of drummers in full performance.

The battle with the races of Arabia now began, but never had any of Mehemet Ali's former wars devoured so many bleeding victims as this with the races of Hedjas and Yemen. Their lands proved a bottomless gulph that nothing could satisfy; and only by the greatest exertions, did he in the end manage to overrun, and in a measure conquer, these tribes. For although, after long-continued marches of twenty-four or twenty-six hours, without the smallest rest, among rocky hills, burning plains, without water, every where harassed by Arabs and tormented by fearful heat, the

\* So called by the Persians with whom they originated; by the Greeks, nargile; by the Turks, nerschile.

Egyptian army held out stoutly, and behaved bravely, still the mountain district of land called Assir, between Hedjas and Yemen, proved a refuge not to be forced, and one he never could win, as the *élite* of the population, composed of a body of not more than five hundred warriors, holding themselves distinct from the others, have, by their wild courage and fiery love of fatherland, ever been victorious, and triumphantly beaten off all attacks.\*

But to the conscienceless Pascha, this destructive and murderous war was most welcome, as it afforded the best and surest vent for getting rid of those restless fellows who stood in the way of his plans. To it were sent all whose deaths were desired; to it were insubordinate regiments despatched, and to it were thousands on thousands of Arnauts hurried off. By these most assuredly had Mehemet Ali been raised to power. By their love of blood he had swept his foes from his path and made firm his rule, but now no longer did the master want his tools; their claims and demands were too great, their excesses and cruelties were the dread of the land, and so the cunning Pascha gladly availed himself of this excellent opportunity of sending them to destruction, causing them to be most anxious to go, by dazzling their eyes with visions of rich booty and unrestrained plunder and bloodshed. Nay! so far did old Ali carry his shameless inhumanity, as to give secret orders to his trusted officers to "expend" the Arnauts in every way; and so, during the march to Arabia, many of these latter were ordered on distant expeditions into the deserts, with certain promise that camels should be sent after them with food and water: but no supplies were ever sent, and those unfortunate men were allowed to perish miserably in the wastes from thirst and starvation. If Mehemet Ali sought a defence for such barbarity, one well suited to him might be found in this, that his own safety and the maintenance of his power demanded the extirpation of these Arnauts; and certainly from his refusal to admit their claims, and the evil way in which he rewarded their former services, as well as their ever being at the call of him who paid best, they were, undoubtedly, most ready and able to attach themselves to any other

\* Of this remarkable war in Hedjas, the details of which are most probably even yet little known, I hope ere long to be able to give the public some account from materials I have by me.

aspirant to power, and well fitted to ably assist in overturning the wily old Pascha, already most hateful from his many innovations, and increasing rapacity, — a ruin all the easier effected, as there was always in the country a strong party hostile to him, and this was supported both by the Porte and by the remains of the Mamelukes, who still existed, though in secret. These Arnauts had also, ere now, threatened his life in Cairo, on his refusing to yield to their violent demands.

On this occasion, assembling in great bodies, they marched through the city with shouts and riotings, threatening to lay it all in ashes, committing every kind of crime, and at last surrounded the citadel of Jussuff or Sal-ed-din, the beautiful acropolis of Cairo, and began formally to besiege it, purposing to capture it, and with it the Pascha, and murder him. But the old fox probably foreseeing these plans, or having had some hint of the intended mutiny, had, during the preceding night, stolen out of the citadel to the palace of his son-in-law on the Esbekieh, and at once seeing that his power was endangered, failed not to avert the evil. His confidential messengers were immediately with the most influential leaders of the revolt, and weighty purses changed hands and altered murderous intentions; inactivity and quarrels filled the camp, and suddenly a proposal was heard, probably started by the cunning Pascha's emissaries, that it would be better fun to plunder the city, than remain idle before the fortress. This idea, so well adapted to the character of these troops, was hardly hinted at, when a small body being left to watch the citadel, all set off and broke into the richest bazaars of the city, there robbed, spoiled, and plundered, cutting down and murdering all who offered the smallest hindrance to their savage fury and bloody greed. There, too, was slain, the youngest and fairest daughter of the Prussian consul, Bokhti, who was shot by an Albanian whose path she unfortunately crossed. The richest spoils were sold for a song, and the coin thus got was lavished in excesses of all kinds, and in these the drunken Arnauts forgot all about siege or Pascha. But by the latter every use was made of the time gained: in all haste the nearest quartered regiments of the line were sent for, and, on arriving, distributed partly in the citadel, partly posted at the most important points and commanding situations of the city; so

the Arnauts, on awaking from their debauch, found themselves outwitted, and on Mehemet Ali promising them speedy payment of their arrears, they marched quietly back to their former quarters. The pay, wondrous to say, they did receive, but as surely were all, under one or other excuse, despatched into countries from which for them there was no return. The merchants ruined by the Pascha's stratagem received some millions of piastres as indemnification, but, as may be easily supposed, this sum nothing like covered their losses.

The conduct of the Arnauts from Rumelia, Albania, and elsewhere, during their time of power, is almost incredible. Not one night passed in Cairo, that a number of men were not murdered by them in the most public streets and places. Ever drunk, they wandered about the town, and more than one Frank was shot down merely because he was a Frank: but not alone did Franks suffer; as they spared neither country, sex, or age; every inhabitant trembled at their approach, and at the sight of their yata-chans\*, with which they most dexterously sliced off men's heads, as well as before the ever-loaded pistols stuck in their girdles, and never laid aside day or night, asleep or waking. They spread fear and horror around them on all sides, and were, in one word, the pest of Egypt. Never did I gaze on countenances that more strongly testified to savage passions, and eager love of blood, than those of these Arnauts; such vile and savage faces never did I see, not even among the infuriated and wild Greeks, during their war of freedom, when, in the pomegranate groves of Ti Myli (Lerna, near Argos), they roasted alive their Turkish captives. Their characters are in true keeping with their debauched and brutally savage features. Their dress and equipments perfect the horrors of their appearance; they wear dirty ragged tarbushes dragged down low over the eyes, or carelessly hanging on one side of the head, the bull-like neck and brown breast ever bared, a jacket, always at first of a yellow colour, but now from age, holes, and dirt, colourless, and under it a gay vest of many hues; the once white Albanian or Grecian shirt† with large wide sleeves, but now black or brown, as washing it never knew. This shirt falls like a tunic over their short breeches; their leggings

\* A long crooked knife, sharpened on the inner edge.

† Fustanella, from *φουστανα*.

generally fastened with innumerable buttons, are of a different colour from the jacket, usually bright red or green, and the naked foot is thrust into old slippers. Over an old torn scarf or shawl is worn a leathern girdle, in which are carried their ornaments, all valuables, and deadly weapons of every kind; at the back hang two small leathern pouches for powder and ball, along with a small flask holding oil for their arms; during war they carry a long musket, and with it, in spite of its short and awkward stock, they take sure and deadly aim. When I last met with them, they had formed a camp near Cairo, and my brother, as medicine major of the chief hospital, Kasr-el-ain, received orders to visit their sick. Arm in arm we held our way boldly down the centre of the street, till near the gates we fell in with two bodies of them, singing, shouting, and half drunk, who seemed inclined to block up the way. My brother cried out "dropp" (out of that); what charm lay in the word I know not, but the line opened and we passed through uninsulted, though in European garb. Ere long we met the second body, and passed them in like way, but in doing so, I greeted one or two of them in Greek, on which many of them rushed up to me, and hailing me as a brother and compatriot, embraced me, insisting on escorting us into the camp. These Arnauts are merely irregular troops, acting as tirailleurs, and generally as it pleases themselves; their officers are always fellow-countrymen. Brave and death defying they are, but only on those occasions when they look for spoil; indifferent and even cowardly where honour alone is the prize, at it they laugh, as at the sufferings of their prisoners, whom they often murder with cruellest tortures. Better they know not; living in their own land without almost any agriculture, industry, or trade, they support themselves by war, plunder, and murder, till at length, forced by starvation to quit it, they seek richer and more favoured lands, in which to pursue their horrid trade. At the present day few Arnauts are to be found in Egypt, the late arrivals having been rapidly forwarded to where they were soon expended. During our residence at Cairo, there arrived in the Arnaut camp before the city, a regiment of them from Syria; as usual these were to be seen drunk, quarrelling, and committing all kinds of excesses in

the city and its environs. Thus, one of them, without the least scruple, murdered a poor girl, who from her yellow slippers was easily known as a Turkish female, because she would not yield to his brutal wishes.

Our favourite Bellad-Sudan has also consumed a number of Arnauts, who had been attracted thither by the tempting promises of Ismail Pascha, and of the monster Mohammed Bey Defterdar\*, and son-in-law of Mehemet Ali. They were the principal agents in the horrible and unequalled cruelties of the Defterdar, and this tiger had even three or four hundred of these fellows as his body guard, and paid out of his own pocket. These were the *élite* of and pattern for the rest, and their master was the most inhuman miscreant of all. Even yet there may be found here and there in Bellad-Sudan, some one or two of these executioners, but old, worn out, and, by sufferings of many kinds, humbled and tamed down. Sulky and disinclined to talk, they are only to be stirred up by awakening their recollections of past times; by these can their quenched fire be again momentarily revived; at such tales again do their eyes gleam, and sparkle as the old lust for blood is aroused, and the trembling hand grasps the well-blooded weapon. The Defterdar is still their idol, and many other soldiers show their admiration of him; Mograbin and Schaigie have over and over again assured us that his like is no where now to be found. In truth, these are men who know nothing of regular work or orderly occupation, who lead a wild unrestrained life, and support themselves by robbery and murder. In these respects the Defterdar was the very man to satisfy them; he kept them in constant employment, knew well how to reward them, for he was liberal and generous to his own men as he was harsh and cruel to a conquering or conquered foe. No sooner did he sit down before a town, than forth went the order to burn, murder, and plunder,—for the dread his name inspired, and his successes in his many and bold enterprises, checked all attempts at resistance. The plunder he shared with his soldiers, as well as their cruelties and excesses.

\* Defterdar, keeper of public accounts, minister of finance.



## CHAP. VII.

Position of Mohammed Din. — Camels stolen. — Ant Hills. — Chameleons. — Animal Fraternity. — Uses of Tobacco. — Rosaries — Beads — Amulets. — Blacks — Appearance and Opinions.

OUR Pascha seems to have gained nothing by holding as prisoners Mohammed Din, Mussa, and the two Sheiks of Mitkenab, as now no tribute of any sort comes in from their tribes, and not an Arab is to be seen at our lately-established market. That he will, by these means, succeed with Mohammed Din and his people seems to us far from probable, or rather, we feel certain that he will not, and Mohammed Din is repeatedly demanding why he is kept a prisoner, and not at once put to death; he says he fears not death, and would rather meet it than undergo such treatment, that leads to nothing. And we believe him, and, if so, the Pascha will never receive aught from his tribe, who seemingly are guided in all by Mohammed Din's orders. If he dies, in his people's eyes, he will have fallen a sacrifice to his country's weal, and will be honoured by them as a martyr (Schahied, as we have already heard him styled), his grave will become a holy spot, and he himself be numbered among their saints. Who can tell whether or not Mohammed Din has taken all this into consideration, and may not have made up his mind to sacrifice himself, even though in so doing he may have been less influenced by patriotic feelings than by the honour and fame such a death would bestow on his name, and so gloriously wind up a career like his own, — a life of the utmost reverence from, and influence with, his countrymen, thus closing with a death bringing everlasting honour and renown? Most of the leading men among the blacks of our army have expressed to us their dissatisfaction with the Pascha's conduct towards Mohammed Din; all accuse him of breach of his word; he having given the Sheik the "Amahn," and it is possible they may at heart be alarmed for a like fate for themselves. Further it is plainly to be seen that the Pascha himself is by no means sure he had done right in taking this course, although he has doubtless well considered and long intended it; on our wait-

ing on him after the decisive step was taken, 'his first question was, as he looked inquiringly at us, "Chabare?" (What's the news? What's going on?) On our giving no direct answer, he broached the subject and said, on our remarking that we were not sufficiently acquainted with the state of matters to judge fairly of them, that he certainly had the strongest grounds for so acting; nay, that this course was absolutely the only one. Of one thing, however, he may rest certain, that his meditated mighty plans of improving these countries are, if not for ever, at least for a long, long period, all crushed and baffled, as he will never now make aught of their inhabitants, who will, after this, much rather desert and quit for ever these lands, than allow *him* to introduce alterations and improvements among them. With Mohammed Din's incarceration, all faith of the Arabs in the Pascha has vanished; kind and friendly as he has acted, and may in future act toward them, all confidence is gone, and their hatred to the Turks, strong enough already, from the reports of their cruelties related by fugitives from Schendy and Damer, as well as by the former visits of the Defterdar, yet too well remembered, will be by his conduct inflamed and strengthened.

Life in our camp has little to recommend it. At night Arabs swarm round us on all sides, whose peculiar cries and howlings portend nothing pleasant. The war-cry of the Arabs, a high shrill "Rara ra la lah," similar to that of the Maniotes, has something hideous and unnatural about it, especially during the night, and leads one to suppose the utterers to be far more numerous than they really are. Measures of great precaution have been taken on our side, in case of any sudden attack. The whole cavalry encamp at night outside the seriba, and one-third of the infantry is always under arms, being relieved at intervals of two hours by the other divisions. The fatigues of these duties, added to the bad food, have brought sicknesses of all kinds on the soldiery. Why should not one division remain on duty all night, and thus give the infantry two full nights' rest out of every three?

To the tedium and ennui of our camp-life had now been added other annoyances. Our camel-keeper, Mahomet, must have his siesta during the day, and so allow to be stolen from under his

guard the two dromedaries given us by the Pascha, that were celebrated for their power, speed, and endurance, as also a young naga (female camel of highest breed), that the Sheik Soliman had sold us as a great favour. She had not in all the camp her equal in endurance, was gentle in her paces, not too tall, and got over the ground quickly and smoothly. When a dromedary does not step out strong and boldly, the Arabs say he has a cold back (Dach'r bárt). Along with these went also three of our pack-camels,—a heavy loss for us. The keeper too, from fear of punishment for his neglect, has also absconded; but on our sending out our other servants, they soon hit upon the track of our stolen beasts, leading in the direction of Soggilab, and this showed plainly they had been carried off by the thieving Haddenda. The Pascha certainly at once wrote to the Sheik of Soggilab, to have our animals sought for, but they have never appeared again, and the Pascha has omitted to compel this rascally tribe to supply their place by others. Our equipment for this expedition had, ere we left Chartum, already cost us 8000 piastres, and now we are again put to the fresh expense of buying other dromedaries and pack-camels (as we have only four left), to convey ourselves and goods, the daily rumour of the camp being that we march in the morning. It is too well known, unfortunately, to all, that we must buy, which will compel us to pay double price. The sums of money lost on these chasuas are great, and men like ourselves, engaging in one for the first time, have to pay a premium for experience. But the greatest annoyance, as well as additional expense, is the servants' waste, extravagance, and insolence. We have as few of these pests as possible, but still have five for loading, feeding, and attending to our camels; one as cook; one as attendant on ourselves, and to bring in coffee when we have visitors. The tricks, lies, idleness of these gentry is beyond my powers of relating. One European servant would do more than any four of them; indeed, were not the karbatsch kept ever in hand, one would neither get work out of them, nor be able to get on with them.\*

\* We have long ago been convinced of the truth of the common saying in Egypt, that no Arab can bring home even an orange or lemon from the market, without running a pin into and sucking it, so as to make something by the

The only remarkable quality these fellows possess is a curious power of distinguishing, and this enabled our servants to track our lost camels to Soggilab, following their footmarks among those of hundreds of other animals. It is incredible how the natives here can distinguish and follow up a lost beast's foot-tracks, and even the footmarks of a man. Have they merely once or twice glanced at the footmark of man, camel, horse, ass, &c., they can with certainty distinguish it from a thousand others, follow the trail any distance, so long as the ground is tolerably favourable, and wind or rain has not obliterated the marks. When need requires it, a professional tracker is called on, shown the foot-print of the lost man or beast, and then he, no further question asked, follows up the track over paths and roads, through streets and towns where daily thousands pass, and seldom fails to hunt out the game; nor does he move on slowly, or bending down with eye examining the ground, but moves on briskly, at a sharp run, along the quickly spied-out track. We ourselves beheld, near the Armenian Karabet, how one of these men, being shown the track of a runaway slave, followed it up, and, after three days, overtaking the fugitive, returned again with him a prisoner. On one occasion, my brother having, more than an hour before, left the Pascha's dwelling in Chartum, to visit some sick in a distant part of the city, was again wanted by the great man; the tschausch (orderly) was sent after him, and tracked his footsteps out,

job The love of theft seems to have been an hereditary vice of Arabs from the earliest times, as even in the Bible they are described as unsafe companions. However, their thefts are generally those of the pettiest kinds, such as Frank servants would not think of, as they never take more than a small portion of what they steal from, even were this a pile of coin or a heap of sugar. They either trust that the owner's stupidity will not miss this (and it is true Europeans are very apt in this country to sink into a curious state of careless listlessness), or they imagine that, in case of discovery, no great noise will be made about such a trifle. The Barabra are perfect children in their manners. When sent to fetch anything, they never think, full as their hands may be, of first emptying them, ere trying to lift other articles. One of these we, for our sins, had, while in Chartum, attempted to make a cook of, and instruct him, as far as we ourselves had picked it up, in making our favourite dish of jugged hare, but all in vain — a nice mess he made! A cookery book would, indeed have been a treasure here, as the favourite dishes of one's young and healthy days are doubly relished when ailing, or among a people whose food and cookery are so different to European.

amongst thousands of others, through street and lane, and found him. When we remained behind the army, on the Atbara's bank, the Schaigies sent back to escort us discovered, among the tracks of the 700 or 800 asses of the army, the foot-marks of one belonging to a friend, and the event showed they were right.

Every evening now there is much lightning in the south-east, and it seems as if the rainy season had commenced in the Abyssinian mountains; we also have had here a forerunner of the much-dreaded chariffs, repeated showers, accompanied by thunder and lightning. This latter is called by the Turks "semscheck," by the Arabs "bark." We were, during these showers, well drenched in our airy tents, but slept on, wet as we were, till next morning, and did not suffer from our duckings. Every attempt to sleep in the day-time is now vain, from swarms of a small species of fly, that seems every day to augment its numbers; ants, too, are to be found in numerous troops, both in Taka and in the upper parts of Faszogl; all sorts of woollen or cotton clothes that come in their way are in an instant devoured, and in one night carpets, dresses, &c., are eat into rags. Their devastations are boundless, in the shortest time they have devoured the largest stores of grain; they are large in size, and of a different species from those in Dongola. We had for long observed in the fields mounds of earth, of a conical form, from five to twelve feet high, and three or five feet in diameter, and took them at first for look-out towers, such as are to be met with in Upper Egypt, with men on their tops to overlook the whole field, and drive away thieves, whether winged or biped. Round, and even in our camps, were many such mounds; anxious to discover their real purpose, we examined them, and, to our astonishment, found they were not the work of men, but formed by the small ant. On the outside were merely to be seen a number of irregularly-placed round holes, without seeming order or arrangement, save that at the foot of the pillar, and for two feet from the ground, there were none; these holes led into the interior, and there the swarms and multitudes of these small insects were beyond belief. The whole edifice was most artfully and scientifically laid out in small cells, with passages between them; the partitions of these

were of the finest earth, vaulted, polished smooth, and about as thick as a sheet of paper. So smooth were these walls, that they seemed as if polished by water, and a finer or better earth had been chosen for them, as they were totally different from the outside of the structure, which closely resembled the soil it stood on; and, from its coarse, rude, and rough exterior, gave no promise of such beautiful master-work. Indeed, this excess of cells, the larger of which seemed as if formed for the saloons,—of winding passages story above story,—in short, all in the interior, was in an order, and of a masterly art, that man's hand could hardly have given it. Beyond dispute, this indescribably exquisite building is far more artistical and beautiful than that of the bees, though certainly not of the same benefit to man; one cannot enough examine these labyrinths, nor sufficiently admire the work of the small artizans. These beautiful inner arrangements extended from the top to within  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot of the ground; the under part was not so arranged or laboured, probably on account of the rains, as then the water may rise to such a height, and for this reason it may have no holes in its lower part, where the outer wall is formed more coarsely, thicker, and stronger; as the same instinct that causes these insects to raise the mound to protect and secure themselves from the storms of the chariffs, would also point out to them these minor precautions. The highest of these hillocks we measured was  $12\frac{1}{2}$  feet, with a diameter at the centre of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Some had inclosed within their retreat a tree-stem, and thus had a green, shady covering over them. In none could we discover any provision, magazines, or places for storing food.

Snakes continue to be brought to us in numbers. A soldier brought us a domestic cat, which he wished to sell us as a rarity; others brought frogs and such common reptiles. Chameleons are to be had in plenty here; their heads and tails form the larger part of their whole; these, as commonly believed, change colour, but neither so completely nor so variedly as men say. Their general colour is green, with yellow spots or streaks, and from heat, it changes from sunshine to shade; angry, or pleased, this green becomes darker or brighter; at times on one side of the body the

colour is light green, without any yellow, and on the other, dark green with yellow spots, and the same colouring of the body's sides extends down their long slender tails. The whole body becomes, at times, of a bright grey with some dark points and the yellow spots often wholly vanish. or are changed into lighter streaks. The changes from dark to bright light green, and the whole body becoming almost transparent, are the only variations of colour we have remarked after two months' close observátion. In fact, the animal, with its immense head and mouth, its pig-like back and long flexible tail, by which it can suspend itself from the branches, is no pleasant object to look at, and may well be hateful to many ; its body is covered with a skin similar to that of a frog, its eyes small but cunning looking, and are so placed and moveable, that it can see directly behind itself with them. What it feeds on we cannot tell ; probably, from the construction of its great toothless jaws, on insects. With these we have tried them, and with other kinds of food, and kept five tied up with cords, to try and discover their means of sustaining life, but in vain, as we never discovered them eating anything. They pass the whole day clinging by their claws or tail to the post or cord, seldom stirring, and in spite of this we can perceive no visible decrease in them, either in size or fatness, nor any perceptible change for better or worse.

A young wild cat (*kediss*, or *otta el challa*) we have, affords us far more amusement ; it is now completely tamed, and its equal in beauty will not be easily found. Its prevailing colour is grey, but its feet, head, and whole body are covered over with the most beautiful leopard-like black spots. Its head is rather smaller and more pointed than those of our common German cats, but its crowning beauty is its large ears, that almost conceal its whole head, and are black with a white stripe. Many persons here hold it to be a young tiger (*nimr*), but its whole habits and structure prove it to be a cat. The natives call it *fachet*, or *fagged*, and say it is a kind of *gins* (cat). Its companion and playfellow is a rat, with long silvery tail, which, when enraged, it can, like our weasel (which it is much of a size with), stiffen and thicken, carrying it high over its back. The poor creature was brought to us with two broken legs, and we at once gave it to the cat that its pains might be ended ; but the cat, either not recognising its prey, or being wearied of living alone, would not touch it, so the rat.

cured by splints, gradually recovered, and tamed by pain, became first favourite of the cat; they became inseparable, ate together, and slept arm in arm. nor did the rat ever attempt to avail itself of its perfect liberty and leave us. It is not, as our European rats, ugly or ill smelling, and from its long silvery furred tail, may almost be called handsome.

The Pascha, either to show his good nature, or from some other reason of his own, sent my brother this morning to visit the Sheik Mussa (Moses), who is from Sauakim. My brother found him, outside the camp, lying on the earth in the open air, barely covered by a ferda, and his head resting on a stone, round which stood his followers. He had violent fever, with bloody-flux, and constant vomitings; the ground was moist from rain, and yet the sick man would hardly allow us to have him removed inside the camp. Joseph felt very doubtful as to his recovery, but the Pascha, who seemed to set much value on the Sheik's life (probably that he might not get the credit of having poisoned him), begged us to take him into our own hut, and do all we could to restore his health. Thus we had the pleasing company of this half-dead man in our small hut, and two of our servants had to watch him day and night, as he never once ordered his own people to come and attend on him, nor indeed had we any wish for them to be in our hut, as their habits of stealing are insufferable. For five or six days the sick man was an intolerable nuisance to us. We had to find him in bed and board, in short, to provide him with everything, nor could we, any moment of these days, call ourselves masters of our own hut, as, from early dawn to late at night, it was constantly crowded by some twenty or thirty Arabs, visitors of the sick man, who kept up a constant chattering with him. The patient, however, at last recovered, and one morning, during my brother's absence, quietly packed up his goods and took himself off, without as much as wishing me good bye, far less thanking us for all our trouble with him. So it is with all this race. Gratitude they know not; one may show them every kindness, but never will it occur to any of them to make the smallest return for it; thanks is a word to them unpronounceable, but they have a word, viz. kata-geirak, in their language, to express the sentiment, though why I know not, as they never use it; nor does this arise from



stupidity or ignorance, but from design. On the other hand, they are never tired of most unblushingly asking and begging for every thing; all they see they covet, and fancy it should be at once given them, even though all could be bought for little money, and they themselves have plenty of this or other means of procuring what they beg for. If one does not from the very first go on the principle of determinedly and rudely refusing them every thing, one is sure to be victimised. Their plan is to part with nothing save for double its value, and all who act otherwise they look on as fools. An Arab would see a man perish for want of a cup of water though plenty was at hand, ere he would reach him one, if he knew the dying man was without a para to give in return. In one word the whole race of the Bellad-Sudan, are the most completely devoid of feeling of any I ever was among.

Our life grows every day more monotonous and tedious; our pipes are almost our only amusement. In general the Turks and Arabs of Egypt are great smokers, but not those of the other tribes. Before the Turkish invasion, tobacco-smoking (*dogahn*, smoke), was unknown to the *Schaigies*, and even yet it is not practised by anything like a fourth part of these natives. Among the *Mograbins* it is hardly known at all,—but chewing, each portion of tobacco being accompanied by a piece of *natron*, is the order of the day. Master and servant, rich or poor, all carry about them a bag with tobacco and pieces of *natron* in it, and they do not carry their quid as Europeans who indulge in this bad habit do, in their cheek, but in front, between the teeth and upper lip. The blacks of *Gesira* have another method of enjoying this plant. They make a cold infusion of tobacco, and dissolve the *natron* in it. Of this precious mixture, called *bucca*, they take a mouthful, which they keep rincing about in their mouths for some quarter of an hour ere they eject it. So much do they delight in this *bucca*, that it is the highest treat they can offer to their dearest friends. The whole party sit in solemn silence, the *bucca* cup makes its round, each takes his mouthful, and nothing is heard save the gurgling and working inside the closed mouths; at such a moment these blacks will give no reply to the most important questions, as to open the mouth would be to lose the cherished *bucca*, so signs are

only used. All these races, however, blacks and all, are much addicted to snuff-taking (*nuschuk*); the snuff they usually carry in small oval-shaped cases, made out of the fruit of the *Dom-palm*; these have a very small opening at one end, stopped up by a wooden peg, and the snuff is not taken in pinches, but shaken out on the back of the hand.

This is the principal sensual pleasure, and the most favourite mental one of every follower of Islam is the counting the beads of his rosary; these rosaries, their chief ornament, they wear hanging on the neck or arm while praying, but carry it at other times as a plaything in the hand. This latter plan was much in vogue among many Franks in Alexandria, who could not remain quiet on the *divan* if they had not a rosary to finger, nor could they walk out on business through the streets without this indispensable plaything. The religious Turks use a rosary during prayer (*sali*), at each bead, the telling of which goes on rather more rapidly than with our German devotees, exclaiming the name of Allah. But other religionists carry also rosaries, — Copts, Eastern Christians, Armenians, &c., as a toy to amuse themselves with when their hands are not occupied by the pipe. Among the better classes, these rosaries are generally of precious stones, sweet smelling woods, or a dark, odorous compound of roses, ornamented with gold, silver, ivory, and such like. Those used by the lower order of Arabs are manufactured in *Hedjas* from the fruit of the *Dom-palm*, and are sold by the merchants and pilgrims (*Hadji*) as possessed of particular qualities and special virtues; others are made of rose and other fragrant woods, and retain considerable remains of such scents. The size and numbers of beads vary; commonly there are 99, in three divisions of 33 each, but there are some rosaries with only 33, and some with as many as 198 beads. The sacred number of Mahomet is 33, and pious Mussulmen pronounce or exclaim after prayer Allah's name 3 times 33 times (99); but this is not absolutely ordered by the *Koran*. For the first 33 times the exclamation is *Subhan Allah* (To God belongs all, God created all!); the second division *Hamdul el Allah* (Thanks to God!); the third *Allah Ackbar* (God is great—is over all!). In usual conversation the name given the Deity is *Mauhle*.





The whole string of 99 beads is called *Sebbà*. The Sheiks and Faki are distinguished by extravagantly large and long rosaries; and in Hallenga, where almost every man is a Faki, we have seen some rosaries three or four feet long, each bead as large as a musket-ball. Such a rosary we were anxious to buy, to present to an aunt in our fatherland, to smooth her path to heaven, but were indignantly refused, called Christians and heathen dogs, told that this rosary had made the tour of the holy shrines, and been washed in the Purifying Well at Mecca.

Such rosaries form no small branch of trade with Hedjas, and there is also a considerable trade in glass beads and false pearls carried on between that place and Nubia, Bellad-Sudan, and Taka; and more than probable, this trade extends to the Abyssinians, Negroes, and inhabitants of the upper part of Faszogl and of the White Nile. Many houses trading in these beads are to be found in Cairo and Alexandria. The glass beads come chiefly from Europe (Bohemia, Venice, *Conterie di Venezia*), and from a place near Jerusalem; formerly from the latter alone. They are of all sizes and colours; in Abyssinia the large amber-like ones are the most valued, although now become much more common, and no longer bringing their earlier high price. These beads form all over the land of the coloured (Sudan) the chief ornament of the women, who wear them in rows round the neck, ancles, arms, both above and below the elbows, in the hair, and some, as also in Egypt, round the naked waist, with some one of the many highly-prized amulets of these lands hanging from them. We have now and then seen them worn as nose and ear rings. Little children are laden with strings of these beads, and of the small white mussel shells (*cypræa moneta*). The women often are dressed in nothing else save these, the *rahat* or short skin apron, and the well-known long cloth or *ferda* rolled round head, breast, and loins. Armlets and bracelets they must ever have, the poor of glass, black horn, or false pearls; the rich of ivory, silver, and even gold; and such are often also worn on the ancles. Children have narrow iron rings with small bells attached to them, fastened round the ancles, perhaps as ornament only, per-

\* The Faki should be well versed in the Koran, able to read and write; they are not allowed to smoke or drink *merissa*, and they should be pious men, but, in spite of their outward holiness, they are generally the greatest rascals going.

haps to tell of their whereabouts; the ringing of the bells much delight the small wearers. That the women keep their hair well anointed with fat, and their bodies smeared with it or grease, is a matter of course.

But here in Taka, where they are treated more as slaves, the women dare not smear fat (*dichen*) on their hair; here, too, they seem compelled to do most of the field work and household labour, while in Nubia and Gesira they pass the whole day on their couches in comfortable idleness, leaving all labour to the men and slaves.

The pretended pearls brought by Dschellabi (slave-dealers) into Egypt, and bartered with the blacks and natives of Habesch for slaves and other goods, often at a profit of 1,000 per cent., may be seen at times worn by the men on different parts of their bodies as ornaments, but very sparingly. Ear-rings of lead and silver are worn by both men and women of Habesch, and those worn by the Sultan of Habesch and his family were of gold; these ornaments are not worn in the lobe of the ear, but in the upper gristly part, or in the elongation of the skin opposite to or over the orifice of the ear. Usually one ear only is thus adorned, and many, like the Sheik of the Beni-Amer, had two rings in the same ear. Rings through the right nostril are less common here than in Upper Egypt or Nubia, and in Taka we saw none; but where such are worn and happen to be lost or not in use, a piece of wood is always stuck in to keep the orifice open. On the feet are generally sandals, and in Chartum the women wear at times a curious kind, raised at front, and behind on bulky pieces of wood two inches thick, so that the foot can never touch the ground. If the object of this is to avoid wet or cold, it may answer; but the walking on them seems hard work, and is by no means graceful.

The Arab's pet ornament of all is undoubtedly his beard, although with most of them this mark of manhood is neither full nor flowing. He values it more than mustachios; by it he swears, and puts his hand on it when he would support aught he tells as truth. A Skukurie-Arab had a considerable and very painful wen on his chin; to cure him of it, it would have been necessary to cut off his beard—a scanty and hardly visible one it was—but to this he would on no account submit; he much preferred retaining wen and beard. The blacks of the island have little or no beard; still

if only a hair shows itself here and there, this is carefully spared, and the barber (*müssein*) must daily be in requisition to tend it. No greater joy can happen them than when they can get possession of a mirror; for hours will they hold this in their hands, gazing into it, and never seeming to tire of admiring and examining in all directions their dark visages. It is solely for the sake of the glass that the blacks let the barbers come near their heads, as it is only on the eye-brows and hair of the ears he has to work. However, one of these blacks, in his white garment, that he well knows how to drape over himself in artistical folds, and white turban surmounting all, has really an interesting and handsome appearance. His gait is slow and proud, and on his hand is displayed a broad, massive signet ring, on the smooth surface of which are engraved some Arabian characters spelling his name; behind him are his attendants, the most favoured of whom bears his sword with silver hilt. Almost all are tall and slender, dignified and stately in their movements. Their robes are always, if possible, clean and spotless; they especially favour white, as they hold it to be the colour of purity and friendly feelings. They often have examined our skin, and cannot comprehend why it is so white, nor how it is possible that the blood should be perceptible in the veins. They were particularly curious as to the colour of our women\*; and when we assured them they were far fairer, expressed their opinion that it must be a great pleasure to have such a wife; and for the same reason did one of them extol the charms of a certain female slave, as being white as snow (*saie el telki*). However, it is perfectly incomprehensible to most of them that all our nation should be white; that Arabian is not spoken in our country; that men there know nothing of the supreme and powerful Turkish rule, and that our customs and habits should be what they are. Over and over again are we asked, if all the men of our country are *hakims* (plural, *hakama*, doctors), probably as most of the Franks who visit these lands are, or wish to pass for such. Never will they believe that a Frank travels merely to see foreign countries, to collect objects of interest or other curiosities; but often are we asked, "Are

\* *Mara*, woman; *bint*, *bannaht*, a girl; *garië*, *gaddim*, female slave.

your brothers achuan, (achui, my brother, so each calls his countryman) out of their senses, to waste so much money and build such large houses to contain collections, merely to look at them?" That all this leads to the advance of science they cannot at all comprehend.



# AFRICAN WANDERINGS;

OR,

AN EXPEDITION FROM SENNAAR TO TAKA, BASA,  
AND BENI-AMER,

•  
WITH A PARTICULAR GLANCE AT

THE RACES OF BELLAD SUDAN.

BY

FERDINAND WERNE,

AUTHOR OF

“EXPEDITION IN SEARCH OF THE SOURCES OF THE WHITE NILE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

J. R. JOHNSON.

**IN TWO PARTS.**

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## CHAP. VIII.

Effects of exposure to the sun — Diseases of the natives — Their insensibility to pain—Stoicism under surgical operations — Mograbin soldiers — A travelled Arab—Tyranny of Mehemet Ali—Amulets—Foreigners in Egypt—Turkish prejudice.

WE suffer greatly from the heat; and it is only in cases of much urgency we stir out, or quit our hut, from noon till four hours after it. When we are summoned by the Pascha,—and to appear before him, one must at any hour be ready, — we cover up our heads, in addition to the taghie (takie, under-cap) and tarbush, by a hood or cloth, as we have been warned by sad experience to take every precaution. On our journey up, my brother received a stroke of the sun in spite of his straw hat, and had for two days to struggle with death; and I only saved him by the desperate remedy of constantly blistering his stomach and the soles of his feet. In spite, of this fearful heat, we still wear our usual woollen clothing; and even over this, a warm silken scarf (hessahn), which, as it produces perspiration, is much to be preferred to thinner stuffs. The principal care we Germans require is, shading the head; on the march, we keep this rolled up, and so covered, that we often cannot see out of our eyes; we must cut queer figures. But even the Bedouins themselves, in warm sunshine, carefully cover their heads with their woollen barakan (batanie), although almost all the rest of the body is left exposed or naked; and, for the same reason, the Turks wear two tarbushes. As far as the present inhabitants of Dongola and the Island are concerned, the sun does not seem to exercise any very hurtful power on their brain-pans. Both races, however, are well protected from his rays, by their well-greased and plaited hair, which, like the woolly hair of the negroes, forms a good sheltering roof, or thatch: but even among them are to be found old bald-headed men, who seem to care as

little for the sun's rays as the others. It is very remarkable, that persons with perfectly smooth-shaved heads, and the rest of their body all bare, save some old rag about the loins, will expose themselves all day to the most glowing sun, and not complain of headache, or any thing of the kind. What would we poor Europeans do in such a case? In less than five minutes we would be raving mad. Our youngest attendant, Sale, from Mahass, sits the whole day in the sun, his head uncovered, save by his short-cut hair. Out of pity we gave him an under cap, to somewhat protect him; and as it was a new possession he wore it delightedly till noon, when I again saw him, though then the heat was strongest, sitting bareheaded by the fire; and even the smallest children, such as are with us yet carried in arms, one sees lying for hours long under the glowing sun; and surely those with their tender bones should not be better able to bear its rays, than we with our fully developed bodily powers. How comes it that these delicate creatures do not sicken under it? Of their being accustomed to it, there can be no talk here; and how would infants of our race bear it? However, custom does something; as at first we could not venture out here in the sun without having, in a few minutes, blisters and painful scalds on our naked hands; the skin of our faces was scorched, and, regularly every week, peeled off in great blotches; but without our gaining by it a more juvenile appearance, although we often jested over and amused ourselves with such hopes. Being burnt almost as brown as Arabs, we can now venture to expose our hands without gloves: but still we dare not allow any part of our body usually covered, to be exposed naked to the sun, even for a short while, without we choose to pay for it by a painful redness, almost to be considered a kind of erysipelas. Besides, the covered parts of the body have, in spite of the fiery heat, preserved their original colour. What a fearful state it would be in this country should a man not perspire! The whole body is burning hot; one is tortured by a not to be assuaged inward thirst, and racking restlessness; the hair of the head stands on end; and, although one is inside the house, and sheltered from the sun, it is of a burning heat; every separate hair seems to act as a conductor of the sun's rays to the brain; one knows not where to fly from such a torturing state, which, besides, is generally accom-

panied by weakness and despondency, and is usually, though not always, the forerunner of fever. Liver and gastric illnesses are not very common; and acute tropical liver disease we have only seen one instance of. Gastritis chronica and rheumatism are commoner. Ferendit (in muscular hair-worm, vena medinensis) has not been seen during our whole expedition; it seems as if this locality was free of it. In Chartum, many of the black soldiers suffered from it; but, probably, brought it from their own countries with them. From many instances, we are led to suspect they communicated it to each other by the touch. The chief spots for ferendit are Dinka, Frantiet, from whence it got its name; Atisch, Katareff, and most parts of the lands of the blacks and negroes. In Taka, the deadly fever swelling, or ague, is so common, that one may safely say every third man suffers under it. The females suffer less from it than the males. Usually it is of such a size, that it extends even to the arcus cruralis, and almost the whole front division of the belly is filled up by it; all over where it does extend, only a few drops of blood can be drawn out, and that after much pain and trouble, by cupping. A general wail is made over the Genna el Wurda (Child of Fever), which gives rise to numbers of other illnesses. As yet, there have only been two dropsical cases, and both these were consequences of disorganisation. Phthisis, especially in women, is oftener seen; and also here and there are cases of hæmorrhoides, but not in any great numbers.

Operating is here an easy matter for the surgeon, as seldom does a sound tell of pain, nor are men necessary to hold the patient while operated on. There is, indeed, much to surprise one in this great self-command or insensibility of the blacks during the most painful operations. For instance, a black in the hospital had caries of all his toes: Joseph amputated the foot à la Chopart, without the patient being held or bound, and without his emitting one cry of pain. The operation completed, it was discovered that the head of the tibia and the joint of the ancles were very carious, although this could not be perceived from the exterior; and so it was necessary to at once take off the leg under the knee. My brother told the patient this: he replied, if it was so, and it must

be done, that he had better not lay aside his knife, but proceed at once, as he (the patient) would remain quiet as before; and he did so: the second operation being over, he then, but not till then, begged for some merissa. Although the wound healed well, this man afterwards died, from caries again breaking out in the knee and hip joint; a real *dispositio cariosa*. The blacks' cure for the *frantiet* (*farendit*), viz. fire, is certainly the best and surest.\* They run a red-hot nail, or other pointed iron, many times into the swelling, and by this the spot where the worm generally lies, with part of his body rolled up in a knot, is laid open; they think no more of this than a European would do of taking out a thorn; and with all coolness perform on themselves this small but most painful operation.† In Chartum, Joseph applied the actual cautery to two soldiers; one in the first, and the other in the second stage of *coralgie*, with good success. The firing streaks were not small, and the fat, insensible skin hissed much under the hot iron; but neither would allow himself to be held, nor was it required, as only a slight convulsive motion of the muscles of the face showed the pain suffered. Nay, one of them during the firing said, “*Ana badenn uachet kabab*,” (after this, I may pass as a kabab — roasted bit of meat). During circumcision, these black soldiers will stand upright, and even laugh, while it is going on; the presence of many spectators may contribute much to this stoicism,

\* It is also sometimes got rid of by salt water bathing, as has been remarked on slaves brought to Alexandria.

† I also afterwards cured in Chartum (my poor brother having made his early and sad departure from this life) our brave Agar (meaning in the Aggem speech of Taka, elephant hunter), who had acquired the disease from a Koschef in return for having cured his almost cut-off head. This lad, from the Basa hills, where he, during a *chasufa*, had been made a slave, calmly held out his foot and kept it there like a stoic, so that he might be held by the other servants as “*schatte*” (brave), while my own hand trembled fearfully. Each morning showed two pieces of the worm, like white threads, coming out of the opening caused by the burning; as these dried up they fell off, and the wound soon healed of itself. Being obliged afterwards, from want of travelling funds, to leave him in Alexandria, I handed him over to the *Alt-Graf Franz von Salm-Reifferscheidt* of Prague, who soon became very fond of him, and had an excellent education bestowed on him, as I myself afterwards saw when on my return home, and was no more than I expected from my honest countryman.

and by it they would also show their zeal and ardent wish to quit heathenism. The slaves that come from the neighbourhood of Faszogl, the hills of Kordofan, the countries of Schilluk and Dinka, are never circumcised ; and it is said, that, with the latter, the pulling out of the four under cutting-teeth has the same significance as circumcision ; and this is done to both men and women. Burning sores with caustic seems to inflict no pain whatever on the blacks.

This indifference towards pain exhibited by the blacks generally seems to be highly valued among the better educated and wealthier of them ; these, the first among their tribes, would hold themselves degraded, and look on it as a deep disgrace to themselves, to appear weak in the presence of those who are sure to attend in crowds even during the smallest operations. With the common people it may, indeed, be actual insensibility to pain. A sick man is constantly visited by his friends and relatives, and generally the small hut is so full, that many must remain outside. The sick man may be ever so ill, may be in the greatest pain, every day becoming worse, and yet, to his friends' questions of "Taibin ? sciak ente ?" (How goes it ? How do you feel ?) is only the one answer, "El hamdull Allah, taib" (Well, praise be to God !). No complaint is ever heard during such visits. This custom, or this pride, is not confined to the blacks, but is common to both Arabs and Turks. The natives of Egypt and Syria alone cry out and behave like children under the smallest pain, all running off as soon as they see the knife ; though they behave tolerably well under any operation performed by fire, perhaps because they are used to such from their youth.

Not long ago my brother had to set a broken thigh-bone, and where, too, there was serious dislocation of the broken parts ; but the black sufferer, though he allowed it gave him some pain, still declared he was no woman, but a man (achu el bennaht, brother or defender of the weak — a truly splendid name for the brave, and a title of which all are proud), and had slain many enemies ere he gained his freedom.

The Schaigie Melek Saat, whose father yet rules the old Dongola (Dongola agùhs), had received, a month before the present chasua, some hundred blows of the stick at the orders of the Pascha.

One side where he had been punished healed quickly, but under the skin on the other shoulder formed a collection of matter of large extent. In spite of all this, he made on horseback the march from Chartum to Aronga, of more than a month's duration, with the army, in a state when another man would have been lying in bed with violent fever. In Aronga, at last, he called in Joseph; but now, from neglect, a hard, ulcerous sore had formed:—Joseph informed him it would be necessary to cut it out. "Oh," he said, "cut away, when and where you will; I can stand it:" and he kept his word.

A Mograbin from the great Oasis (Oa) had got his hand shattered by the bursting of his gun. This happened five hours' journey from the camp; and he came to us the next day, sitting erect and stately on his horse, having stopped the bleeding by powder and sand. With all possible coolness, he looked on during the painful operation performing on him, supporting his injured arm in his sound right hand.

But, manly and brave as the Mograbins may show themselves, still, from their falseness and dishonesty, they are little liked by the other Arabs, or by the Turks. They are said to be men of two faces (*Magrab endu wuschu etenien*), *i. e.* they can speak kind words, while they are false at heart; and we must, as far as we know them, add our confirmation of this character. They are generally tall and stout, have long-shaped faces, strong black beards, long high noses, and very expressive but rather cunning countenances. With us they could pass as Jews. Their gait and demeanour are haughty, but to superiors they are submissive and obsequious, with constant smiles on their faces; and if, as it is said, they are proud of their descent, holding themselves superior to all other Arabs, nay, even to the Turks themselves, they know well how to conceal this pride in the presence of the latter. However little conscientious about other things, they are strict in observing their religious ceremonies, though strongly given to luxury, spending much care and coin on their dress. This consists, when it can be had, of a tarbush, a long, narrow, white under shirt, and a great, very wide upper shirt of the same colour, which must reach the ground; its sleeves being also so wide as to almost touch the



earth. Shoes must never be wanting, however old or bad. Thus they dress and ornament themselves for themselves alone, as they have little intercourse with the other Arabs, and keep altogether to their own tribe. The greater part of them have come, some thirty years before, from Tripoli, with the family Ladjam, who had there long carried on quarrels and hostilities with the Pascha Juffuff, but had at last to yield. Many are also to be found here from all parts of Barbary, who had quitted their native lands in hopes of finding rich prizes and spoil here. They boast highly of their own virtues, and of the great riches and high dignities they held at home; but all this is false; one knows only too well the state of things among the Bedouins there, and to this race most of these belong. However, they show themselves good soldiers and horsemen; although the horses they are supplied with by government are bad enough. Their weapon is a long musket, which they well know how to use. Many have a brace of pistols in addition, but the sabre is only worn by their leaders. They themselves look on it as a useless weapon; and, in their opinion, war is only to be carried on by firing. They rush on and fire, and as rapidly retire back again. They have to find their own horses and arms, and maintain them; receive seventy-five piastres monthly, and thirty rupp of durra for their horse, and six for themselves. If the horse dies, or is killed in action, then must they from their own means furnish another, and if they have not the means, as is generally the case, then the divan or their leaders supply one, and always at a high price; so it is too often the case that the soldier remains two or three years in debt, during which time he receives no pay. Besides, their leaders, in the most unlawful way, take the highest interest from their men's pay, which is the same in peace and war; or they buy necessary articles in the mass, and issue them to the soldier who has no money at two prices. Thus, between the cheating of the divan and their officers, the poor soldier in the end gets no pay at all. Thus acts the commandant of artillery, thus almost all other commanders; and the wretched soldiery, who often for many years receive no coin, are then compelled to apply to these Jews for the means of keeping life in themselves. These tricks can be no secret to the Pascha; and it is well known that Abd-el-Kader, the commandant of artillery, whose monthly pay is

only 600 piastres, makes in this way, by selling to the soldiers clothing, soap, &c. at the most usurious prices, some ten purses monthly. To extract money is the only thing these rascals of Turks, who stream into Egypt from all the countries round — Circassia, Kurdistan, Rumelia, &c. &c. — think of or attend to.

The lot of the Mograbins here is, therefore, not very much to be envied. Moreover, often for a couple of years they do not see their wives or children, so well does the Pascha keep them employed; and, ere long, most of them will be swept away by the diseases of the unhealthy climate. As a solitary instance among them of one man of really good character whom we have known, must be mentioned Mohammed Agà, of the family of Ladjam. He is a leader of some 400 men, and this dignity is hereditary in his family. Of the guidance of money he is, indeed, no great master; for, besides his monthly pay of five purses, and his other revenues of nearly as much, he has already got rid of some 2000 purses, although he is not yet twenty-seven years old. And in this expenditure he has had little pleasure, for the Turks do not understand how to expend money worthily. As usual, the brave but not too wise Ladjam has been ably assisted by many friends in this labour. His mother, who lives in Cairo, will now no longer send him money, and he therefore often finds himself in the saddest dilemma, as he supports in his household some 140 persons.\* In his potations, Ladjam has now become very moderate, since his brother drank himself to death by pouring daily down six or eight bottles of brandy, and wine in proportion to allay the thirst the brandy caused. In earlier days, in Cairo, Mohammed Agà could hold his own with him. He does not stand high with the Pascha, as he is neither flatterer nor soldier, and he some two years ago caused some hundred blows to be given Ladjam. The case was this: Ladjam had fallen desperately in love with a beautiful lady of Cairo, and

\* His mother has herself alone to blame, that her son in his youth indulged in all kinds of excess. When Ladjam was only twelve years old she gave him a young female Abyssinian slave as a playfellow, and on his entering his fourteenth year she presented him with a Circassian girl, by way of change. At this moment, the son of Omar Kaschif, who is only twelve years old, lives with a wife of the same age. It is frightful to see how such young children are almost forced into vice, and how their parents look on it as a sign of stoutness they may be proud of.

sent a confidential servant to bring the fair dame to Bellad-Sudan ; but while on their journey the couple spent and wasted some seventy or eighty purses. On his arrival Ladjam threw the cheating servant into prison, "karakohl," and had him well bastinadoed. He complained to the Pascha, who, having no very kind feelings towards Ladjam, and perhaps angered by the whole story, sentenced the latter to corporal punishment. That the dignity and authority of the higher officers must be much impaired by their being subject to such punishments, follows as a matter of course. Now, the poor Ladjam goes in fear and trembling to wait on the Pascha, and one never hears a word from him while there, unless in answer to a direct question. His major domo, his Mentor, in short, his right hand man, is old Achmet Salau (from Selva), who already had been long with his father. He says, and what he says is true, that he really looks after Ladjam's interest ; and that, were it not for him, the latter would ere now have been beggared. Achmet is a tall, stately, and, spite of his advanced age, a very handsome man. He is better acquainted with European customs and uses, than any other Turk I ever met with, prides himself not a little on his civilisation, and calls the others blockheads, who have not seen the world, and, for all their stupid pride, know nothing of life, especially of European life and pleasures. When he pays us a visit, he gives vent to what he still retains of broken Spanish, Italian, and French. He was once, in earlier times, as others have assured us, a well-doing merchant of Tripoli, and worth some 25,000 Spanish dollars. In the course of business he visited many European ports ; life there pleased him only too well, so he gathered up his coin, and set out on his travels ; during which he visited Paris, Cadiz, Madrid, Naples, Genoa, Venice, Vienna ; and of this last he still remembers the names Prater and Danube. This tour had played the mischief with his treasure, and he at last found himself compelled to pass to Egypt and turn soldier. How much his entertainment of fair dames and kind friends also aided in the devouring of his capital, can easily be imagined. He himself often says, "I have never repented I laid out my money in that way ; I have seen the world, and made myself acquainted with it ; I have had my enjoyments, such as no Turk knows, and such as I never will have again. Even now, in my

reduced state, where I merely manage to live, I have memories left me which I would not sell for any sum. Ah!" he cried out, "those putane belline, quest' vino buono, deloachti mafish!" (Now it's all over). "It is much better that I should have spent my money when young, than that after my death the divan should have got it all."

A Turk is in the right when he thinks thus; for, if it is possible, the divan manages one way or another to be heir to almost all. The widow of the dead man gets nothing, or so little it hardly supports her; and if she is still young, she is forced to marry some other man of humbler rank. The younger children are placed in some establishment for education, the elder into the regiments, and the state pockets the property. Thus are high and low treated, if any gain can be made by it; only the children of the former are usually appointed to some rank in the army. But it is not always that the state has time to wait till death: it knows other ways and means to get money. And this causes all, Turks and rayahs (subjects), to conceal and hide in every possible way from its prying eyes every symptom of riches or property. Every one complains of being poor, suffers privations, goes meanly dressed, lets the outside of his house fall into decay, has in his reception-chamber his worst carpets and furniture, &c. &c., while in the interior of his house, and especially in his harem (charim), all is luxury and abundance; his wives shine in silken robes and costly jewels, and are waited on by numerous slaves of every colour. Incense perfumes their rooms, the most splendid Persian carpets of the richest, freshest, and gayest colours, cover divans and floors,—and he, poor man, casts off his dirty, shabby clothes, wipes from his face his assumed humility and obsequiousness, and become sa man. Rich robes cover the cooling silken shirt, costly Cashmere shawls girdle his loins, and form the stately Turk; yellow shoes or slippers adorn his feet; and, perfumed with fragrant scents, he strides now with all gravity, as lord and master, into his inner apartments, where all are at his orders. At the doors the guards of his earthly paradise humbly await him, the wretched eunuchs (Tauwasch), as slowly and stately he approaches the circle of his women, haughtily returning the reverent salutations. His long pipe with precious amber mouth-piece (Tarkib) is brought him, the loved Gebbeli

(best kind of Syrian tobacco) is kindled with aloe wood, and at once spreads its aroma round, while the evening passes with music, dance, and song. Thus do the rich enjoy in secret that wealth, which a barbarous government prevents their otherwise expending; for should any one in the smallest degree openly display such, a revision of his accounts would at once take place, were he in office and, without doubt, errors and deficiencies be made out, which would far exceed all his means. If he were only a merchant (*Chawàga*), the state would compel him to make advances that never would be repaid him; or he would be forced to purchase, to the full amount of all he possessed, some produce of the country at double the price the state had already bought it at, and so his ruin made inevitable.

While we were at Cairo, a rich Armenian firm was thus ruined by old Mehemet Ali. He compelled this Armenian, who was a *rayah*, to purchase from himself, at a very exorbitant price, cotton to the full amount of his means; and as soon as he had received coin in payment, he sold out of his own magazines so much cotton, and at so low a price, that it was only after a very long time, and at less than half price, the poor Armenian could dispose of his. Such are the honest practices of this conscientious ruler, as often and wherever he can; and by such acts of tyrannical violence he has succeeded in so well clearing out his subjects, that in the whole valley of the Nile, not one single wealthy person is to be found. If here and there a man yet possesses wealth, he dare not, under existing circumstances, let it one instant appear, or enter into the smallest speculation with it; from this are now the bazaars in Cairo and other former cities of trade empty in comparison with former times, and from this arises the want of credit and small repute the Egyptian merchants command in other lands.

As badly, if not worse, are the members of the military profession situated. They never receive their discharge; and if they are Arabs, the very thought of it would be high treason. Many of these soldiers, especially the Turks, who have managed to get hold of high office, and by cheatings and extortions from the soldiery as well as from the people of their departments have succeeded in gathering up a tolerable sum, are all most desirous to

retire to their native land, or into some town where they may pass the remainder of their lives in rest and quiet. Well, they say so; and what happens? Their accounts, since they entered the army, are revised, and it were a miracle were no deficiency discovered, and such too as far exceeds all the goods and property of the culprit; so that, were he to live to the most unusual age, he never could make good the sum wanting. Thus are and remain all, even the most dignified Paschas, slaves for life; and ever must they tremble either for their wealth or their lives. If they die soon—it is well—the divan are their heirs. If they are tenacious of life, or show any symptom of attempting flight, means are found to introduce into their coffee or food a certain specific for all life's pains. The higher Turks, whose wealth is known, are thus ever held in constant fear; and often present large sums to the divan as antidotes to such specifics, or, during life, declare the divan their heir, and this proper feeling is found to be in general a good diverter of the evil: such doings as these are not solely confined to Egypt, but are common enough in Turkey itself.

Turks, Arabs, and Negroes, all add greatly to these and other annoyances by their superstitions. These prevail, indeed, more or less in all countries among the ignorant and demi-savage races, but here it is not confined to the low or uneducated; but the same ridiculous opinions are held by the highest and best informed. On all of them are amulets, *i. e.*, texts or words from the Koran, written on tablets and inclosed in leather cases, to be seen. Even the otherwise free-thinking and well-informed Pascha is not free from these superstitions, as, although no amulets are to be seen on himself, still his favourite dromedary bears various such charms on his neck. Among the Haddenda at present each has fresh amulets suspended to some old long worn one, and all for the same object, *viz.*, to make themselves ball and sabre proof against the daily expected attack of the Turks.

Ali Aga, whose family-name is Sobi, leader of 300 Magrabins, told us, with solemn face, that during a battle in Hedjas, against the Bedouins there, he had three horses shot under him, and all his dress torn and riddled by balls, but not one of them touched his body. We said, he was in high luck; but he proudly drew from his breast a little old leathern bag, and holding it up trium-

phantly, replied: "It was no luck, but this treasure did it, which a saint in my own country gave me!" Although he still wears this and many such charms, the sabres of the Abyssinians seem to have no respect for such relics, as these have wofully slashed him in an attack by the Turks on Makada. Never have we seen on any skull such severe scars, or any attended with the loss of so much of the bone. On the head he has four cuts, more than four inches long and one and a half broad, in which one could easily conceal his thumb: only the inner bone plate remains, and in one of these cuts there is such a loss of the bony substance that the pulsation of the brain can be felt. We, laughing, asked him, if, when he received these wounds, he wore his amulets against sabre cuts: he replied, he had them not on, as, if he had, no sabre would have harmed him. We also learned, from what he said, that men hold the inhabitants of Abyssinia, who are Christians, to know somewhat of the black art, believe them to have an understanding with the devil, and that, to make this power innocuous, some special papers or extracts are necessary. Sobi, who in spite of his fearful wounds was sound again within four weeks, these being healed by application of burnt coffee and brandy, the prescription of an Abyssinian doctor, is descended from one of the principal families of Fez, and his most cunning and shrewd face plainly declares his descent and country. He is false and hypocritical, has a constant smile at his command, is, as usual, outwardly a strict Mussulman, who punctually obeys all the commandments, drinks no spirituous liquors, and lives or seems to live very moderately and sparingly in all things, women alone excepted. Then, too, he has proved himself a brave and able soldier; and, if he had his own way, would extirpate all Franks and Christians.

Innate foes to both are indeed, more or less, all Mussulmen; the lower orders really from religious hate, the higher from envy, caused by the perfect freedom, the civilisation, and scientific acquirements of the Franks. They feel only too well that the Franks in every way are entitled to take a far higher position, and value themselves far higher; but they are too feeble and lazy for rivalry, and see no other means of avenging their inferiority than by silly pride and assumed contempt for all Europeans and European improvements or institutions. However, the time cannot

be far off, when the pride of these Mussulmen will be lowered, and they will be shown that the masters of the world, as Mahomet called his followers, along with their system, have become mouldy, worn out, and obsolete.

At present the Franks have actually more liberty in Egypt than the other races, as there the word of their consul is respected, and foreigners can no longer be insulted with impunity. So far has Europe brought matters with the old fox, Mehemet Ali. Still the Frank here must pay considerable regard to public appearances; for instance, were he to enter any mosque of more than common sanctity without the escort of a soldier, he would be cud-gelled; or, during the great procession which carries the curtain to Mecca, were any man in European dress to show himself in the streets, he would run a risk of being fearfully ill used. If a Mussulman female be found with a Frank, she is at once seized on, bastinadoed, and cast into prison, — nay, sometimes into the Nile. In general, the European is judged by his own laws; and this is an inestimable privilege, otherwise all Franks would fall a prey to the caprice of Turkish justice. Only for three crimes is a Frank handed over to be punished by Turkish law, *i. e.* is to be at once hanged or strangled, — viz., for breaking into a harem, for coining false money, or for intentionally murdering a Mussulman.

Unfortunately, in Egypt as in the free states, the foreigners there are the raff of their nations; for though one must not fancy that all Franks here are good-for-nothing rascals, still such is the character of most of them. It is almost incredible the villanous deeds most of these have committed in their own country and other lands, and in Egypt their villany, of course, arrives at the culminating point. It is from this that the better Turks form such mean opinions of Europeans, and hence it is a hard task to gain the respect or confidence of one of these. Besides, in Alexandria and more especially in Cairo, and more or less in many other cities of Egypt, Franks are to be found who have sought an asylum there, and who are nothing but perfect adventurers. Every nation has, indeed, its representatives here. The Greeks (Rumi), partly rayahs (subjects), partly free, are doubtless the most numerous.



That this debased race can bring little advantage to any land is too true; and the base character, especially of these Levant Greeks, is too well known, for one to desire the presence of any of this most ungrateful and faithless people.

Next to them the Italians are the most numerous, and their language is the prevailing one all over the Levant. But Italy seems in truth to have opened her brothels and houses of correction, and to have set her galley-slaves at liberty, to aid in rendering Egypt's people still more rascally and corrupted. Only very few among the Italians can be counted on as honest men; the most of them have been cast off by their country, or compelled to fly from it for their crimes. We had many opportunities of knowing well these Italians, as we were compelled to live, for a considerable time, in close intercourse with many of them, and must unfortunately express our conviction, that they are as false, cunning, and overbearing, where they dare show it, as they are obsequious and profuse of their friendships where this will gain them their ends. They seem unable to live without intrigue, and they are sure to introduce discord wherever they are suffered to interfere. Their grudges and hatred they will keep concealed for many a year, feign friendship towards those whose ruin they have sworn, until the hour of revenge has come, and they find themselves certain of success. All means are right to them, horrible or faithless as they may be, if they only lead to their aim. One can never be enough on his guard with them; a single word, rashly spoken, is enough for them, as from their own great cunning, and their ever being on the look-out to cause the ruin of others, they, agreeably to their innate characters, put the worst construction on every thing, and turn it, as far as they can, to the speaker's detriment.

They are generally most moderate in their potations, chiefly from their inborn stinginess, which often goes the length of miserliness; but in eating, especially when they can feast at another's expense, they prove themselves real gluttons. Of the paste they call maccaroni they never tire or can devour enough, and will gulp it down in quantities that a German stomach, which is in general no very delicate one, would turn away from in

disgust. They also rejoice in all kinds of puddings, or sweet dishes made with rice; but sweetmeats are their greatest delight, and for these all of them, both old and young, would almost give their souls. A plain soup they know not; theirs must be thickened with rice, or with some kind of pastes. In Egypt most of the Italians are in office of some kind, and unfortunately the greater part of them are mere charlatans, totally without, or only with the smallest smattering of education and science. All are conceited of their own persons, country, and race, which they hold as the first in the world, and it is most laughable to hear them brag and boast. They fancy they are still the same people who formerly ruled the world; those from Venice and its neighbourhood, still dream of the times of the Dorias and the glorious republic. English, French, and Germans they despise; and if one tells them of new or improved institutions in these countries, they defyingly assert the idea was borrowed from Italy; or if this is too palpable a falsehood even for them, then the thing is good for nothing. But the main cause of their holding all other nations as stupid, is, that none of the others will or can rival them in their baseness and wickedness. Alas for their sweet language! only used by them as a covering for their falsehood and faithlessness. Honour, honesty, or chivalrous courage, are unknown to them; never do they confront their foe face to face, but lurk for him in dark ambuscades, and only even then against the solitary and defenceless, do they dare to use a weapon. They, whose country is the toy of the great European powers, and which trembles if only a few companies of Austrian soldiers appear in it, foster yet the high idea of the future liberty and union of all Italy, and hope then to surpass the Rome of old. But in the mean time they hate each other as the plague, living ever among themselves in constant discord and strife. Among them, that is, among the Italians themselves, the palm as conspirators and intriguers is yielded to the Piedmontese, who are easily to be distinguished from the others by the broadness and boorishness of their dialect. A worthy representative of these is the apothecary Major, Lumello, at Chartum, who, from being a billiard-marker in Alexandria, raised himself by his serpentlike cunning to this post, and who understands as much of chemistry, and compounding drugs, as one of our peasants does of heraldry.

The number of the French here is much less than that of the two named nations. They are jesters, boasters, and charlatans, as usual; their every second word is "chez nous," where all is better, more beautiful, and more perfect than any where else. One may, indeed, call them *all* adventurers; but still mean or rascally tricks are by no means common among them, and their principal fault seems running into debt with their hosts and all who trust them. Their main supports are Soliman Pascha (the renegade, colonel Sivé) in Syria, and Clot Bey. The latter has had high success here: formerly a poor doctor in Marseilles (I was introduced to him in Marseilles in 1822, by Dieffenbach), he is here a general. Ere he passed his forty-fifth year, he had, by his excesses, so broken down his constitution, that he was not unlike a good pathological preparation. Nothing but art and dress gave to the skeleton somewhat of the look of a man; and he even now looks much more as if he belonged to the noble craft of the needle, than to the high rank and office he claims and holds, which is nothing less than, with the rank and pay of general, President of the *Conseil Général de Santé* in Egypt. With him rests the promotion or advancement of the medical men and apothecaries: that his countrymen get a good share of it is not at all unnatural, and cannot well be otherwise, however much others may grumble at it. To place his own small and mean person in a conspicuous light, Clot Bey takes all possible means. In his great house, where his reception-chambers are furnished in the European fashion, he receives his friends with high patronising and protecting demeanour, doing all he can to impress upon his subordinates a fitting respect for his dignity. Small as are in truth his acquirements and medical information, — for his dissipated career has reduced to nothing his earlier studies, — still he acts the bold operator, and whatever his drugs may have done, his favourite knife has been vigorously wielded, and more men have been despatched by it to the other world, than he can ever answer for. In spite of his many failures, his self-conceit and arrogance have never for a moment left him. In his room stands a splendid library, in an equally splendid and ever-locked bookcase, all in full parade order, containing the ancient and later classics, and the most valuable works on medical subjects; but all are new,

and plainly show that they are there as luxuries, which their possessor never uses, or perhaps, to speak more truly, knows not how to use. The first visit I paid him was in company with my brother; when we were perfectly astonished by the childish questions of this high official, especially those as to the famous and meritorious Professor Dieffenbach, of Berlin, with whom he had in former days fallen in at Paris; and his opinion of this great surgeon and operator seemed to sink much when he heard that he was neither surgeon to the king, nor burdened by any titles of rank. Still more laughable in my brother's eyes was the fifteen minutes' examination which the Bey-General had *pro formâ* to put him to. Before it he had handed to him his doctor's diploma, and, with the most serious face Clot Bey set to work to try his hand on the Latin of the parchment, not one word of which language, as all well knew, he understood. In the examination, Joseph could not enter into his views either as to lithotomy or operations for hydrocele, and he soon saw he would not find a patron in the Bey. Once has Clot Bey revisited France in all pomp and dignity, but the Marseilles fish and huxter women recognised their old friend Clot, and treated him too unceremoniously. In Paris the little man would have astonished a large company by a splendid speech, but the language did not flow smoothly, and the meaning was not evident. Observing this, he added, with dignity, "*La longue habitude des langues orientales m'empêche de m'exprimer avec plus de facilité;*" but he might have, with more truth, said, that, saving a little bad Arabic, he knew nor spoke no oriental language, and that he never can speak with any oriental, without the aid of his dragoman, although he has already been for twelve years resident in Egypt. A young and rich dame met our hero at a supper-party in Paris, and was so charmed by him, that she next day made proposals of marriage to him, which he met only too eagerly. A second meeting was agreed on, and Clot, the citizen of the world, appeared in a Frank dress before this lady of gold. But oh, misericordia! to behold him in this simple garb and break off all marriage agreements was the work of one and the same moment to her.\* The metamorphosis from the picturesque Turkish costume, with its Cashmere shawls,

\* It is asserted in Paris that this took place at the altar.

tarbush, 'diamond orders, &c., and perhaps a little red artistically laid on the wasted cheek, seemed somewhat too sad, and since then Clot has never adopted the Frank dress, nor should he, when he would make a conquest.\* In the theatre of Cairo one sees him running from box to box, like a young dandy, and whispering soft nothings, and ogling every lady he sees.

Spaniards are very rare in Egypt ; but such as there are, are not in good odour. Nor are the numbers of Englishmen large ; they are little talked of, nor shall I allude further to them ; they are principally employed as engineers, and in the factory or mine departments.

The educated Germans are few ; but there is a considerable number of mechanics from that country, and in these the nation seems to have selected her worst specimens. They are all dissipated, without truth or faith, and when one sees these louts, and hears of their rascally tricks, one must blush to have a fatherland in common with them. Most of them have, indeed, been compelled to fly their country, from their villanous excesses or crimes ; and have, to perfect themselves, taken lessons in Hungary, Bucharest, and Constantinople, before coming to Egypt and settling down in that land, fully accomplished in all the arts of thieving, cheating, drinking, and blood-shedding.

Besides many Armenians, mostly shrewd merchants and Saraffs (bankers), Mograbins, and Jews, there are to be found here individuals of all races and countries under the sun.

The native population of Egypt are in general a set of cheats and thieves ; not the smallest faith or trust can be placed in any of them. The genuine Turks hold the Turks of Egypt as the outcasts of their race. Then, most of the great among the latter have in former times been slaves, brought up under every degradation, and in the knowledge of every low villany—to-day they are slaves, to-morrow they may be Bey or Pascha ; but for life they are slaves in mind and feeling, and only fear of their power makes any one look on them as of higher grade than themselves.

\* This he closely adhered to on his last trip to France to look for a bride, and there he happily gained a wife, who may have then dreamt she had not done so ill

One would fancy that in Turkey, and especially in Constantinople, Franks would be better protected and held in higher estimation than in distant Egypt ; but this is not so, as nowhere must a Frank be more cautious and guarded than in Stamboul. To remedy this evil state of matters, and particularly to confine this stupid and haughty race within the bounds befitting it, would indeed be no hard task for the greater European powers ; but the policy of these towards the Porte is in direct opposition to each other's, and no united action can even be dreamt of so long as each power acts for itself, and seeks eagerly in every way to gain some small advantage for itself, even though this should be by humiliating submissions ; as it cares not how, so it only wins the Porte's favour. The latter power is allowed still to exist, only because, as the common story runs, it is necessary for the balance of Europe. But, in spite of this story, Turkey still is, as it ever has been, and, from its splendid position, with justice ever will be, the dearest desire of every naval power, and sooner or later it will prove a bone of most bloody contention among these. The nation that possesses the Dardanelles and Constantinople, is lord and master of the whole Levant and Mediterranean trade ; and what an inestimable advantage may not this give ? Russia, who for centuries has openly and secretly striven with all its power, and by every political means, with unequalled cunning and constancy, to gain this jewel, and even in its most involved and disturbed states has never for a moment turned its eyes away from this splendid aim, well comprehends its inestimable importance, and must therefore venture all to become lord and master of this key-stone of its maritime power, so as to be able to develop its naval forces, from its own seas, into the south. If another power, England or France, possessed the Straits of the Bosphorus, it would be impossible to open the passage of them without its consent, even by force, and Russia with her treasures would be confined to the Black and Caspian Seas, and for ever long in vain for the trade of the south. How much importance Russia places on the possession of the Dardanelles may be guessed, by the expression of the Emperor Alexander at the Congress of Erfurt, where he said to Napoleon, " I will give you the half of Europe, help you to conquer it, and leave you in undisturbed possession of it ; and you

in return must grant me the Dardanelles ; they are the key of my house."

In the suburbs of Constantinople, the Frank may take certain liberties without being annoyed by the mob, if he only does not heed or trouble himself about the repeated mention he hears, even there, of the word *Giour*. But one had better not venture to intrude into the interior of the old city, nor try to examine the architecture of the houses, or gaze up at the closely latticed windows, if he would not be insulted and perhaps attacked. The Frank who exhibits himself there in the dress of his country, will, particularly in the more narrow streets, be greeted with showers of stones and the contents of vessels not the most savoury, followed all his way with the most horrible abuse, and even worse handled by the mob ; and still he dare not betake himself to his weapons, or defend himself, for then from all houses would the Mussulmen rush, and with cudgels and stones give the *Giour* a lesson after the Turkish manner. I went one day—it was during the great plague of 1836–37—through a certain street, in the neighbourhood of the *Atmeidan*, of that part of the city, when a little Turkish lad was amusing himself and making the bystanders merry by running after me, and amid shouts of laughter knocking my hat off four or five times, ere I caught him by the neck ; and the instant I did so, many Turks rushed on me, and I dared not punish the young scamp, as I had no wish to be cudgelled to death in return. Such insults to Franks are the order of the day, and no ambassador will trouble himself about them. Even they themselves, though the representatives of monarchs, are, like all common persons, obliged to dismount from their horses, go on foot with closed umbrella and divested of their cloaks, should they pass the palace of the Sultan, and this not only when directly in front of it, but some hundred paces before or behind it : like formalities are gone through when one sails by it on the Bosphorus. It is, indeed, very curious, that the ambassadors have not taken suitable measures long ago against these ceremonies, so truly degrading and derogatory to their office. What European monarch would dare issue such orders ? Besides, it is all the same whether the Sultan is in his palace or not ; before the mere ungainly pile of stones must every one submit to such humiliations, or be taken

prisoner by the guard, and locked up under insults and abuse. It is perfectly à la Gessler! As the common vulgar here know how, in case of necessity, to take their revenge by means of fire, which here (as the most of the houses are either all or mostly of wood) makes rapid and fearful devastations, so do the mob in uniforms insist, with brutal severity, on the observance of public orders. One evening Prince Wrede, with a small party (in jovial humour, from the grape), was returning home, but unfortunately without lanterns, which is forbidden. All at once the watch pounced upon him and his companions, and, with blows, dragged them to the prison of Woiwodin, placed them in a dungeon that not only already contained numbers of the vilest of the mob, but was so small that they had to stand the whole night; neither their names and rank, nor threats, nor prayers, enabled them to send to their ambassador, or release them out of this unpleasant scrape; nor afterwards, much as they complained to their country's envoy of such disgraceful treatment, and the time and money it had cost them, did they get the smallest redress.

In Egypt, indeed, one must also constantly carry a lantern with him after dark, and in the month of the Ramadan, one may chance to be taken up by the guard; but these are so civil, as to at once let the prisoners go again for a few piastres, or at worst some cigars; or if they will not do so, you have only to send to the consul, and you are at once set at liberty. It is common enough to forget this lantern, the more so when one goes out by day and does not return till evening; but at every street corner, if not very late indeed, paper lanterns are to be had for half a piastre. In consequence of this constant forgetting of lanterns, one at last has a complete store of such in his house; at Cairo, on counting ours, we found some fifty. The small wax tapers for them, with which we could go from the Muske (Frank quarter) to our own homes, on the Esbekieh, cost five paras. These neat light-machines consist of folded paper, and it needs custom and gentle handling to convey them home, for should the wind blow a little fresh, or if the body reels a little from wine, one is every moment in danger of setting on fire the paper lantern, as well as oneself, — an accident by no means rare, especially when one wears



the long and loose Turkish dress. This, or the Frank costume, one may wear as he pleases in Egypt; but not so in Turkey. There the Frank must wear the Frank dress, and the Turk that prescribed for his station. The rayah may certainly wear Frank clothes, but not without the tarbush, on which, in sign of being a subject, the Turkish crescent, cut out of cloth, is sewed.

## CHAP. IX.

Circassians and Georgians. — Dress of the Sheiks. — Turkish Etiquette. — Arab Officers and Soldiers. — An Arab Regiment. — Black Soldiery.

At our last interview with the Pascha, he, who still with deep affection remembers his native country, Circassia, asked us if we knew anything new of the war between it and Russia; and listened again with much pleasure to our often-told tale. In Constantinople one must be on his guard how he talks of Russia's successes over the Turks; the people in general believe that the Russians have constantly been beaten — and, from the medals which the Emperor of Russia, to make himself popular, has presented to all the Turkish soldiers engaged in the campaigns, they are led to believe that the Sultan had forced the conquered Emperor to give them those medals. As little as by the Turks, are the Russians loved in Egypt, for here there are many Circassians, whose fury and hatred against them is more and more inflamed by Russia's unceasing attempts to subdue their native land. These, as a matter of course, relate the great deeds of their countrymen, by whose bravery all Russia's attacks are rendered vain, and never, they assert and believe, will she succeed in winning Circassia. However little the Circassians here may have otherwise to brag of, nay, although they are capable of all kinds of mean and vicious acts, still all possess strong love for, and the warmest interest in, their native country, and their countrymen (achuan); and this is the more to be admired, as they all have been, when in tenderest age, brought as slaves into Egypt and Turkey. Now, too, hardly any of them have much remembrance of their country, and few

speaking its language, which they can only keep up by conversation with the many female Circassian slaves in their harems. Achmet Pascha himself was stolen from his native land when only six years old. These tribes either mutually rob one another of children and grown-up girls to sell as slaves, or the parents educate their daughters in all accomplishments, filling their heads with tales of the splendour and magnificence of the harem, and then sell them, often under the impression that by so doing they prepare for them and themselves a better lot. The girls themselves are satisfied; they dream of the pleasures of being mistress of a harem, and of seeing all their desires satisfied, especially in dress and ornaments.

The Circassian women have high foreheads and delicate noses,—often as thin as the back of a knife,—a lovely mouth, and a charming figure; but their eyes do not possess that fire and soul which is usually ascribed to them.\* In Egypt they are to be found in all respectable harems, in which they are almost the only whites. The chief men of the land, themselves Circassians, gladly buy them, and they, therefore, are sent in plenty to Egypt, as in the harems of Constantinople they are not much admired. Men complain of their love of quarrelling and power, and their constant discontent. They live in open warfare with the other female slaves and women, and are, like all oriental women, without love or attachment to their lords. Their love of revenge is great, and more than one example shows that they know the use of poisons. Dress and intrigue are their only delights, and their pride is insufferable. Our friend Soliman Effendi, of Chartum, complained most bitterly of his Circassian wife, and styled her, the devil of his house. However, it is no more than natural that these poor women should feel themselves unhappy in the harem, and give vent in all ways to their bad humour. What pleasures, save the twice-a-day toi-

\* This I have remarked (when close to them on the long harbour bridge at Constantinople) in the women of the former Sultan Mahmoud and other Turks of rank, when these were there taking the air in the oxen-drawn carriages, enjoying the favour, procured them by the Sultan, of looking about them and seeing something of life; but this species of emancipation does not seem to have borne the best fruit, for I hardly had got to Egypt ere the Sultan issued some pretty severe orders as to these ladies' mode of life.

lette, the bath, and the table, have these eternally imprisoned females? From their youth, too, the beauties, abundance, and happiness of a harem, have been impressed on them by their parents and female friends, and their expectations have been raised to the highest. But the truth is, indeed, most prosaic. Only to the lot of few does it fall, to see some of their ideas realised in a really rich harem, to be able to shine in splendid garments, and revel in luxury. The most are bought by persons of inferior rank, so all the poor creatures' hopes and fancies vanish; they feel themselves lost and unhappy. More than likely, too, the lord of the harem is old and ugly, has other female slaves he loves, and they, the younger, are subject to these, and must serve them; thus arise in them those humours that make them the torment of the other women, and cause themselves to bitterly feel their misery. Then many, with cold calculation and determination, proceed so far with their plans of making themselves hateful, that their owner is at last compelled to sell them again. This is what they labour for, as they hope to find, in another harem, a happier life and richer lot.

The first favorites in the Turkish harems are the women from Georgia and Mongolia. Their faces are not so beautiful, nor their features so delicate, as those of the Circassian women: but, on the other hand, their cast of countenance is more gentle, and their forms more rounded; they also retain their beauty much longer. Their mood is mild and forbearing; with submissive gentleness, they bear all kinds of treatment. They are also better taught, and gladly employ themselves on small pieces of female work, such as pocket books, *dikha*\*, and embroider these in silks, silver, and gold. These women are much sought after, ~~they bear~~ a high value, and, according to their beauty, their accomplishments, and talents, especially in music (*tambourine*, *lute*, &c.), singing, and dancing, their price varies from thirty to one hundred purses, and even more. One can, at any time, visit the bazaar, where the unhappy coloured slaves, male and female, are stowed, and arranged like goods for show, and gaze on this sight, so revolting to Euro-

\* A band some four or five inches wide, drawn through the trousers to hold them fast above the hips.

peans. In general, those from Habesch, who have before served in other harems, are placed, in particular rooms, or the better places. Their eyes are dark, prominent, and somewhat round; at times, with stupid expression, but oftener lively and brilliant. These unfortunates (now and then wrapped in coloured gauze or muslins), follow, with their uneasy eyes, every visitor, and seem beggingly to say — “Oh! if you have a human heart, release me from this condition, where I am examined and handled by every man, as if I were a beast!” The house of the white slaves is not thus open to all. Franks are only admitted on paying five Spanish dollars, but well known and wealthy Turks are admitted gratis, such being likely to become purchasers. When we visited one of these places, there were many pretty girls there, but not one splendid beauty; all were very young, but this is in accordance with the Turkish taste. If anything arrives new and beyond the common, the rich men, and those of high rank, are at once informed of it, they generally purchasing such rarities before others can get a peep at them. On account of the higher price that men are willing to pay for Georgian females, the slave dealers have a way of their own to cheat the buyers, who would only ask for and purchase women of that province. They purchase newly arrived Circassians, or those who have been sold out of a harem, and place them in another where only Georgian women are. Here they, ere long, pick up the Georgian language, and then the slave merchant takes them as Georgian women to the bazaar, where he soon disposes of them. In Constantinople they dare not venture on such tricks, as there the distinctive differences are too well known.

As in our sad loneliness and dull uniform life, we are glad to find amusement in any diversion, however small, with much satisfaction we got hold of some numbers of the *Charivari*, the *Journal des Debâts*, and *Marseilles Semaphore*, the apothecary had by him. They contain, at least, some political news from Europe, though more than a year old; but in Bellad-Sudan, where one is totally cut off from all European news, this matters little. The *Semaphore* seems to be the organ of Egypt, and it is ludicrous to see how the merest trifle is pushed forward as an instance of its so called advancing civilisation, and with what zeal and





pathos these paid gentlemen sing Mehemet Ali's praises, and also try to render General Clot-Bey immortal.

The appearance of the old Moluk (sing. Melek or Melik, also Mek and Mak), the native-born and hereditary kings or rulers, in their regal hoods that they still wear as a mark of sovereignty, although the Turks have reduced their power to a nullity, is exceedingly peculiar.

The hoods are a kind of close fitting coloured cap, with flaps hanging down on the neck (probably the lining of the neck armour), though these are generally turned up, and thus their pointed ends take, on each side of the head, the shape of horns, the ancient sign of supreme power, and are on this account called Takië betal gorn. The rest of the dress of one of these royal rulers used to be a long coloured caftan (similar to a dressing gown), with a broad girdle, and handsome pointed sandals. It is well known who are entitled to wear these horned head-dresses, and among these are the Ruler of Faszogl, the Sheik of Beni-Amer, Sheik Edris Wood Agib of Halfaia, and Sheik Nimr, whose Takië was of fur. This Sheik, Edris Wood Agib, whose father, before the Turks broke in, ruled almost all the island, and, in addition, all the land between the Blue River and the Atbara (Land Halfaia or Wood Agib; wood for wollet, uollet, son, or boy), and to whom the tribes of Gos Rajab, Taka, Beni-Amer, and to the Abyssinian mountains and the Red Sea, were tributary, now sits in Halfaia, mourning his past greatness, and existing on the miserable pension of 500 piastres a month, which is hardly enough to find food and clothing for himself and his very small retinue. But, in spite of his poverty and insignificance, he is highly respected and revered by the present holders of rank and power, and waited on by all. He claims his descent from the family of Fungh, a branch of the former ruling family of Sennaar, and can name his ancestors and trace his pedigree a long way back. To us, whom he daily visited, he used to open his heart about the Turks' conduct to him. He always wore the royal hood, and when the blockhead of an apothecary, Dumont, one day mockingly asked him why he wore such a fool's cap of a takië, when he now had no country to rule, he answered him in proud tone: "di shoggie betai ou ma betack," (that is my business, and none of yours). Fearful, will one day, I

believe, be the revenge of these races on their oppressors! The reverence the natives and Arabs of this land have for their old sheiks is much greater than that they feel for the Pascha himself. If one of them passes through the camp, not one of the Arabs will continue seated, but will rise and remain respectfully standing,—a thing that never occurs when the Pascha makes his tour of the camp. This high respect is either founded on the antiquity of the sheik's families, and has been carried down from member to member, or, perhaps, is somehow connected with their religion; for among these free tribes, that everywhere find a home, and of which one may indeed say, every individual is independent, the sheik has, as far as I know, no compulsory powers in his hands, or means to maintain his tribe's obedience. The Schaigies every morning wait on the old Sheik Melek Saat, and kiss his hand. They never steal or make a prize of anything, without preserving the best of it for him, and in all ways provide for and attend to him, as if he was still in possession of his old rank and dignities, and could still reward or punish them. Such attachment and reverence is all the more to be admired among this people, as they are too much used to regulate the degree of obedience they yield, by what they hope to make by it, nay, more, among them a certain degree of equality ever prevails, and all look upon themselves as of the same rank and equal in dignity and value.

The right of primogeniture holds full force among them; the younger brothers attend like servants on the elder, never venturing to seat themselves in his presence, unless requested or ordered to do so. The eldest, too, in general, eats alone. My brother was highly admired by them, because, when we paid visits he (for the sake of jest) yielded me the first place, and for this very reason they styled me Sheik. No son will so far commit himself as to take place on the angareb where his father sits; he humbly seats himself on the ground, some distance off, and only speaks when he is spoken to. I have often seen the relatives of a great sheik, though perhaps older than himself, rise at his entrance from their angarebs, and seat themselves on the ground. On solemn occasions, Nasra, the royally descended wife of the Sheik Mahomed Wood Defalla in Soriba, sits on a kind of divan, while the latter, who is only the son of the former Grand Vizier,



as well as their younger brother, Edris Wood Adlan, after Aburow the most powerful ruler in the peninsula, must sit on the ground till it pleases the large and fat Nasra to assign them better places.

There is much ceremony, too, about seats and sitting. No captain ever sits before the Pascha, and he even lets most respectable Coptish writers, who hold high civil posts, remain standing in his presence. In the room of any one of higher rank, seats are not taken at pleasure, nor when sitting, is any posture to be assumed at will; the inferior sits in a most uncomfortable and wearying posture, his legs turned back below him till he receives permission to assume a more agreeable posture. No captain dare sit down before his major, till he has been expressly asked to do so by him, and then he must select a mat or carpet on the ground. A sign of salutation is only, in general, made after the superior has set the example, and no one speaks, not even the higher officers, till they have been addressed by the great man. The Turkish language is the prevailing one, and Turks speak only Turkish, even to Franks, although these may only understand Arabic. Thus Turkish is the fashionable language. Old Mehemet Ali, who well understands Arabic, from having been so long in those lands, acts as if he knew not a word of it; all must be translated by an interpreter, nay, it is said, he has forbidden his children to learn it. But it is inconceivable why the educated part of Egypt's people, Copts and others, do not understand Turkish, since, for centuries, they have been in close intercourse with the Turks. Among many thousands of the country people, hardly one understands Turkish. It were, indeed, a most easy matter for the Coptish writers to learn Turkish; but their laziness and indifference to all that concerns their race, and their ignorance of all they are not compelled to know, easily explain their not picking up that language. However, there may also be many, especially among the Copts, who knowing it would not venture to speak it before the Turks, from fear, that they not being Turks, would pay dear for having learnt the ruler's language, and as the Turks would probably imagine that by knowing it they had learnt and would betray their secrets.

From the preponderance of Turkish influence in all things, many evils arise, especially among the military. The higher of-

ficers, and even the captains (Juss-baschi) and first lieutenants (Milasim auel) are all Turks, and most difficult it is for any Arab to reach a first lieutenancy. In any other nation, or in a more civilised one, such disrespect and degradation would bring with it the worst consequences, but these Arabs seem to care very little about it, as I have convinced myself, by often talking with them about the matter. "What can we do? The Turks would beat us to death if we made any fuss about it. Why should we attack them, we are too weak, and the Great Pascha (el Pascha el Kebir) wills it so." This is all I could ever get from them, and in most indifferently careless tones. From such feelings, and also because, from most remote times, the Egyptians or Arab races have lived under oppression and slavery, and thus become used to be ruled and not to rule themselves, the Turks may, perhaps, in spite of their ignorance, in spite of their seldom being capable of understanding or executing military movements, be necessary to the Egyptians as officers, and perchance without them the whole army would fall into utter confusion and lose all traces of discipline. Moreover, as all the Arabs, high and low, have submitted to their lot, a kind of equality and brotherhood has sprung up among them: they walk about, officers and privates, arm in arm, and enter one another's dwellings as if they were indeed brothers, as they style each other; and this self-equalising has had its effects on all military matters and arrangements. In this way, the Arab private has no respect for his lieutenant, he is his brother; the lieutenant has none for his captain, and so on: even though he were the bravest and most skilful officer. But for the Turkish officer, worthless as he may be in every way, the Arab feels terror, and obeys him without any hesitation, for he is no achu\*, speaks another language, and belongs to the race of his rulers. Besides, the Arab officers do not themselves feel their own dignity, and are the less able to support their own authority, from being so disregarded and despised by the Turkish officers. Then, too, differences of language separate them; the Arab officer feels himself neglected in the company of his Turkish comrades, and, therefore, seeks that of those who treat him with confidence and speak his language. Moreover, the

\* Achu — Brother.

Arab cannot exist without society ; he must, and will, chatter the whole day, and hold long talks upon most trifling subjects. Give him this, his pipe, and coffee, the Arab is happy and contented. One sees these people sitting for hours, nay for the whole day, in a circle, and discussing matters eagerly, as if it were some important state affair, but if one inquires the subject discussed, perchance one had bought, for twenty paras, what another paid twenty-one for. Any place does, too, for chattering in ; even in the mud, in the middle of the unpaved streets, they will gladly stand talking. The officer so completely associates with his inferiors, as to smoke out of the same pipe, and drink coffee with them, eats with them, when they have anything to eat, and plays with them at their games. From such constant and close intimacy, the soldier forgets, when in the ranks, that the officer is his superior, often does not obey him at all, and when he does, with much ill-will. A long time will, therefore, be required, to bring Arab to proper subordination to Arab. The state, too, does not seem to see the necessity, that the under-officers should, by their dress, be in some degree distinguished from the privates ; these often go about worse and more raggedly dressed than the latter ; and this has a very bad effect with the Arabs, who, like other mobs, only judge of persons by their exterior. The Arab greatly loves finery, but it matters little to him if some holes also ornament it, or if dust and dirt have made the original colours hardly recognisable. He sits and lies down carelessly, even when in his best, and cares little how dirty his seat is. The women act with little more sagacity, and in their best silken dresses will run about as though in their worst. Cleanliness, especially in their linen, they know as little of as the Turkish women, and under their picturesque and handsome outer garment, the silken shirt will often be found dirty and ragged, — an edifying sight for a European ! Then, the conduct of the higher officers towards their subordinates, is, by no means, such as to gain their respect. They treat them, when in the presence of the soldiers, as domestics, and apply the most vulgar terms to them ; as, marras, besewink, kelb, chomar, gansier (scoundrel, rascal, dog, ass, hog), &c. They dare not sit down in their houses, or in their presence ; no coffee is ever offered them, — nay, they

often have to serve it to the superiors, fill their pipes, and perform many such unbecoming and degrading offices.

As far as mind and abilities are concerned, we have from experience fully convinced ourselves that the Egyptian or Arab, in general, far exceeds the Turk; and he is the one to be employed in all labour, mental or bodily, provided the stick is at hand,—this *remedium omnipotens* for all these races. He more readily comprehends everything, and knows how to execute it; *i. e.*, if he is under the eye of another whom he fears. To execute and labour, or work by and of himself, he has not the power, as, if not watched, he falls back into his laziness and *far niente*, and lets matters go as they will: “Allah kerim” (God is merciful) answers for all. This is visible in all Mehemet Ali’s new institutions and arrangements, that cost him so much money. The manufactories while under the charge of Franks brought some profit, and the valuable machinery was, then at least, kept in order, and in some cases even improved on. But now, when the direction is left to Arabs, the gains have become much less, and every day the machinery is becoming more broken and useless; for they seldom know how, and when they do never think it necessary, to perform any repairs on it, till at last all goes to wreck and ruin, and restoration or repair is impossible. It is the hereditary fault of Turk and Arab to put off every thing till the last instant, and often the slightest effort of activity is refused when it would avert some serious mischance; and so it is with government—only when the accident has occurred, come orders for the future, and these are no sooner given than they are again forgotten. The greatest injury, however, to all the factories arises from the dust, which is so fine and penetrating, that it finds its way into the most delicate parts of all machinery, even into pocket watches, and ruins everything. Up to the present time, though a high reward has been offered, no one has succeeded in remedying or preventing this mighty evil, and the best fitting double windows have proved as useless, as all other defences attempted against the subtle enemy.

As the learning and understanding of the Turks is far less than that of the Egyptians, either because they want the natural power or from their pride and laziness, the teacher of the school (*mektab*) has three times as much trouble with them as

with the Egyptians; but they are far better soldiers. Many of the Franks who have made the campaigns in Hedjas and Yemen with them have highly praised their courage, and the battle of Konieh has also proved it. In the Morea and at Crete, under Ibrahim Pascha, they were as brave as cruel. As a general rule, the courage of the Egyptian population is nothing to boast of. Shouts, cries, and gesticulations are their chief strength; but two or three good right and left whip cuts will usually put to flight a whole crowd of these mouth-fighters, and the coward curs are very careful how they resist the Franks, the more so as their bodily powers are far less than those of Europeans. But the Arab may yet gain more courage as a soldier, or the fear of the nabut (stick) may force him, with an "Allah kerim," to rush into all dangers, not to mention that desperation as to his fate, may also lead him to end his misery with his life. It is gradually beginning to enter the heads of these Arab soldiers, who have made the campaign of Hedjas and Syria against and with the Turks, that they are somebody, and they begin to feel and observe that they have been the means by which all Ali's conquests and victories have been gained. They see, at least a part of them, that by holding together they form a mass, which, at a fitting time, may overpower the Turks, and that in future it may depend on their being united, whether or not, they may not regain their native country from the Turks; and this daily increasing feeling of self-dependence may perchance become dangerous to the Turks in Egypt, supposing no other power should interfere.

One regiment of Arab soldiers has already given a warning example; these were in Hedjas, and had there made themselves a terror to the natives by their fierce courage. Their leader, a stupid, self-conceited fellow, did not treat his soldiery as they, proud of their proved bravery, deserved, and withheld from them, perhaps to tame their pride in some measure, or to be better able to restrain them, a sum of money granted them as a reward, although most of them were much in want. Infuriated by this, they murdered this Bey on the spot, and swore death to any one who should bury him; chose a captain of the regiment as their commander, paid him as such, after they had laid their hands upon the

money they found in the late Bey's possession, and took from it their arrears of pay, but no more. Afterwards, wearied by the long campaign in Hedjas, they compelled the new chosen leader to conduct them back to Cairo ; and he knew so well how to perform the duties of his office, that he prevailed on them to spare the town of Djedda, which they meditated plundering. The regiment arrived at Cairo, and the old fox Mehemet Ali sent messengers to meet it, and to order it to encamp outside the town ; made no fuss about the matter, but gave all the soldiers leave to return for half a year to their homes, so that they might recover after their exertions and battles. He knew right well that such a regiment in his camp might do immense mischief. After the leave was expired, or shortly after, he called all the men into service again ; but parcelled them out into many different regiments, and their lot since has certainly been none of the best. The unfortunate new Bey was, however, beheaded at Cairo, some time afterwards ; not, for leading back the regiment, but because he had, without Mehemet Ali's permission, assumed a rank that he alone could grant, and because he had also defrauded the state by allowing the soldiery to pay him as Bey. The old Pascha thus vented on him the rage he dared not vent on the soldiers, though, without doubt, it was a piece of most striking injustice. After the murder of the former Bey, the captain, the favourite of the whole regiment on account of his bravery and humanity, had been, by unanimous voice, selected as leader ; he had been by force led into the tent of the Bey, and there put in possession of it, along with his slaves and horses ; but at the same time made aware, that if he did not at once lead them back to Cairo, where they could get some rest, they would take him with them, and in a body go over to the enemy. Had this last occurred, not only had all been lost for Egypt in Hedjas, but Mehemet Ali would have found another much-to-be-feared foe there. The captain, though thus under their hands, still managed by prayers and cunning, often at the risk of his own life while restraining their excesses, to lead the regiment back in safety to Cairo, and there got his reward.

Our Achmet Pascha depends on and values his black soldiers more than his Arab and Syrian troops. The first regiment, now nearly twenty years in Bellad-Sudan, is almost all blacks ; as

climate and skirmishes have carried off almost all the Arabs of Egypt and Syria that were in it. Those still alive are old, worn-out invalids, as nothing but total uselessness, such as blindness, the loss of a leg or arm, releases these unfortunates from the service; lameness, the loss of one eye, the want of three or four fingers of the hand, is a matter of no consequence. Often have we heard Achmet Pascha express the wish that all his regiments, officers excepted, were composed of blacks; and he is in the right for service in Bellad-Sudan. They are not affected by sickness and the influence of climate as the others, suffer hardships without murmuring, quickly and cheerfully obey all orders, and can subsist on the worst food, in the smallest quantities, a little durra daily satisfying them. Besides, their courage is good, even though they may not possess the same bravery as soldiers who fight for parents, wife, children, and country, or who are spurred on by honour; still they go on to the spot they are ordered, fight their way, and many of them, especially those from the mountains of the upper parts of Faszogl, fear death little, if at all. In the Morea, the body-guard of Ibrahim Pascha, composed of 500 blacks, more than once distinguished themselves above his other forces. Once a hill held by the enemy was to be taken; twice did the Egyptians advance to the attack and fail; Ibrahim now sent his blacks, who at once took by storm the important point. Hardly could such things be expected from men who are first forcibly made slaves, and then soldiers. A greater part of them certainly feel unhappy in their lot, more than one would suppose in these rude men; and many die from home-sickness, as we saw in Chartum — a disease which, once attacking, proves fatal. But as many, also, are not sensible of the misery of their existence, or the wretched life they pass as Egyptian soldiers, the state of their former lot may be guessed. They are stolen as children, have been slaves, and feel themselves freer as soldiers, and, at least, considered as men; while those they have left behind them, as they know, live in the saddest state, almost like cattle, often exposed to starvation, and always to slavery, from the repeated wars among themselves. Formerly without clothing, they now are proud of their dress, cap, arms, and that they, as soldiers inspire others

with fear ; and, finally, what may contribute not a little to their satisfaction, they always find themselves associating with their own countrymen.

## CHAP. X.

Breaking up of the Camp. — March into the Interior. — Nature of the Country.  
— Sheiks' Swords.

THE tribe of the Haddenda, in spite of Mohammed Din's imprisonment, will not bring in their tribute. The Pascha has discovered that he gains nothing here by violence, and has now ordered them to collect 6,000 ardeps of durra at Kassela, a spot some fourteen miles from here, where the Pascha will pass the all-dreaded chariff, and will found a new city to protect his army, as up to the present time the health of both men and animals has been wonderfully good. The Hallenga must also deliver durra (here called Esch). All Arabs, as well as the blacks, chew the fresh durra-straw all day, as in the sap there is a slightly perceptible sweetness, and one never meets any of these people without a piece of the stem in hand or mouth, at which they are ever gnawing, as at a favourite morsel. In like manner one sees in Egypt, and also in part of Chartum, during the time of the ripening of the sugar-cane, considerable quantities of it exposed in every market ; and of this the people buy much, to suck the juice of it. Turks, Arabs, blacks, all are very fond of sweets, although from stinginess they never use sugar in their coffee, or drink much in their sherbets ; but from a Frank, to whom they never offer any sugar with the coffee they produce for him, they always expect to have such, and they are honest enough to confess that the coffee tastes much better with it. However, we do not live here very luxuriously or splendidly. Rice and flesh are our only food. Vegetables, that from the continuous great heat would be of much service, are not to be got ; but, on the other hand, there is no want of the stick, and especially with Rustan Bey, who in Upper Egypt served out plentiful doses of it to the fellahs there. If any of these came to him to complain, he heard them patiently, and on their ending recommended them, with serious face, to go to his chasnadar (treasurer), and to



tell him to pay out to them one or two purses. The complainants, much rejoiced at such unexpected luck, ran off to the treasurer, already in fancy counting over their coin, and he counted out to them blows instead of piastres; one purse, holding 500 piastres, was paid by 500 lashes. Our Pascha used to act similarly in Chartum.

Every day the journey to Kassela is talked of, but we still sit crouching here. Not long ago a report was suddenly spread, that Achmet Pascha was recalled to Cairo, and Mustapha Bey of Kordofan appointed governor of the Bellad-Sudan. This came to us as a secret, and was only mentioned to us by the Turks we were most intimate with, and in an under tone. But as the truth of the report was a serious matter to us, and none of the Turks knew how to put the question to the Pascha, we went ourselves to him; when he laughingly told us, that he had, in jest, told the Kaimakan of the 8th regiment, Sorop Effendi, something of the sort, but had himself no intention of going to Cairo, as, in spite of the failure as regarded the treatment of the Sh-iks, he could easily make himself independent; at least so his words to me, during the absence of my brother, seemed to imply.

All at once the order came—we break up to-morrow! So near no one had believed the march to be. All things were in disorder; the whole night all was bustle and confusion in the camp. More than likely the Pascha had purposely said nothing of this beforehand, so that the Arabs might make no preparations for an attack, to set at liberty their Sheiks who go with us in chains. We had, during the night, to hurriedly buy a dromedary from Mohammed Defalla, after having at a high price, only the day before, purchased the others we needed; then we had to set about packing up the numerous articles we had unpacked during our month's halt; the three new servants we had got knew too little about our baggage to be themselves ready in time with it. Punctually, two hours before sunrise, the well-known cannon shot aroused all for the march. When half an hour from the camp, the Pascha halted a long while to await the baggage camels.

Our way led through high durra fields, impenetrable to sight; in a south-east direction the whole country seemed flat, with well cultivated and fruitful soil, and before us, like a great blue

cloud, rose the hill of Kassela, under which was to be our abode for a considerable time. In brighter blue, as the sun rose higher, was displayed its beautiful head, which towered in splendour over the rest of the hill's chain extending to the eastward. A most refreshing sight in this monotonous country! We fancied we saw in these magnificent hills a second Switzerland; and kept our longing eyes constantly fixed on their groups. It seemed to us as if we were now arriving at some wished for and promised land, and about to receive the reward for our long wanderings and sufferings in the deserts, for all our exertions and deprivations. Mountains have, on every man, a solemn effect, arouse curious longings and indescribable desires, call up an insensible brightening of mind, and an increase both of mental and physical powers. After long marches in barren countries, when the blue hills rise in the distance, the eye becomes as if chained on them, and man dreams that behind them lies the strange, new, and unseen, and that he will there behold and tread an unknown world.

After some hours we found ourselves at last quit of the monstrous durra fields, and a great plain with scanty herbage received the army, which, expecting an attack from the infuriated Arabs, drew up in some order on it. The infantry marching in sections, in three divisions, formed the centre, the Turkish cavalry formed the right, the Mograbin horsemen and Schaigies the left wing; in the advance, and forming the advance guard, were the Arab Sheiks Mohammed Defalla, Achmet Abu Sinn, Edris Woodagib, &c. The plain was only here and there broken by ill-grown, distorted trees, the soil good and fertile, but bearing nothing, as the rain had not yet given the scorched ground the power of bringing forth. Many long, irregular, two feet high walls or mounds, with small ditches, intersected the ground, and showed that the Arabs irrigated the land, and used it for the growth of grain. Seemingly they change their cultivated fields every three or four years, and in this way have a certain rotation of crops. Many hares were started and galloped down by the horsemen, or slain by sticks. Those of these lands are smaller than ours, but have enormous lop ears; the skin, like the flesh, is lighter in colour, nor has the latter the pleasant game flavour of ours; the same may be said of all their wild animals, nor has their flesh that aroma which prevails in the game

animals of northern lands. Various schakals (jackals, badschumm) were also disturbed out of their slumbers, and even they were galloped down and slain by the Turkish horsemen. They are only eaten by the Arabs and Dongolese. Large and small gazelles we saw vanishing in the distance on all sides; their speed is wonderfully great; yet we have seen them overtaken by the Turkish horses.

Soon the plain began to slope very gradually downwards. Trees, among them the atla, atle, or atal (here darfa), the tundo, and a tree similar to a wild pear-tree, grow in numbers on the plain; the two latter, more like shrubs or bushes, and the former of ill growth, and rising into trees giving little or no shade. The tundo we had already seen in the great desert; it has no leaves, but thick green thorny branches, similar to those of a rose stem; it also bears sour, round berries, which contain many seeds, and have a decayed sweet taste. They are greedily eaten by the Arabs. The shrub itself is, from its bitterness, a special favourite with the camels. Useful woods, such as would from size do for house or ship building, we have not as yet seen. Birds, save vultures, hawks, and crows, we have seen or heard hardly any, as is ever the case in the little animated and devoid of water scenes of Africa. Only in the neighbourhood of rivers, lakes, or springs, are to be found rich plumaged birds. The vultures with ruffled feathers, bald heads and necks, generally grey, or grey-black; yellowish or light grey bodies, follow, in monstrous flocks, our march, and rush in hundreds on each falling beast. They are a real blessing to these countries, in which men let animals lie where they have fallen, even in the streets of the capital, Chartum. They are quite tame, and will let one go up to them without rising; and when they do rise, they only fly off a little way, and then lounge about as usual.

On our progress the bush grows ever thicker; nebeck, acacias, and other mimosas, start up among the former trees, and the grass grows very high, so that it overtops the smaller asses. Foot-tracks of many wild beasts cross in all directions; those of the elephant are of enormous size and sunk into the ground, somewhat moistened by the rain, more than a foot, and are from one and a half to two feet in length and breadth. One can plainly enough distinguish where these gentry have halted any time, for all bushes and shrubs

are destroyed or trodden into the ground. At some such places we saw perfectly fresh marks of them ; and much did these excite us, as it was evident they had only on the army's advance retired somewhat further into the thickets. We much lamented we fell in with none of these giants of the forest ; for to see them moving about in their homes would doubtless afford a different sight from the tame specimens in Europe. Numbers also of the two-horned rhinoceros (the lower horn is the larger) are here to be met with. It is said to be of savage fierceness, to attack men and beasts as it meets them, nay even to engage in violent battle with the elephant, and often to vanquish it in spite of its greater agility.

But to make up for our disappointment, another not less interesting scene was afforded us. Among the little Schaigie cavalry all of a sudden arose a loud shouting, all seized their arms, expecting an immediate attack of the Arabs. But soon we distinguished the cries of "Asset! asset!" (lion), and quickly we glanced round on all sides, anxiously expecting to see him burst forth. In the mean time the Pascha had issued orders to his chase-loving cavalry, not to leave their places on the appearance of the beast, under penalty of a punishment of 1000 blows ; as he, in this intricate ground, was much alarmed for any disorder among his ranks, and expected every moment an attack from the Arabs. We were at the time at the extreme head of the left wing, near Melek Mahmud, when all at once came out of the bushes on our side, not one hundred paces from us, a pretty large lioness, moving at a sharp trot : she seemed totally without fear, for at the sight of the whole army she did not quicken her pace. A minute later at the same spot appeared, roaring fearfully, a mighty lion, in great fury as it seemed ; he moved off yet slower than his mate, at times halting in his course, gazing at us, and when he had approached within sixty or seventy paces of us, he again gazed with furious eye at all, and then, with great bounds, was lost to our view. How much we were astounded, but at the same time delighted, at this scene, all may easily imagine : I for my own part openly confess, that the appearance of this savage beast, whose strength and courage have become a proverb, made a most peculiar impression on me ; had I been alone, and not in such a large and armed crowd, I would have assigned it to fear or alarm, but it would,

more than likely, be felt by any one, who instead of now reading this in his snug room, and probably laughing at it, was at once brought into these countries, and thus introduced to the sight of such an animal in its full liberty. In short, the sight of this proud, royal pair, had awakened and excited all our spirits and life, after they had been sunk from a seven hours' ride, the regular movement of the camels, and more than all by the hot scorching midday's sun, and most horrible thirst.

On this occasion, as before, we observed that the Arab Sheiks seem to place far more confidence in their old straight cross-handled blades, than in the light, crooked Turkish sabre. In purchasing these swords the Arabs use every precaution; they have their own marks or ideas on this point, and should a sword be wanting in one of them, though in every other respect good, it is looked on by them as valueless. First of all, it must not be new, or at least not have any appearance of being so; a certain part of the double edges must show itself ground out, so that the lines may run in the form of a bow, and on one of its sides must a lion be engraved, and on the other a figure the meaning of which I have not been able to find out. The blade is hollow (*i.e.* a shallow groove must run along both edges of the flat, but never get completely into the centre), pointed and double edged the whole way down. These are the principal necessary points. Many of these swords are very old, and this can be clearly proved, as the present possessors are well aware of their history, and proud of it; the swords are handed down from father to son, and one never hears of new blades being carried into the country. Whence these swords come, no one knows, and they never have either the maker's name or residence on them, as far as we could discover. Ask any one whence they come, and he answers, "Min, beid, beid!" (From far, from far!) either from the north (Riff) or from far beyond the Bach'r male (Red, literally, salt sea), and were made by heathens (Kaff'rn). In Cairo we saw, at the merchant's Biagini, of Genoa, many swords from the manufactory of Küll of Solingen; but still they were all in some way different from those generally in use here, and principally in being ground off round at the point. But I afterwards bought, on my journey to Mandera, two swords, of which one, a new blade from Solingen, had the usual sharp point, the other was

an old Spanish blade of the fourteenth century. Oh, that such a knightly relic of the crusades could speak! Most of these blades have been introduced by or procured from the slave-dealers, and probably brought from the south-west countries, Darfur, &c., as in the south and south-east, such blades are not to be seen. The chain armour, with which man and horse is covered in battle, comes from India, as all say; in time of peace, the horses of the Arab chiefs only carry head and eye covering.

The land still continued sloping downwards, the vegetation became extremely luxuriant, and it was evident that water lay longer here than in other places; so that during and after the rainy season, this neighbourhood must be a lake or swamp. Ere long we found ourselves in the great Gohr (the bed of a river only full in the rainy season), named el Gasch, which seems to have its main sources in the rain from the mountains of Makada (Habesch), and extends in a direction from south-east to north-west. This it is that principally furnishes the watering of the land of Taka, and causes the fruitfulness of its fields, as well as the growth of the trees of the Chaaba. We beheld a considerable arm of this Gohr in el Sofra, the village of Mohammed Din; and it also furnishes waters to the wells and springs of those lands, and by its sinking into the earth forms the subterranean rivulets, which principally maintain the high fruitfulness of the lands of the Haddenda. It is commonly said that it afterwards divides into many branches, and loses itself at last in standing pools in the Chaaba, that during the dry season evaporate under the sunbeams. But as, during the rainy season, the torrents of waters conveyed to it from the higher mountains are very considerable, and as, at the same period, very many other rain brooks pour their waters into it, it does not seem very probable that these grounds, so completely soaked themselves by the Chariff, can drink in this immense quantity of water also. In Berber we heard that a considerable rain torrent poured itself into the Nile, either a little above or below that place, perchance that is the el Gasch; it may, however, pour itself into the Mogren, a large river in the rainy season, which rushes into the Atbara, a day's journey higher up than its junction with the Nile. That it does not run into the Atbara under the name of the el Gasch, is well known.

On the high bank of the Gohr el Gasch, on our side, stood many pretty large trees, atles and mimosas; but in spite of the height of the bank, one saw plainly by marks on the trees how high the water rose on them, and that it extended far over its banks, and poured itself into the plain, turning it into a swamp, and, afterwards, giving life to a luxuriance of vegetation unknown to us, and furnishing a shelter and abode to all kinds of animals, and among them many venomous reptiles. The breadth of the Gohr was over fifty paces. Its fall, at least where we saw it, does not seem great; its bed was deep, and smoothly covered with sand; no stones were in either its bed or banks. Its windings are many and varied, and everywhere were to be seen, lying about, larger or smaller trees and bushes, washed loose in the season of its floods. Its direction here was in general south-east to north-west. We rode almost for an hour up its dried bed, and had to guide our dromedaries most carefully, that they might not step into the deep foot-holes of the elephants, which were all over the river bed, and often of such a size and depth, that the camels fell into them, some breaking their legs. To fall with or from a dromedary is most dangerous; for first the height is something, and then the chances are that the unwieldy and unaided beast falls, with its large, heavy body, on the rider, or sets a foot on him. To jump off it, is, from the form of the saddle and the position of the rider, who sits as if on a stool, next to impossible. The saddle, a skeleton of wood with high cantle behind, and great hook of a pummel, is exceedingly well adapted, either to catch the dress of the rider should he attempt to leap off, or to smash his bones when he comes with his beast to the ground. If the camel falls violently, then from the force of the fall, and the height, the rider is at best pitched over its ears, and runs a good chance of breaking neck or limbs.

To preserve some order in his army in so dangerous a spot, the Pascha caused it to pass this Gohr by divisions; but still each rode and went as he pleased. In the centre of the infantry was Mohammed Din, loaded with heavy chains, though on account of his age an ass had been furnished him; but the three other prisoners, in spite of the chains on their neck and ankles, were obliged, under the horrible heat, to perform the long march on foot, and certainly received no consolation or comfort from the

conversation of the soldiery, which was neither edifying nor friendly. As we were thus in the Gohr, passing through, each as he chose, without order, crowded together and moving ever on, it seemed to us most wonderful that the Haddenda, a tribe that numbers over 80,000 fighting men, did not set on us, and give us a lesson such as Churschid Pascha had received from them. The army in long column pressed on, in crowded masses, through the Gohr, the banks of which were high, and thickly overgrown with trees and bushes, so all the foe had to do was to post themselves on each side in the thickets, and not one lance would have failed to transfix its man; cavalry could do nothing here, and the infantry, from its disorder, would have been unable to deploy or get into any position of defence, as the ground would not have allowed of it. The tribe must either have been afraid of the Turks and their fire-arms, or alarmed that their great Sheik would have been instantly murdered. For some 100 paces on the other side of the Gohr, the path lay through trees and low bushes; then we again arrived at a country where a thousand determined Arabs, with lance and shield, might certainly have destroyed great part of the army. It was now a dried morass, some half mile in breadth, but of unknown length. Path there seemed none; for all was so perfectly overgrown with luxuriant uschar (*Asclepias procera*, L.), young atles, and high reedy grasses, that it was impossible for a foot passenger to make his way through it; and we, on horses and dromedaries, only got forward with much difficulty, having to tread down the lower bushes, and work our way through, with all kinds of turnings and windings.

The Pascha, with some horsemen, had ridden on to form a path, but found himself often obliged to turn back and seek out an easier and more practicable way. Every one saw the dangers of such a place, but no one thought of holding their arms ready, when both hand and foot were needed to pull asunder, and make way through the interwoven boughs and branches on every side. The two guns were to be dragged through; this was only effected, with the greatest difficulty, by a double yoke of mules, and even then the poor animals had almost to lower their bellies to the earth, to get the guns a few feet on. Where the guns went was told by the crashing of breaking bushes, especially



by the crushing of the fruit of the uschar, here of great size, and full of wind; the noise they made in bursting much resembling that of a bladder. We almost fancied we heard some platoon firing, and laughed heartily at these blank shots, in spite of the trouble and danger of our way. On our road, as well as at the Gohr, many of our old soldiers were reminded of the fatal defeat of Churschid Pascha, in which he also lost two guns, to recover which a whole battalion, save one or two men, were sacrificed. But again they trusted in the Pascha, and the Arab-Turkish "Allah Kerim!" Surely there was nothing easier than to have had these dangerous spots reconnoitred beforehand, and some 1000 men sent on with axes to clear a way.

Now at last were we in the land of the Hallenga, to whom Taka belongs. It was indeed a laughable sight to watch the army, as, in the most inconceivable disorder, it made its way out of the morass. Horse, foot, baggage camels, asses, from all sides and corners, pushed their way so slowly out, that the Pascha, on reaching the opener ground, saw himself forced to halt at least two hours, to let men and cattle once again assemble, and get into some sort of order.

Here, again, all was plain; the durra fields extended far and wide, though not in the luxuriant vegetation of the land of the Haddenda. On the open plain were visible small water-courses and much grass, but bushes and trees only in twos or threes, and right and left in the distance, from a half to one hour's journey off, was to be seen the Chaaba. We passed the ruins of a village, which, as we were told, had been burnt and plundered by the Schaigie Melek Kamball, brother to Wood Mahmud, when he some two years before of his own accord, undertook with only 300 of his men an incursion into these lands, and murdered and plundered all he fell in with. That such an enterprise could be successfully carried out, can only be ascribed to surprise, and the rapid movements of the Schaigies, who never seem to halt, know the country well, and have a great advantage in their fire-arms. Even now, though dead, Kamball still lives in the people's mouths; they have a great number of stories about him, in which he is described, on account of his rapacity and savage deeds, constantly wandering round, with his followers, to prey on the weak and defenceless.

rest, or peace, as the punishment of his crimes. He was shot in the back, most likely by the soldiers of Achmed Pascha, in a fight between them and the Schaigies of Melck Hammet. The latter is well known by all as an exceedingly brave and daring man, and is much beloved by the Schaigies; he is of an old ruler's family, from Old-Dongola, where his father was murdered by the Mamelukes he had hospitably received. Hammet had, during our residence in Chartum, fled from thence with 400 of his most trusty men, discontented and enraged, like most of the Schaigies, at the present government, who held these freebooters too much in check. Had he succeeded in reaching the Makada frontier, he would have been safe, for he would have been received with open arms by that people, and especially would old Melek Nimr have welcomed such a fugitive. Ere long assuredly most of the Schaigies would have drawn round such a chief, and also from Dongola a great number of people would have followed him; these numbers possessing fire-arms, knowing so well how to use them and carry on war, added to Melek Nimr's own tribe of the Djalín, and also the probable junction with them of all the races of the southern part of the island, particularly that of the far extended race of Hammesh, and finally that of the tribes dwelling to the east of the Nile in Kataref, Kalabatt, Atisch, &c., would have formed an hostile force the Turks never could have overcome. The trade with Habesch would then have been completely lost to Bellad-Sudan (an inestimable loss), constant plundering expeditions into the lands ruled by the Pascha were to be looked for, and had he marched against the enemy, they would have had a secure retreat in the high mountains of Makada, where they would have found water and food in abundance.

The Pascha well aware of all this, and fearing a revolt of all the tribes of Bellad-Sudan as the consequence of Hammet's flight (in which Hammet was likely to pass by Halfaia, between Bach'r asrek and the Atbara), had, the moment he got news of it in Berber, assembled the most trusty of the leaders of the Schaigies, and ordered them to pursue Hammet. These, envious of the latter's future power, perhaps fearing that their own followers would soon fly also, or perhaps from

anxiety to gain the great reward they expected, and which had been promised them, did all in their power to overtake the fugitive. The Pascha himself rode in four days from Berber to Abu Harrass, a distance that generally takes a courier six or seven days; put 500 soldiers on dromedaries; and having overtaken Hammet, who was employed feasting and drinking merissa with his followers, overpowered him and his small force. On this a relation of Hammet broke through the infantry, and rushed, with cocked pistol, on the Pascha, who only saved himself by the speed of his horse; and it is said, that Kamball, who had all along held faithfully to the Pascha, was then shot by the infantry, who were enraged at and jealous of the Schaigies. His death was generally lamented, as he was a distinguished soldier, an honest man, and general favourite, and from his generosity to the poor, ever in debt. The Pascha himself set high value on him, most likely from finding in him a particularly useful subject, who, with the smallest force, would calmly go to face each and any danger, however great. He had, like another Theseus, undertaken and succeeded in the boldest enterprises; if not in the camp, men knew some desperate expedition was out, and often he was not seen again for eight or ten days, and ever and again it was reported he was dead; but he ere long re-appeared, his task, as usual, having been well and perfectly performed; and it is much to be questioned if he was not at last slain out of private hate and envy of his great fame. After his death, the Pascha himself took charge of his infant son, had him educated, and allows him 500 piastres a month. He daily visits his benefactor, who is most friendly and amiable to him, as to all children. The Pascha granted a pardon to Melek Hammet and his followers, but still it is generally believed, that in spite of this, the former will, on the first favourable opportunity, in some way or other lose his life, as the Turk never forgets to avenge an injury. He has been ever since treated by the Pascha with reserve and slight; is, indeed, now with the army, but ever in the camp, as if he were under surveillance, and never has any expedition been confided to him, either to collect tribute from the neighbouring country, or make small plundering excursions, in which one-half of the booty goes to the spoilers. The gloomy,

savage countenance of Hammet, shows that he feels all this, and meditates vengeance.

At last, about mid-day, we again struck the great Gohr in the middle of durra-fields. A halt was made, and the Pascha rode about for an hour in all directions, till he at last hit on the worst possible spot for his camp, and one distant from all water. While this fool's excursion was going on, we and our beasts were exposed to the most fearful heat, but when his Excellency at last pitched on his camping-place, near the village of Dabaab, and we were done to a turn, we had the good luck to get possession of one side of a great tree, where our tent was shaded from the burning sun, and we could cool down a little. Though tired and exhausted, almost to falling, the great heat prevented our either sleeping or eating; our only comforter and consoler was the water-cup. As we looked forward to being again attacked by fever, it was good news to us that the Pascha intended remaining some days here; and the seriba, which can be put up in some two hours, was formed round the camp. The Gohr, here pretty broad, had plenty of water in some parts of it, in pits some five or six feet deep: but, unfortunately, this was very bad and stinking, and, after standing a day in the water-skin, unfit to drink. The open plains all round were durra-fields, but the Chaaba was not far off. In the evenings there was constant lightning without thunder, but no rain at night.

Letters appearing (concerning his return journey) from Duke Paul William of Wurtemberg, and being written in German, we had to act as interpreters. He mentioned, with many thanks, the reception the Pascha gave him in Bellad-Sudan, the attentions that had been shown to him everywhere, and the care taken to provide him with food. In short, all was compliments, and the Pascha was much delighted at hearing these translated to him. The earlier intentions of the Prince had been to advance, by Fas-zogt, farther into the country than ever European had done, but he had only proceeded some days' journey into the parts beyond that place. Jacob Effendi, whom the Pascha had given him as an escort, and who had gone with him from Abu Hammet up and back, now came to the camp in high hopes, as he had received from the Prince a special recommendatory letter to the Pascha.

instead of the usual rewards given here, and expected confidently, what the giver had promised him, either promotion, or at least a good sum of money. But neither followed, and Jacob ran all day, in the glowing sun's heat, through the camp, with the German letter of recommendation in his pocket, as, after I had translated it to the Pascha, he coolly gave it back to the bearer. We received from the Pascha the office of thanking the Prince for his attention, and wishing him all possible happiness.

The expected fever from the dreadful heat and bad water has arrived, and the glowing noon-day's sun seems, even through the tent, to be bent on converting our skulls to ashes. Not until ten o'clock at night did perspiration appear, and at the same time there burst out a fearful storm of rain, and tent, bed-covering, cloak, were all wet through, making us fear the worst consequences. But, thank God! we slept soundly in spite of rain, thunder, and lightning, and in the morning felt pretty well,—so much so, that we were able to make a short hunting excursion. The soaked ground was certainly no pleasant promenade; we were ever slipping, and our light Turkish shoes sticking in the mud, so that our white stockings, ere long, were the colour of the natives' legs. When we got a short distance from the durra-fields, we were both astonished and surprised to find ourselves in a country exactly similar to the Westphalian Embscher Bruch, and long did we brothers gaze on it, calling up past days in our fatherland; the country, too, was enlivened by singing-birds, particularly the black-heads, with their full, melodious voices—sounds of pleasure one seldom hears in Africa, where never is there such music of the woods as with us. We pushed on into the bush, which grew thicker, and where the grass rose high as our heads, hiding the deep rain-courses. On all sides crawled venomous reptiles; already had we seen two pretty large snakes and many smaller sunning themselves on dry spots under the bushes, and therefore it was only with great caution, and well examining where we placed our feet, that we moved on. Besides, we were alone, and had still fresh in our memories the sight of the two lions of the day before yesterday. In such high grass, lions or tigers could easily lie hid, or fierce cats might crouch among the branches, and every rust-

ling seemed to us to announce the outburst of some such beast of prey; then, ere long we came on a yet fresh, half-devoured gazelle, from its feast on which some wild beast had been disturbed. Footsteps of elephants, quite recent, we saw in great numbers; seemingly they had visited the durra-field at night. Among the various birds, we particularly remarked many small pigeons, about as large as a stare, with tails three-quarters of a foot long, of a brown-red colour, as was also the plumage under their wings. At last we came on a large gazelle, and having luckily shot him, made our way back, and ere long were feasting on a piece of him, which tasted to us excellent, and not unlike our roe venison; much we lamented no juice of the grape was to be had, to rejoice our longing and languishing palates. Jackals and hyenas are here in plenty; the young of both were brought us, but we had no wish to be now troubled with them. Chameleons, too, were to be found hanging and basking in large numbers on the trees round.

On taking a ride, at mid-day, to the village of Dabàab, some half-hour's journey off, to visit the sick Kadi Ali, we found everywhere about hollows, or sunken places, which formed large marshes, and explained why, during and after the rainy season, the country round about is so unhealthy; for the vegetable and animal matter, when decaying, and the accompanying exhalations, must produce an atmosphere remarkably well adapted to bring on fever. In Dabàab we were closely inspected and examined by all, as, seemingly, before us no white-skin had ever been seen in the village. This is of great extent, and seems to have many inhabitants; we also saw many cattle, and a certain prosperity and wealth seemed to peep out from all about us. But they possess, as we afterwards learned, only very few camels, and their horses, bought in Abyssinia for ten to fifteen top\*, are small and not enduring. Asses, cattle, sheep, and goats they have in abundance. Besides the one great thorn enclosure, there were some smaller ones round the dwellings of the different families. The houses, or tokuls, were of tolerable size, and almost on every one had storks built their nests; here this bird is sacred, and it would be

\* Pieces of cotton cloth.

one of the greatest crimes an Arab could commit, were he to hunt away or injure these birds. The wealthier adorn the tops of their tokuls with ostrich-feathers and eggs, or some such ornament, and to each is attached another square hut (*recuba*) of straw or dried wood, serving as kitchen, abode, and sleeping-place for family and servants. The master of the house, and his wife, however, have their sleeping-place in the tokul, where also is kept everything that might perchance be ruined by rain; this sleeping place is some three feet high, and of a length and breadth that six men might find room in it; it is also surrounded by pales, on which are gratings woven of thin wood, and on these are fastened straw mats; the whole structure, like those we saw at el Soffre, is hung round with thick woollen cloths. A little light gets in through the very small door of the hut, and were it not for this, all would be darkness inside. Nothing more than the usual household utensils, a few *angarebs* and mats, did we see; the utensils consisted of a *murhaka* (mill), a *burma* (earthen pot), a *gadda* (wooden dish), and some water-skins.

The Kadi, a man of at least eighty years old, and now ill with fever, sought by every means to impress on us his high dignity and great knowledge. He said of himself that he was most learned (*ahlem*), did and ought to know every thing, as he had been eight years in Mecca and two in Medina; he also was proud of his knowledge that we Franks wrote from the left to right. He represented himself to my brother as a physician, who knew how to cure all diseases, but unfortunately had no medicines by him. All Kadis are penmen (*faki*, plur. *fokra*), and at once civil and religious judges: but, unluckily, it is the usual plan with them to decide the same point of law, one day one way, the next another; in fact as it suits themselves, or as higher officials order them. We were entertained with honey-water, and many sweeter words, as to our country, our customs, and fine things, the latter of which they understand, even here, to ask for with the greatest greediness and importunity. Ere long the small hut we were in was crammed with more than thirty men, the exhalations and heat of whose bodies caused such a stench and suffocating feeling, that remaining in it became most disagreeable. All who entered kissed most respectfully the Kadi's hand, and then came up to us and

held out their hand with the greeting "Mirhaba!" All had some complaint, and believed, that through the old Kadi's influence they must obtain medicine. Among these followers the old man had six sons, many grandsons, and almost all the rest were brothers, nephews, or relatives. To escape from the importunities of this large family, we had nothing else for it than to return to camp. After some days, the Kadi's son came to us, and Joseph, out of pity, gave him medicine, but made him aware that hereafter he would give him nothing gratis; no other means exist of holding one's own with these greedy Arabs. After some days he repeated his visit, and requested more medicine, proudly offering in exchange a hen which at most was worth a piastre.

The tribe of the Hallenga are in general a fine race; they have open countenances, in which is not visible that savageness and falseness so marked in those of the Haddenda, although, in truth, there is little to choose between them. Their hair they wear like the other Arabs. The women, compared with the men, are much whiter, very well grown, and with good features while yet young; but with them, as the other Arab tribes, the ugliness of old age shows itself only too soon.

We did not see their chief Sheik, Auet, he having, on the approach of the Turks, fled to Makada, and in so doing has certainly acted more wisely than Mohammed Din, else he too might have had to stroll to Chartum as an hostage. As descendant of the most ancient family of Sheiks of the Hallenga, this Auet is held in high respect by his people, and praised by all as brave and generous. At his flight he had said, "I have ever been free, and will never be a servant of the Turks, for I am of higher race than they." Much stress is here set on such a descent, and for this reason our Mohammed Ehle, formerly a Faki, and first made Sheik by Churschid Pascha, in spite of his being a good and brave man, is held in small esteem by these people, who look with contempt on a Sheik who had been appointed by their oppressors, and as such he is called Sheik betal Diwan; to this is added that he is poor in cattle or other property, and he could hardly have, in their eyes, a greater fault than this.

It seems that, being now in the land of the Hallenga, we are



considered in a more friendly country ; for the guards round the camp are much weaker than in Arronga, and are only posted of an evening, and then round the large fires constantly kept up to scare away the wild beasts. In other ways we are not particularly well off. Saving hares and gazelles, the first costing one, and the second, if any size, three or four piastres, there is no good food to be got. A most fearful evil is the bad, stinking water, and worse than all the rest, the dreadful heat. Our tent is of thick, double canvas, and yet the sunbeams pierce so glowingly through it, that we are forced to lay coverlets and such like things over the side the sun strikes on, to try and thus get some relief. Tents that have been painted over with some colouring are much cooler, from having their pores thus filled, than those of white linen or canvas. We have been more than once favoured, during the night, by storms, with heavy rain, which soaked us well ; nor were we altogether free from alarm at the constant lightning and thunder, as our tent was pitched under the highest tree hereabout, and at a distance from the others.

The severest storm we experienced in Africa was in Chartum, on the 31st August, 1839, during which many houses were destroyed by the wind and rain, and eleven vessels foundered in the White Nile. The masses of water poured down from heaven were such, that for more than a week afterwards the sun had not dried up the puddles in the narrow streets. We were at the time on our return from the bath we had been taking in the Nile, and counted flashes of lightning in eleven different points of the horizon round us ; there was, too, such a brilliant clearness spread about on all sides, that, although it was otherwise very dark, one could see to read quite plainly. In four points the lightning was so violent, that it no longer seemed zigzag flashes, but like streaked columns of fire, ascending from earth to sky,—a splendidly beautiful sight ! In our house every room was full of water ; in the court we had to wade through streams up to our knees, in passing through it to examine our store-house ; and this set in order, we had nothing for it, to keep off the ill effects, but to sit on our table and drink hot punch. The next house to us was a powder magazine, and we still look on it as good fortune we were not

blown into the air by the explosion of the powder stored there. The next day we paid a visit to Theodore Kotschy, a collector of objects of natural history from Austrian Silesia, who was encamped in the open land near Omdurman, on the left bank of the Bach'rabiat. His tent, fastened with twenty strong ropes, was totally torn away and blown high into the air, and he and his people seemed yet far from having got over the terrors of a night they described as a most fearful one.

It now turns out most fortunate for us that we have brought with us, on our camels, our light bedsteads or angarebs, else must we have lain on the earth, like the soldiers, who have much want and many sufferings besides to undergo, as money becomes daily scarcer in the camp. All kinds of things are carried round by the criers (dellal) for sale, as cooking utensils, clothing, pipes, &c. We, too, seem likely ere long to have nothing left us; our Husseln the Gaddam taib (or good servant, as he called himself on being hired, but who, in reality, is a cunning discontented stupid fellow), a Djaln, had suddenly deserted us, and in company with our best camel, taken his road to return to his own land. He had arrived at Kassela, but was met by Ibrahim Kaschef of Kataref, who asked him for his papers, and, as he could produce none, was brought back to the camp as a deserter. He had tried to defend himself by a trumped-up story, that he had been sent by us to Beni-Amer, to see why our huntsman Abdallah remained so long there. The Arab servants are in general a real pest to every master, as among many hundreds of them you will not find ten honest or faithful.

Ibrahim Kaschef, a Circassian, foster brother of Soliman Kaschef of Carreri, made his entrance with a great following of soldiers and some considerable Sheiks of Kataref, and fortunately for us, brought with him a large quantity of Abyssinian coffee. Ibrahim is, as most Circassians, a handsome man, but, unfortunately, has had his nose somewhat damaged. He complains much of the unhealthy climate of Kataref, the water, constant fevers there, and that the smallest cut, in spite of the utmost care, soon becomes a great ulcer; and that the ferendit (thread-worm) has twice attacked him, and showed us a very distinct scar it had left.

All his Turkish soldiers had suffered from illness. In the neighbourhood of Kataref and Kalabatt are some powerful Arab races, the most important of which in power and greatness, second to neither the Beni-Amer nor Haddenda, is the Kabyle (tribe) Dabaina, under their present Sheik, Issa Wood Said. The Tokruri, in former days so important in Kalabatt, have been much weakened by wars with other Arab tribes, and with Churschid Pascha. The natives of Kalabatt and Kataref seem to be much darker than those of Taka. Their dress is the usual one worn, the well-known Ferda; the hair is frizzed and fastened in knots on the crown, as with the inhabitants of Gesira.

We gained a prize in a civet-cat, called by the Arabs kedissabat or sebat, a handsome animal, but unfortunately of an age not likely to admit of its being tamed. It is three feet in length, including its long pretty thick tail; its feet are short, with small claws it never uses; head long, eyes wild, ears small and thin, skin grey, with the most beautiful black spots; tail with black and grey rings alternately. Below the tail are placed, on both sides, the glands that contain the singular musk-smelling substance, and these glands become, when it is excited, of a dark brown colour. The natives here, as elsewhere, value it highly, shut it up in a wicker-basket (kafass), and carefully collect its strong-smelling secretions, which are made use of by the women for powdering the upper parts of their body, their necks &c., and called by them musk. Its chief food is flesh, but it is very fond of milk.

Of reptiles, besides serpents of every size and colour, we found many scorpions, very large and half black. As such in human form may the Faki be viewed, for they act as scourges on the superstitious Mussulmen in all ways. That the Mussulmen look on many matters as aphrodisiacs, such as opium, tea, pigeons, schnaps, punch, &c., is only laughable; but it is vexatious to see how the Faki cheat the sick with their so-called charms and holy relics. The Sheik Effendi, a young mauhn (writer), with the rank of major, was suffering from violent fever, and, like a strict orthodox Turk, had recourse to the Faki for his cure, rather than to our quinine pills. Now, for one of these rascals to perform a cure, is a long ceremony, and consists chiefly of praying without intermission

with the most hideous grimaces, and ever and anon spitting in the sick man's face; a fresh egg is also necessary, but how used, we have not been able to discover. By this praying, spitting, grimacing, and writing of amulets, some of which are hung on the sick man, and some eaten by him, are cured all diseases without distinction. If the sick man is rich, then three black or white kids or lambs are necessary, which, of course, the Faki afterwards retains as his own share; from the poorer classes he requires hens, or a goat, ere he takes his leave. A Turk of the train of Ibrahim Kaschef professed to write charms against the ferendit, and was so convinced of their unfailing virtues, that in the presence of the Pascha, he pledged his head on their efficacy. Whether he was put to the proof we know not, but the common remedy for it is fire or butter; the latter, indeed, is a remedy for all diseases, and not in spoonfuls, but morning and evening a pound or two, and sometimes as much as six pounds are taken (drunk) daily. Many healthy persons in Bellad-Sudan, as well as in Beni Amer, Taka, and elsewhere, drink every morning fasting from three to six pounds of butter, as they fancy that this makes and keeps them strong (schedied), and this belief is general. Most of the rich and respected men are also the fat and stout, and the common saying is, they have no want of butter (dich'n).

But we feel the want of many things, especially of our mid-day's siesta, for the Pascha generally passes his noon under the large tree, one side of which we occupy (this is by far the finest tree we have seen in Bellad-Sudan, and would afford shelter to at least fifty men), and either has people with him to whom he talks, or is ever clattering with the dice at triktrak (tauola), which game he often plays at for four or five hours together, without heeding aught else. Topschi Baschi, the chief of the artillery, has the honour of playing with him, and he cannot count at any time on an hour's repose, as it often pleases the Pascha, who sleeps but little, to send for him at night to his tent; and he, wearied or sick as he may be, must, of course, attend. As little, too, is to be envied the lot of the Copt, Mallem Challill, Achmet's private secretary, who, during the day, is summoned at least twenty times to his master; during the whole time he is in the presence, often three or four hours, he must ever stand, and at night, when his Excellency cannot sleep,

and coffee, taken four or five times, does not succeed in soothing him, some thought will come perchance into his head, and the unfortunate secretary is at once sent for to write it down. Often during our journey have we pitied him; for hardly had we, all worn out, dismounted at mid-day, or late in the evening, from our dromedaries or horses, fit for nothing but repose, when the unhappy Mallem was summoned to the Pascha, and often kept up the whole night through, writing and arranging letters and papers. Pity, a Turk knows not. From all this, Challill is silent, melancholy, and drinks, in the evening (his day's work over), to keep up his strength, six or eight fingan, or small coffee cups, of araki, as this, he fancies, more quickly cheers him than wine. Often have we warned him to mind what he did, and for his health's sake to take fewer of these destructive drams; but he ever replies, that for his health's sake he dare not give them up, as he has been used to them from his youth, and were it not for them, he would not feel he was alive; nay, more, that now he had discovered it was impossible for him, once he commenced, to cease drinking as long as there was anything in the bottle. After such potations, Challill becomes somewhat more communicative, and tells us stories in answer to our questions as to the customs of his race, of whom we have heard much from him. He, indeed, often ventures to call the Turks an evil set, but no one will or can get out of him the smallest hint as to the Pascha's affairs, be the matter ever so trifling, although he possesses his master's full confidence, and knows every thing. He has now been seven years absent from Cairo, all the time with the Pascha, and his wife and children are still in that city, as the Pascha will not permit her to join him, that his secrets may be better kept.

Challill is well acquainted with the old Coptish language and writing, which are no longer in use, and are only to be met with in the church books. These books used to be read by the stupid priests (chassies), though neither they nor the hearers understood them. The present service in the churches is in Arabic, as it is now the prevailing language among them. The alphabet of the old Coptic language is the Greek  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , &c., and is written from left to right. It dates from the times of the Ptolemys, and this evident Grecian alphabet could only have been forced on them by

Grecian dominion; doubtless, in the earliest times, the original inhabitants of Egypt, now a mixture of Persians, Romans, Greeks, Arabs, Turks, &c., had another language, probably that which we now see on the ruins and monumental remains. No other equally old race with the Copts is to be found in Egypt, nor is there any notice of their having migrated into the land, nor is there anywhere else to be found a similar people; from all this it seems that they must have been born in this land and be the children of the soil (hence the name Kopt, pronounced Köpt, for they do not accent the k); and only from the many wars of races, as also from mixing with their conquerors, can the original character of the whole people have become so altered as it is. It is held as certain, that down the Nile, from Æthiopia, came Egypt's first population; but that physiognomy is now nowhere to be found in the land, and a whole nation cannot have died out; emigrated, like the Hebrews, they have not, and so there is nothing else for it but to hold that continued admixtures have thus totally altered the old people of Egypt. The belief, that the original race of Egypt was descended from African negroes, is held by the celebrated Volney. He says in his notices of the different races he found in Egypt, "*que les Coptes sont les descendants des anciens Egyptiens; que les Coptes ont le visage bouffe, l'œil gouffé, le nez écrasé et la lèvre grosse comme les mulâtres; qu'ils ressemblent au sphinx des pyramides, lequel est une tête de nègre très-caracterisée;*" and he infers from this, "*que les anciens Egyptiens sont de vrais nègres de l'espèce de tous les naturels de l'Afrique.*"\* However, these negro features are now so refined and ennobled, especially in many of the beautiful women, that one would much rather (even had the Egyptians, on their first acquaintanceship with the Greek, had woolly hair) believe them to be a race with similar descent as the Habesch tribes, which had received some admixture of Æthiopian blood.

The Copts chiefly reside in Alexandria, Cairo, Siut, Nagadeh. In the first of these cities resides their religious head, their patriarch. The founder of their sect is admitted to have been Eutyches.

\* See also *L'Univers, ou Histoire et Description de tous les Peuples, de leurs Religions, Mœurs, Coutumes, &c.* Egypte, par M. Champollion-Figear, conservateur à la Bibliothèque du Roi.

Why their numbers are now so few, is easily explained. At the first announcement of the Christian religion, all the Copts might not have become converts to it, but perhaps divided themselves among many other nations, and were thus lost among their masses. Such as did embrace Christianity were diminished, and driven from their homes by the cruellest persecutions, martyrdoms, and executions, when they did not die of starvation and miseries, or on their flight to the deserts, or in their places of hiding and refuge in the caves and catacombs of the Lydian and Arabian hills, all round which, even to this day, the marks of smoke and many skeletons plainly tell of their having died a miserable death. And faster still did their numbers melt away before Islamism, which then appeared. Here, death or conversion was the sole choice; and though, perhaps, many did in some way manage to remain true to Christianity, still the greater number certainly went over to the newer doctrines, as the glory of martyrdom had somewhat faded, and was no more so ardently sought after. The calendar was almost filled with the ancient heroic martyrs, and no place remained for the new. But now one sees among the Arabs a style of features that has nothing in common with the general sharp Arab features, but possesses all the characteristics of the Copts, and there can be no doubt that the possessors of these descend from Coptish families, who, from compulsion or interest, have embraced Mahomedanism. To the remainder of the Copts, after these persecutions, a short space of rest was, indeed, allowed; but ere long burst out the devouring crusades, and certain it is, that, after each new victory of the Christians, the infuriated Turks vented their disappointed rage on the poor Copts. By all this, as well as from after miseries and oppression enough to decrease any people, must this formerly so important population have become thus reduced, even though one does not take into consideration that, large as Egypt's former population was (in its flourishing times six or seven millions), yet that the war with Persia, in which religious fury not only sacrificed thousands of men, but also destroyed all temples, &c., and the wars with Rome, Greece, Æthiopia, and other nations, must and did reduce the numbers of its population to the lowest ebb.

Even now the government do not allow the Copts to bear arms, nor are they employed as soldiers. Under the French they

served as such, and seem to have behaved well. From them, too, they received many ameliorations of their lot, and they have ever since shown themselves well and gratefully inclined to that nation. But that the European powers have never, as yet, done anything towards the alleviation of their lot — no very difficult task for the former, — that this Christian race has been left to be tyrannised over by the Mussulmen as rayah, — in one word, that they are not declared free, and a consul allowed them, is a crying injustice; and, were this done, it would be seen that this race, naturally gifted with good abilities, would display many good and beautiful features. At present, they seek comfort in the belief that, as they in former days have been a great people, and ruled over Egypt, a time will come, their present slavery over, when they will no longer be oppressed, but again become a great nation. So it is written in their old books of prophecy; but much blood must yet be shed, and many more martyrs sacrificed to their religion, ere then. Similar prophecies of great wars and much bloodshed have the Turks also; and, as far as I recollect, these are looked for in 1257 or 1258 of their calendar.

As far as the persons and faces of the present Copts are concerned, most travellers describe them as very ugly, and with a sulky cast of countenance; and it is true, that many fearfully ugly faces may be found among them, principally from their diseased and lachrymose eyes: but, if we reflect on the oppressions and constant cruelties of all kinds to which they are ever exposed from the Mussulman; on the wretched manner of life they are compelled to lead, condemned as they are to sit hunched up all day in dark places, without fresh air day or night, ever writing — confined to the most wretched nourishment, which their miserable wages alone allow them to buy — and, finally, their despair at their contemptible position, which leads them to nightly debauches on the most injurious brandy — we will see that all this is not peculiarly adapted to ennoble or beautify any human race. However, one now and then meets among these Copts, especially among those who are less exposed to misery, truly antique handsome manly countenances; and their women have also much beauty among them. In general, the Copts have rather round than long faces, black hair, black curled beards



(unless, as very often is the case, there is none), black, intelligent eyes, but in almost all with a suspicious glance, and often these are diseased and specked, and not seldom one of them is sightless. Projecting or prominent eyes, one seldom meets with among them; oftener, they are rather sunken, the socket cut sharp, and the inner corners little defined. The eyelashes are long and thick, the brows bent, and meeting close on the nose, and, in the women, only a fine black stripe. The nose is regularly formed, at times arched, but almost always more or less blunted off at the point, as in all the races above Assuan, but never pressed down from above, or flattened, as in the negro. The mouth is generally large, and with thicker lips than the European, although never so thick, blubbery, and ugly as the negro. The chin is round. The outline of the face is regular, as in Europeans, and the teeth are good, and not projecting.

In viewing and comparing such countenances, and considering for how many centuries a constant admixture of human races has been taking place (Hyksos with Æthiopians, under Sabacon, 800 B. C., with Jews and Macedonians, 332 B. C., with Romans, Turks, Arabs, &c.), and how from this, and a total change of manner of life, every thing is altered, still, perhaps, the fundamental type of the Æthiopian race will be found more distinct among them than that of any other known nation; and it may be held that nothing has ever proved sufficient to thoroughly efface the peculiarity of origin; as may be seen in the numerous classes of Jews in Cairo, who, like the Copts, dwell in their own peculiar quarter, and by misery, oppression, unhealthy dwellings and food, are so degraded, dwarfed, and crippled, that in them the distinctly marked descendants of Abraham, in spite of their characteristic features, can hardly be recognised; but yet all traces of descent are not effaced.

The features of the Coptish women are sharper than those of the men, and one may with truth say, that they recal to mind those of the Greek and Roman females. Their skin is often so fair, it may almost be called white, and their eyes are peculiarly beautiful, large, open, and full of fire. They all have black hair good teeth, and well-sized, well-formed body and limbs. Pity, that at times, the piece of iron which hangs down in the shape of

a hook from the head, even to the point of the nose, and to which the long, narrow face veil (burkh) is fastened, by having been worn from youth, and being springy and flexible, has blunted the point of the nose, and even sometimes turned it upwards. Usually they are very pale, and this is chiefly caused by their little attention to cleanliness, their constant sitting in their houses in an unhealthy atmosphere, and their poor and unhealthy food. The poorer classes of the Copts often sell their very young daughters to Franks and others, but not to Mussulmen, as a kind of temporary wives. Some relation settles the price of the bride, generally from 500 to 2000 piastres, and some ornaments and dresses for her. The moment terms are settled, the man is allowed to behold his bride elect, and, if she does not please him, all may be broken off on the payment of a small sum of money; if she does, the time of marriage is fixed on and takes place after Coptish rites. On the evening of such marriage day, the bride, closely veiled, accompanied by her parents, male and female relatives and friends, arrives with a torch procession at her *pro tempore* husband's house, where a Coptish priest performs the marriage ceremony, and a splendid meal, with much drinking, at the bridegroom's expense, finishes the business. This temporary marriage is over when the husband, at his own time, sends back the woman along with her clothes and ornaments, to her parents; and these, along with the already received price, often amount to a considerable value. The Coptish women are very little given to work of any kind, spend most of their time in coffee drinking, lounging on sofas, and clapping their hands, a sign for the slaves to bring in the fresh filled pipes, or refreshments. They also pass much of their time in dressing and adorning themselves, even though there is no one to see or admire them.

The Coptish men seem to view their wives as their most valuable treasures, for as soon as they leave their dwellings to go to the Divan, they lock up their doors, and stick into their pockets the large wooden keys with iron pins; so that all inside are locked in for all day, as the careful master seldom returns home till evening. Iron keys or locks, save among the Franks, are not to be found in Egypt, Nubia, or Bellad-Sudan. The wooden lock

consists of a block of hollow square wood, which is firmly nailed to the door, and through which runs a slide or bolt; a square piece of wood, that passes into a hole in the door-post, is moveable in the block, and by being shoved backwards or forwards serves to fasten or unfasten the door. This sliding wooden bolt is hollowed or nicked out on one side, so that the large square-sided key fits into it. Such locks can only be opened from the outside, and are, probably, the invention of Eastern jealousy. At night, the lock remains unshot, and an inner cross bar fastens the door. It was a common trick of certain wags, as a joke, to lock from the outside all the doors in a street, so that in the morning the inmates could only get released from their confinement by casting out their keys through the windows, for the passers-by to unlock their doors.

It is seldom the Copts allow a stranger to enter their houses, and these, from being ever closed, seem as if deserted. After long knocking, one hears at last, from a grated upper window (for in the ground story there are none), or from the interior of the house, a voice screaming out, "Min di?" (Who's there?) and announcing the absence of the master of the house with a "Mafisch" (Nothing). The Copts, however, hold fast by their sect, and visit much among one another. On the Sunday many Copts usually join to take their coffee in a garden on the water, or, taking a cold meal with them, to pass the whole day there in the open air. The favourite place of the Copts of Cairo is a beautiful garden, laid out in English style, on the island of Roda, formed by the Nile, on the southern point of which may be seen the famous old Nilometre. Here the Copts cast off their upper garments, the veils no longer hide the female faces, and often may there be seen forms and faces of surprising beauty. Although somewhat silent and bashful, they are courteous and civil, and always ask you to eat with them, and seem to lose somewhat of their timidity when they act the part of entertainers. On such occasions they appear in their best garbs; rings adorn the fingers, and gold plates and ear-rings the head; nor do they seem to be at all annoyed, although their silken dresses are somewhat ragged and dirty. Cleanliness is certainly the virtue of neither man nor woman; in their houses prevail disorder, dirt,

and stench; as these even among the highest of them are seldom set in order, cleaned, or aired. They seldom wash themselves or bathe, and wear the same under garments, day and night, till they are worn out. To visit sick Copts, to be forced to view the dirt of themselves and their houses, and how all live on the most unhealthy viands, — half rotten fish and flesh, decayed vegetables and cheese, — is no pleasant matter.

Nor does the Copt afford a much more pleasant sight when one meets him creeping through the streets in his long black dirty abbai, with his miserable, humiliated, pale face, made yet paler by his black beard. The dress of all is alike, consisting of a black, white, or red oemme or turban (for one of these colours they must use); coloured jackets, with sleeves, generally of silk (antèri), of which they often wear three or four, one above and each dirtier than the other; and a caftan of silk or cotton (harir), girdled with a scarf. Over this is the so-called top; when not of cloth, this is made of black-coloured cotton stuff or chibbe, wide, open before, and falling down to the feet; and, finally, in cold weather, they wear over all this, a wide, long, open black coat, with short, loose sleeves, made of goat's hair; it is impervious to rain, and comes from the Hedjas. The poorer substitute in the place of this an open blue linen smockfrock. From this garb, which they have voluntarily worn from olden times, they never have departed, and now they dare not. Military garbs can only be worn by the renegades among them; but these long robes are common to all oriental races, Arabs, Turks, Persians, Indians, as well as Copts.

An esteemed ornament among the Copts is the long brass ink and pen case (among the wealthier classes it is made of silver), which, like a dagger, is stuck in his girdle, and cuts a great figure there. The long, square, hollow case holds his reeds for writing (kallam), and his scissors (magass), and at the end is the well closed square ink-holder of the same metal as the case. He carries his whole utensils about his person, as he bears his papers under his caftan, in a pocket on his breast. All Copts, like the Turks, hold the sheet of paper loose in one hand on their knee as they write, and this art, as well as their ever having their ink-bottles about them, enables them to carry

on their trade at every street corner. There or any other place where they may be called on to write, they instantly squat down on the ground, and if they are placed on a chair or sofa to write, you see them gradually sliding off it down on to the floor; to them that is the best and most comfortable place to exercise their calling. In all Egypt they are the sole clerks and secretaries; they seem to be particularly skilled in arithmetic and keeping accounts, and as far as my brother, in his small way, could judge, he always found them most rapid and faithful accountants.

In one small room many Coptish clerks are easily lodged, and seldom less than five are reckoning up large sums or drawing up most important reports in a space where no European clerk would find room to perform the most trifling duty. Besides, when one sees how few of these Coptish writers must arrange everything and conduct all state affairs, which are here pretty extensive and tolerably closely looked after, one must smile at the army of great and small scribes in our state arrangements. As an instance, the Pascha has with him on the present expedition some 10,000 soldiers, not reckoning servants, camp and baggage attendants and Arab auxiliary troops, in all not less than 20,000 men. He is not only military but also civil Governor of all Bellad-Sudan; all business and other state matters, without exception, must fall on him, must be cared for by him, and letters and orders sent regarding them. Daily there arrives a dromedary courier (hagahn) with the post (posta), and his jarre (leather sack), is full of letters for the Pascha who reads all of them, and generally answers most; among them are those from the different ministers in Cairo and Alexandria, which usually require direct answers, or contain certain orders, which again must be promulgated in all the provinces. Then come reports from the extensive province of Kordofan, from the districts of Dongola, Berber, Chartum, Sennaar, Faszogl; from the Kaschefs of Kataref, Sauachinn, Atisch, Karreri, Wollet Mèdine, Schendy, Gos Rajeb, Rosseres: then there is the correspondence with the Sheiks of the different Arab tribes who are tributaries, as the Kababish Arabs on the left bank of the White Nile, up to Dongola, Kordofan, and Hassanie, Dongola, Agricultural-Schaigies in Dongola, the War-Scha-

gies in Halfaia, Schendy, Ellefun, &c. ; the Mogradins, Bischari, Schukurie, Batahanie, the tribe of Abu Ginn in Atisch, of the Dabaina, Homrahn, Baghara, Fungh, Hammech, and others. And how many secretaries and clerks has the Pascha for all this? In all five! Mallem Challill, with two copyists; Sheik Effendi, as journal keeper; and Mustapha Effendi, as conductor of the Turkish correspondence; and even these have at times an idle day. Much simplified, certainly, is the writing; inasmuch as the Pascha only gives out dictatorial orders, that must be obeyed without any further remonstrance or petitioning; and the military and civil rule are united in one person, and not so divided and subdivided as in more civilised states. He alone issues orders, passes all great sentences, and declares war or concludes peace; thus all is shortened and simplified, and needs not the result of twenty different departments, and as many colleges or offices.

As to the religious ceremonies and usages of the Copts, which, such as they are, are closely observed by them,—they are bigots to their own faith, and hate (independent of the feelings of slavery) all Mussulmen bitterly, as also all other Christians who hold not the same opinions with themselves; know to a nicety all saints in their calendar, strictly keep the fast days, of which they have many; submit to, and inflict faithfully on themselves, the penances laid on them by their father confessors, even though these extend to the leaving off of their favourite dram-drinkings; most regularly attend the churches on the Sundays, and are on these occasions more cleanly in their dresses than usual. The women sit in church in balconies with blinds. The Copts marry in their own sect, and are only allowed one wife; many of them certainly keep slaves or concubines, but the children of such are not looked on as legitimate—a custom that has crept in with Islam. On the inner flat of the right wrist each Copt has a cross (*salib*), which is usually cut into the flesh when he is a boy, and is ineffaceable; the women generally have the same on the hollow of the chin. With these marks they are sure of kind reception and hospitality in all places where Copts dwell. Many Coptish families in Egypt have still private property, but keep it as secret as possible, for were the Turks to get scent of it, they would most certainly ere long find means to deprive them of

it. This by no means large religious sect is, however, again divided into two, one of which holds by the old faith and ritual, and the other, headed by Basilius Bey, at present on account of his fits of drunken passion exiled to Tachta, and also by Sergius Bey and Tobia Bey, would wish to introduce some changes. These would join the Catholic Church, and are also inclined to listen to the English missionaries.

## CHAP. XI.

March from Dabàab.— A Sham Fight.— Schaigies.— Sufferings from Heat and Thirst.— Choice of Camp.— Kassela-cl-Lus.— Escape of Female Slaves.— Storm of Rain.

AFTER a halt of six days in the camp at Dabàab, the army again marched at dawn. The first country we passed was flat and stony, only here and there showed some low bushes, though its monotonousness was made somewhat more tolerable by the view of the Hill of Kassela, on which we marched. The whole land was covered with small pieces of granite, pebbles, and stones, which had been washed and rolled down from the mountains by floods, although these hills were yet a day's journey distant. After three long hours, our progress was interrupted by six or eight small gohrs, which from the rain of the former week had been converted into large swamps, and promised much annoying fatigue, especially to the baggage camels. The fields round about showed no trace of having ever been cultivated, and the grasses also had almost vanished from the surface; the trees were very small and few. Of living animals we only saw one ostrich, and this at a considerable distance, hurrying rapidly off on its long legs, while a few birds of prey, like solitary specks, floated over our heads. At length, fully two hours distant from all the other hills, rose in this large sterile plain a round conical hillock of some 150 or 200 feet high. The position seemed to plainly mark it out as some ancient monument, and we fancied we saw ruins on it; but, on riding up to it, we were disappointed in only

finding time-worn and blackened rocks and blocks of granite. To our left (east) was visible a long chain of isolated hillock rocks of the most curious forms, but mostly pyramidical; they stood out singly like the sentinels of the higher hills, which run in unbroken range to the east and south, boundary hills between the races of Makada and of this land. Some of these hills showed the fairest shapes and brightest colours. We rode to the foot of the hills south of Kassela, that with its dome-shaped head offered a most imposing sight, and declared its height by its cloudy canopy or curtain. We sought in vain for a sign of ancient ruin or building remains on hillocks and hills; nothing of the kind was to be found, and none of the natives knew aught of bint gaddim (old buildings). Time and weather had here wasted the hard granite rocks, and those still standing upright were split and fractured into a thousand shapes and forms.

To somewhat lessen the tedium of our march the Pascha hit on the happy thought of ordering out the various Arab races, as also the Turkish, Mograbin, and Schaigie cavalry, to go through a sham fight, each after their own manner, and this certainly afforded a most interesting and characteristic scene. All, save the Arabs, rushed impetuously on the invisible enemy, discharging their firearms, and then immediately retreating, while past our ears whistled some of their balls. To infantry unaccustomed to such attacks these violent cavalry onsets might be dangerous, as these incessant skirmishings would be an eternal harassing, that could only be resisted by a rapidly-formed square, retained with steadiness and energy; and I much doubt if our forces here could, without much difficulty, be brought to effect or maintain a formation that would defeat such attacks. Even at the most rapid gallop, all these cavalry handled their long, heavy flint muskets like riding whips; in pursuit and retreat they used their pistols, and kept up a constant fire on the pursued or pursuing enemy. All was done in the most rapid gallop, nor did they make the smallest attempt at order in their onsets. The twentieth part of the Turkish cavalry alone had sabres, but all muskets and pistols; some men had four of the latter, two in the girdle and two at the saddle-bows. The Schaigies, like the Mograbins, are only armed with muskets; but the officers have



mostly pistols, and the leader a sabre. Firearms are, indeed, the best and most efficacious weapons here in Bellad-Sudan, as the blacks do not possess such, and have a great dread of them; and on their part generally fight by casting lances and stones from a distance, out of their rocks and forests, as swords are not common among them. The Turkish cavalry certainly cut the best figure from their handsome and swift horses, but could not in dexterity and active movement compare with the Schaigies, who are, however, at present ill-mounted, as the formerly highly-famed Dongola breed of horses, somewhat similar to the Holstein, have been much decreased by the doings of the Turks, especially by those of Ismail Pascha and Defterdar Bey. Better soldiers than the Schaigies could not be found for these lands. They are the real fighting caste of the country, born and brought up here, and from their youth practised to war; able to bear the greatest fatigues and privations with endurance and indifference. They are closely acquainted with the capabilities, manners, and customs of these lands; and this knowledge enables them to inflict severe injury on their foes. With savage courage they steal into the very heart of the enemy's country, and never return empty-handed. They also were the only indwellers of all Nubia up to Beni Schangull who ventured to meet Ismail Pascha in open battle, and were only defeated by the overpowering force of firearms. They then possessed no firearms, but the straight double-edged sword, lance, and shield were their weapons, and the larger number of them had iron chain armour and helmets; but these, on adopting firearms, they have cast aside as useless. The most of them are mounted on horseback, or on camels; those on foot are only armed with the lance. Their horses were famed far and near, but only among their leaders are many of the old breed to be found. Burckhardt, who saw the Schaigies in their own land, believed that their breed had originated in a cross between their country horses and the Arabian. But this is not well-founded; they much more resemble our German horses, and have even as little Arab blood in them as these. In general, they are large and long-bodied, with strong thick tails, which they mostly carry ill, and coarse thick manes; the neck is long, and always a ewe-neck, and the ever somewhat thick head, always ill set on it; in

in the breast and coupling they are generally weaker than Arab horses; the back, too, is much more hollowed, the croup sloping more, and the continuation of the backbone not so perfect as in the Arab breed. They are generally rather lean, and can go a good pace, but not with the same powers of continuance as the true Arabs or the cross with the Syrian horse.

These two last-mentioned breeds are rather short than long bodied, and never over the middle height; from the shoulder to the end of the backbone is an almost straight line, and this may be the reason they always carry a good tail, as this is nothing but the finish off of the stronger backbone. The tail is docked by the Arabs, but not so short as in England, nor is it ever set or nicked, nor is the hair of the tail so neatly trimmed and arranged. They have very fine bone, and broad chests, and stand wide behind. Below the neck is broad and thick, but runs up small and thin towards the head, so that with the small well-set head and bright ever-observing eye, and open nostrils, it is a fair sight. They never carry the neck arched, but it stands at somewhere about an angle of  $130^{\circ}$  with the backbone, and the head at one of  $90^{\circ}$  with the neck; hence its motions are free and unconstrained. When tied up this is not done by the head, but by the foot; either one hind foot only, or one hind and one fore, being picquetted to a peg driven into the ground. To make them more strong and lasting, the Arabs give them honey mixed with meal or dried flesh; and certainly they will hold out and undergo much fatigue for two or even three days without water or food. In general, all horses here are given water once a day and food twice, generally durra, which they eat from a nosebag.

On the march, as at home and every where, the Turkish horses must be saddled day and night, as Mahomet ordered that man and horse should ever be ready for the field. Their saddles are very high before and behind, the stirrups, as also those of the Mograbins, are large iron plates, on which the whole foot rests. The Arabs here, and the Schaigies, have stirrups like Europeans, in which, as they wear sandals, and often have their feet altogether bare, they only stick the great toes; at times one sees attached to the stirrups a spur an inch long. On their small wooden saddles there is only allowed a place for the drinking-vessel; but

the way the Arabs keep their seats on the small wooden saddles of their camels, at their quickest pace, in the sharpest turnings retaining their balance, is truly wonderful, and in doing so they stick out their elbows far from their bodies, and look as if about to fly. Here on horseback no one rides by hold, but all by balance, and, in the most rapid pace of their horses, the Schaigies will coolly pick up a stone, or any other small object, from the earth, without losing their balance or checking their horses.

Their dress consists, with the better sort, of a tarbush; the most of the common orders having their hair uncovered, cut close, or when covered, with a white taghie (takhie); short white breeches, and a ferda, or a shirt. One can at first glance tell a Schaigie, and still one cannot easily tell how they are so completely distinct from the other Arabs. Their faces are good, and generally marked and thin; the higher among them, especially Melek Mahmud, are distinguished by extremely fine features; foreheads rather lofty; eyes lively and sharp cut; nose arched, and pointed at the end (in this they are principally distinguished from the smaller-featured Barabra); lips common; beard thin; colour of skin brown, or brown-black; slight of form, but well built, and therefore, with great ease, they perform all kinds of bodily exercises, and the common expression used of them is "Jasiff saie el Tair" (light as a bird). All are very fond of liquors. Although, from their face and features, they seem to more nearly approach the Arabs than the Nubians, still they unanimously, and with something like scorn, assert that they are no Arabs, and have no descent from such a race. But whence they come, or to what race they are allied, as they themselves equally deny a Nubian descent, their small kings, who have their pedigree at their fingers, could not, or would not, tell us, much as we tried to get out of them their genealogy. They firmly maintain that they have been, from most distant times, the children of the soil (betal Thin), and have ever been the warriors of their race (min Astlu Askari). One must not put any confidence, as other travellers have done, in what they have learnt from their priests, who are said to assert the contrary; though we have not heard it from them, for most of these (but this we afterwards heard from the much-travelled Sheik and

Faki Hamsa of Hannak, in the country of Barabra, who boasted of his Arabian origin,) are of Arab families, and are to be looked on as the proselyte-makers of the Nubian Christians, to whom they, along with Islam, have also brought the Arabic (the only language well pleasing to God), as well as to the Schaigie. Such pious fathers also fancy, although they may be of a totally different origin, that they are able, by means of Arabian descent, to claim a kind of relationship with the Prophet. Here starts up the interesting historical question, are these Schaigies, who perhaps really do owe their present name to some Arabian saint, a part of the emigrated warrior caste of Egypt, or the descendants of those discontented warriors who were hospitably received by the kings of Ethiopia? Their country, their proximity to old Meroë, which they perhaps protected against the barbarous south, and their own warlike spirit, agree with this tradition; as does also the fact, that amongst them has never existed any common superior chief, but all have ever lived free under their moluks; the present ruling families are perhaps the old Egyptian leader-race, who, holding the Ethiopian kings as their only lords, became, on the overthrow of that kingdom, independent princes, as the Macedonian generals did on the death of Alexander the Great. Their hair too is thinned, or kept cut short to the head, as cleanliness, so necessary in Egypt, may have demanded; and such a custom is contrary to Arab habits, and those of Nubia and Barabra also, although they have, in common with those races, incisions on the cheeks as marks of caste; among the Schaigies these are horizontal.

After a longer halt, we at last quitted our camp at Dabab. The Hakim (Kadi), whom we visited in that village, said that the Hallenga were indeed an Arab tribe, but not Arabs or Nomades, but "Naas betal bellad" (people of the land), as they from centuries had had fixed dwellings therein, as the tokul and mud huts of his own village might testify. However, he also asserted that neither the Schaigies nor Djalín were of Arab descent, as I also learnt from the latter, on making more particular inquiries. From all this, it seems more than probable that these two races are to be looked on as the ancient people of Meroë, and as different tribes of the same race, as the Djalín have the incisions on the cheeks from above downwards, while those of the Schaigies are

more horizontal. How strong the belief here is in an extreme old age, we heard not only from the old Hakim, but also from the Pascha himself. In this neighbourhood lives a holy man, who, by all accounts, has seen upwards of 400 years, during which period he has wholly subsisted on milk. The Pascha sent for the holy man, that we might ourselves behold him, but he has not thought fit to appear. Moreover, it is said, that in the neighbouring hills there are many persons of 150 to 200 years old. In Senaar the Pascha had himself seen and spoken with a man of 250 years of age. Of registers of birth there is as little here now as in the time of Methuselah. The people here believe such tales, and a high age, whether real or claimed, gives to the Faki his boasted saintship.

According to the old favourite custom, we were marched out in the noon's heat, and followed back the road by which we had come, to the springs. We left the slopes of the higher Abyssinian hills on our left, passed through forests and steppes, where we saw only a few cattle, as Mahommed Ehle, the Sheik of Hallenga, had been knowing enough to have all such driven away, and to represent his people as a most well-disposed but an exceedingly poor race. The Pascha pretends he believes this, although camels are stolen daily; out of personal revenge, one of his dromedaries has been slain, and on the same occasion one of ours was carried off. We passed south-westwardly through durra-fields, then south, and at last east, directly in the direction of the hill of Kassela-el-Lus. We had to pass many gohrs full of water; (a bad road for camels, who so easily slip and fall, and sweat, from mere alarm;) and encamped, at the advice of Mahommed Ehle, on a waterless plain, while his own fair village lay some way to the left. The soil here seemed, on the whole, unfruitful, and the durra-crops were far inferior to those at El Sofre. In the evening violent thirst reigned in the camp, and all cursed the perfidious Mahommed Ehle, who had promised water.

The want of water and groanings of the men, set all again on their legs before day-break, and with music, loud murmurs, and most horrid noises, we marched on hillward. The Pascha, on account of these tumults, remained in the pass, casting furious looks round him; but we, accompanying the advanced guard of

Schaigies, pushed on eastward. The hills, visible even from Gos Rajeb, now appeared close at hand, but still we reached them not till mid-day. The flat country, on which were started some hyenas, jackals, and hares, was cut up by many small rain-brooks from the hills, much impeding our march ; most easily might such have been filled up, but Turkish generalship could not condescend to such trifles, and there therefore arose a confusion and straggling unequalled, as every one took any way he fancied likely to lead him across them. The camels, horses, and asses remained fixed in the mud, drinking ; the poor thirsty soldiers rushed blindly after them, and laid about them to get a mouthful of stinking water to cool their burning throats. We also were nearly again mired, having got into a bog, but at last we arrived at the left bank of the Gohr el Gasch, which showed itself shortly before the first rocks, and where we, having got a start of the rest, could coolly drink ourselves, and let our beasts do so likewise. The country, covered with coarse granite sand, washed down from the hills, rose somewhat on the opposite side, but was wholly without vegetation. A vale of some half-hour's breadth opened between the high rocky walls of the Mokran (from which also a gohr came down called Baraka) and the hill of Kassela. On the west side of the Mokran mountain we rode southwards to the foot of that of the Kassela el Lus, and there halted to await the Pascha.

The army came on, and order seemed to have been in some measure restored ; but when they arrived at the Gohr Baraka, neither man nor beast was to be restrained ; they rushed on, and quenched their burning thirst in its clear waters, which ran merrily down from the narrow vale-gulley ; this seemed, some quarter of an hour further up, where it separated the hill of Kassela from that of Mokran, to narrow greatly, and after running a little distance, to unite itself to the Gohr el Gasch. The heat was most fearful ; neither the more healthy hill-breeze, the truly magnificent nature of the high, domelike, and bold granite formations, nor the almost picture-like blue colour and romantic form of the mountains of Sabderath, gave for the moment the hoped-for relief, nor made their full impression felt. A consolation it certainly was that we were to remain here for at least three

months, to let the rainy season pass over, and then continue our conquests. At last the Pascha and his followers galloped up. I drew his attention to the spot where we had halted being highly suited for the camp; as it was open on three sides, to the east leant on a perpendicular wall of rock, and water was near. He thought a better place could be found, and we had to ride on for an hour, till we reached a ravine, in the bottom of which we saw the village of Kadmin, or Assunia, at the foot of the immense masses of rock of the main mountain of Kassela-el-Lus. But the ground here was cut up by rocky ridges, and it was plain that the hill shed down a part of its waters on it. The Pascha rode backwards and forwards, dismounted and received some of the people of the village, who made queer faces when they found the camp was to be pitched immediately over their heads. I had already discovered a somewhat raised spot, where we had made our dromedaries lie down, thus taking possession of it for our tents; the Pascha looked at us, again mounted his Arab, and we followed him back to the flat, I had at first proposed as our camping-place. Our first business was to get up our tent as quickly as possible, and to send for water, as my brother was complaining of violent headache, although as yet the Pascha had given no orders to encamp there. No sooner was our tent up, than all the army began to pitch theirs round us, as if by higher orders, and as now the Pascha had also had his pitched, I hastened to him, begged him to have sufficient extent and room given the camp, and, for that purpose, to place some picquets out, so as to at least give it some regular figure, oblong or square. Inside the different detachments of the army sat down as they pleased, but always as far off as they could from the Pascha, so as not to be overlooked by him, or at least as little as possible. By this there was left a kind of clear space in the centre of the camp, on which, to our great joy, stood isolated the Pascha's tents and ours. Such was the beginning of the city to be founded here,—a picture of what was perhaps only a repetition of what had occurred in founding other older cities.

With gloomy face, silent and thoughtful, sat the Pascha, now the Rubicon was crossed; and then first sounded the cannon-

shot, as a signal that here the camp was to be. The outwardly humble Sheiks, who welcomed him here, and most of whom had never heard such a report before, shrunk together and shuddered at the shot, which again recalled a smile to the Pascha's moody face. A loud, far round rolling echo, caused him to have the gun repeatedly fired, he seemed again to feel pride in his superior power, and in announcing his presence to the tribes around by the thunder of his guns. The Turks too did not fail to arouse the echo by repeated volleys of their fire-arms, till one might almost have fancied he was near the scene of a battle. Not in vain, therefore, did the Viceroy of Egypt style himself in his proclamation to these races, who are little acquainted, if at all, with fire-arms, "Lord of Armies and Cannon." In the deeper stillness of evening, the echo of the great gun, beating the signal of retreat, was yet more imposing; the many fires of the camps lighted up the high rocky domes and buttresses, which cast strange shadows, and gave a truly splendid night view, such as we had never seen before.

Next morning we commenced fortifying the camp with palisades, as it had only been, during night, surrounded by a low thorn fence. Numberless Dom-palms, from one and a half to two feet in circumference, had been felled in the wood, and sawn into lengths of twenty-five feet, dragged down by men and beasts, and buried upright in the earth, giving the camp an outward form of a lengthened square, with three gates or outlets, while within all was disorderly confusion. The entrances, as well as the spaces between these large palisades, were filled up with thorn-bushes, to impede the naked-legged enemy in getting over them even should they not altogether prevent him. Toward evening many fires were made outside this seriba, and detachments of cavalry and infantry told off to them, while the guns were placed at the north and south gates, to guard against any surprise. By day guards were posted on the eastern rocks, on which the camp itself leant, to overlook the country. In the evening, however, they were withdrawn, on account of the numerous wild beasts. In the interior also some change had taken place, so as to keep open passage between the gates and along the seriba. The Pascha made his rounds, at uncertain hours, round the camp, and up and down it, and seemed proud of his



work ; he usually went alone save two servants, who followed him, bearing his pipe and camp-stool ; he bore no sabre, had merely a long staff in his hand, which he, like Frederick the Great, often made use of, but never making more than one blow with it, where he found sentries sleeping, sitting, or having laid aside their arms. Very often I had to accompany him on such rounds, during which he now and then conversed with such as came in his way, knew all their names, put them into confusion by his questions, and laughed at their too simple, or oftener free and easy answers ; but much more frequently in a truly paternal tone, reminded them of their duty. At times we sat down at one of the gates, and even on the Pascha did the splendid rocks, and their grotesque lighting up by the fires, make an impression, and strongly affect him with home-sickness, by reminding him of Circassia. We two brothers also often sat for hours before our hut, gazing on the ever-changing scene around, and felt as if in a dream.

The burning sun, the rays of which, reflected from the rocky walls had a double power, caused us after a time to exchange our tent for a recuba. For this purpose, Topschi Baschi made his gunners fell for us some tall Dom-palms, and drag them with mules into the camp. Our hut was to be distinguished beyond all others. I caused the two longest palms having forks to be sunk pretty deep into the ground, at the back and front, and, laying a slender stem across, bound it to the forks with withies, thus forming the gables. This was not the work of a moment, as ladders and cranes there were none. The Turks and Arabs assembled, and at first imagined that I was, at the Pascha's orders, raising an enormous gallows, on which were to be hung the Sheiks held prisoners in the camp, viz. Mohammed Din and the others. Four corner timbers, each with a fork, were soon found among the sawed off remains of the palisades, sunk into the earth till only six feet of them was left above it, and two long stems bound along these, thus forming the eaves or lower rims of the roof. Then spars were laid along and tied on ; and, over all, a pretty thick thatch of long grass. The front and back, as well as the side walls, were covered with durra straw, and besides defended by pales driven into the earth, and wove in with the straw, thus to

defeat, as far as possible, the constant attempts at theft. Round the hut the soil was thrown up a foot high, and a kind of wall formed, and ditch to save it in case of any high flooding, from the rains. Above, in front, was a round hole, and two doors with pointed gothic arches formed the entrance; so that the whole, when looked at from the front, was not very unlike a Gothic chapel. We had bought one of the here common large carpets of coarse wool, which at night, on the inner side, covered doors and window, and was fastened to the ground by some small posts. The interior of the hut was divided into two compartments, the front one having on right and left of it our angarebs, that served us as sleeping places and divans. In the back part, that had also a small door, was our store of provisions, and many chests and cases placed on stones: these took it all up, save a passage. This we called our sanctum. Behind this our recuba were the huts of our servants, made by themselves in their usual careless manner. Our *chateau* so pleased the Pascha, that he gave me the employment of superintending the building of a recuba for him, that was to be as large as a castle (kasr). He himself fixed on length and breadth, a heap of the longest Dom-palms were dragged in, and the carpenters (baltaschi, sappers\*) set to work to sink them in the ground; and these were then bound to one another, and from one side to another, with long ropes, to prevent their giving way, as cross beams of such length could not be found, and the Pascha would have no partition in the interior. The spar work of slender palms was laid on, and fastened in the joinings with long rails, which for this purpose were sunk into the great tree. I would have added supports, but the Pascha rejected these with an "Allah Kerim!" and thus was formed a house far surpassing all the rest.

Hardly was this erection finished, than my brother was summoned to the Pascha, to inspect two female slaves purchased for him by Mohammed Ehle (Ehle, white, innocent). According to my brother's report, they were both very pretty, of bright brown colour, free from blemish, very young, and from the land of Basa. The poor girls sat in one corner of this larger recuba, behind a great curtain; they were totally ignorant of the Arab language, and, trembling in every limb, awaited their fate. Ere

\* From balta, axe.

long we beheld, behind the large building, two tokuls (plur. *täkela*) erecting under Mohammed Ehle's superintendence; the cross-formed pointed roofs were brought in by men, placed on buried pales, bound fast on the forks of these, and the interval between the pales filled up into a wall with durra straw; so that, in a few hours, these Æthiopian huts (of which the Hallenga erected many in the camp, for twenty or thirty piastres each) were all ready, finished, and standing there, in connexion with the Pascha's palace. The one tokul was for the girls, the other for his excellency, that he might there retire and rest after the labours of the day. Silken stuffs and coloured muslins were all at hand, to dress out, or rather hang on these girls; and one would have fancied that these naked innocents would have felt happy in their unwonted splendours; but it was not so. On the second day, as we sat on our heels with the Pascha, he smiled in his own peculiar way, and then asked my brother to give him some love-powders. Joseph would not hear of it; and the mighty man became angry, and said it was his own look-out whether they injured him or not, as Joseph said they would. Joseph now hit on a happy thought, viz. to tell the Pascha that wine was specially necessary. On this a whole basket of wine was sent to our hut, with the remark that we might, with the rest, make any decoctions for ourselves we pleased; which we laughingly promised to do, but hastened off to our hut to see what sort of liquor we had got, and found a most capital French wine. As my brother knew how strong the Pascha's faith was, he merely mixed up two bottles of it with some lemon-peel, and sent them to him.

The following night a regular hurricane, with torrents of rain, came on; and this was used by the home-sick girls, left all alone in their dark corner, to call to mind the liberty they had been deprived of, and while the Pascha held a divan in front of their abode, to break through the straw walls of their prison, cast off and forsake all their fine clothes, and escape out of the camp. The Pascha was furious; but, in spite of his rage, he in a very droll way alluded to the girls' escape. He had, however, during the night sent out scouts in all directions, who, to our great grief, brought back to the Pascha the unfortunate fugitive girls, whom

they had found hiding in the bush. Unhappily, none of us were present at this minute, to beg mercy (*amahn*) for them; for he afterwards told us he would have given them to us. He had acted so meanly as to sell them to the merchant, Hassan Mosmar of Berber, who was then in the camp. A real piece of good fortune it was for the poor girls that they had left all the clothing and ornaments the Pascha had given them behind, for otherwise some deed of barbarity would have most probably fallen on them.

This same night, during which the storm demolished a great part of the camp, the roof was blown off our recuba. In spite of a sound draught we had taken out of the Pascha's hamper, the heavy rain aroused us out of our sound sleep. A foot deep rushed the water, below our bed places. I hastily seized the carpet and cowskin on which I lay, and hung both up above my head; on which my brother lost no time in jumping across to me, and getting under this shelter. With legs tucked in under us we both crouched close together, and were all right; save only our just alarm for a return of fever. The water-spout, however, seemed as if it would never cease, and a chill seemed inevitable; besides, thirst tormented us. Luckily, the hamper of wine stood near me, on it there lay a piece of bread that had been given us, made out of the apple-like fruit of the thorny Hebbek, and this, in our state of despair, we much longed for, both to pass the time in eating, and, if possible, ward off the fearful cold and consequent fever. The dagger served instead of a knife, the yet untasted curious bread had the flavour of the best ginger-bread, and the wine was excellent. The next morning, when the rain had ceased, and the water run off, the cover was raised from our head as if by an invisible hand, and we were found sleeping in brotherly love and embrace, the head of one on the other's shoulders; but the laugh and well-known voice of Mallem Challill, aroused us out of our sweet dreams, and we sprung up happy and fresh, only somewhat dazzled with the daylight, but all ready for work, as we had, as usual, lain down dressed and armed.

## CHAP. XII.

Gohr-el-Gash.—Dam across the great Gohr.—Kassela-el-lus.—Elephants.—Lion and Elephant Hunt.—Mohammed Din.—Murder of his Nephew and Friends.—Sheik Mussa resolves to starve himself.—The Faki-el-Kebir.—Faki Village.—Faki Plot.—Narrow Escape.

THE hatred of the natives among themselves goes so far, that it has caused "divide et impera" to be the rule of Egypt's policy. Mohammed Ehle, who is appointed by the Divan Sheik of the Hallenga, has taken it into his pious wise head to drive the Haddenda out of their land, if not totally extirpate them, with the support of the Turks. The great Gohr-el-Gash goes in full force from here, and sends its arms—such, for instance, as the gohr at El-Sofr—through the lands of the Haddenda; and it is this that gives abundance of water to this great tribe and their fruitful lands, as well as, here and there, to the impenetrable Chaaba, that land of free tribes so much dreaded by the Turks. This life-vein is now, on the advice of Mohammed Ehle, who already before tried it, to be cut off without mercy; and I, as engineer and confidential adviser to the Pascha, have been at the same time compelled to lend a helping hand in it. Mohammed Ehle, the Pascha, and I, mounted dromedaries, and rode, followed at a distance by an escort, towards the south, for about an hour, passing by the village of Kadmin. On our way our beasts suddenly shied, and I fancied I saw a hulk of a bear; but it proved to be some large baboons, who were hurrying past us from the dom-palm forest, where they find their food, to the barren rocks, over which dangerous road they made their way with great speed and agility. We then came to the western rocks of the Kassela-el-Lus, which extend to the gohr. Here the gohr was pretty deep, and at the same time narrower both above and below, and this place seemed suitable for forming a dam slanting across it. The Pascha at once gave the order, that a part of the army, with 4000 axes, should cut down the palms, which are only to be found in the neighbourhood of the gohr, and as far

as its overflow extends. The troops, on this, advanced; and the Pascha rode backwards and forwards, to encourage the people by his presence, and called this "politica sogaiër" (small policy); which art he also afterwards exercised with no little effect. The tribe of the Hallenga is by no means so savage and defiant as the Haddenda, and patiently set about delivering tribute, in a monstrous quantity of straw mats, that we found would be necessary in forming the dam (gisser).

By next morning, a lot of fallen palm-trees lay scattered about the gohr, near this spot. The dam ran from N. E. to S. W., and the main bed of the gohr was 1220 metres broad. I at once told the Pascha that it would be necessary, on the other side, where the banks somewhat rose, to dig a canal so far as to reach the water level of the Atbara, and so prevent the rushing back of the waters. The dam was commenced by a double row of palm-trees being placed close to one another perpendicularly, while mats were extended along these on both sides, and sand thrown in between them. As soon as one set of mats were filled, another was placed above, and by this means the height of five metres was reached. To prevent the yielding of the trees, and to break the force of the water above, a slope of 45° (Arab, kerath) was given to the dam. At the rocks on the right bank, where the principal body of water seemed to rush, was thrown in an immense quantity of matting sacks filled with sand. The work was from time to time urged on by drums beating, and by the Pascha's presence; this haste was all the more necessary, as the rainy season had commenced, and might, as if by a charm, call up all growing shrubs and trees into full force, and fill at any moment the gohr, before we could oppose our first bulwark to its waters. I examined the opposite side, which was covered with atle-trees, and found there an arm that must be filled up, as well as the main course. From the greater depth of this, and its seeming to contain when full a greater weight of water, a triple row of palms was used here. To prevent the work in the main gohr from going to nought in the tropical rains, I had placed above the dam a row of palms, sunk in the earth to half their length, and supported them also by straw mats full of sand. This was run out about 270 metres. Hardly had we got our work ready, when the rain from the Abyssinian mountains turned the

gohr into a lake. It was now plainly seen that the level was also to be taken well into consideration, and that from the water rising the whole length of the dam, it must be forced backwards into the forests higher up. Bad food, and the burning sun, had prostrated almost all the soldiers, who were fearfully tyrannised over during this labour by their officers. I therefore proposed to the Pascha to continue the dam by means of an earthen mound, and to employ on it the hypocritical Mohammed Ehle and his people; which task Mohammed Ehle, with most humble reverence to the Pascha, and a fiery glance of gratitude to me, at once promised to undertake. The dam was thus continued, and ere long had a length of 1613 metres, and, at top, a breadth of five metres.

The Haddenda already felt the want of water, as that stood already three metres high in the great gohr. Bloody feuds commenced between the Haddenda and Hallenga, and I much rued now my inhuman work. I therefore did not further urge the digging of a canal (bachr terra) to lead the water over the small rise of the land, into Atbara, and well knew what was coming. One morning the Pascha pulled up his horse before our recuba, and aroused me by his "Musju!" out of my sleep. There was a fearful tumult in the camp; all were rushing out from it; for the Gisser was broken through. I had to mount in all haste, and on the way I heard that the Haddenda, in spite of the guard of 200 men, had broken down this Arab wonder. We rode to the critical point; bags with sand were cast in; the Pascha was furious; he sprung from his horse, rushed into the water, and gazed at me as if he expected I was about to follow his example. I, however, remained calmly on my horse, and tried by remonstrances to get him out of the water — told him how little such conduct became the general; that it was his duty to support us; that here human powers were useless; and that all came from above (kulo min fok). We now went to the rocks from which the dam ran out, and took our breakfast in the shade; where I repeatedly advised him to return at once to the camp, so as not, by remaining in his wet clothes, to incur the danger of fever. He was already green and yellow about his jaws, ere he could be persuaded to leave. Hardly was he in camp, when my brother was called; found him in the cold fit, and his teeth chattering so much

that he could not speak. Joseph and I were, most probably, the only ones in all the camp who rejoiced that such had been the dam's fate. The Gisser was done for!

In this way were all the fine plans of drying up the highly beautiful lands of the Haddenda and destroying their *Silva Hercynia*—or, as the Pascha (excusing himself to me) styled it, forming the dam into an immense reservoir, and so, selling the water to the Haddenda—if not for ever totally defeated, at least transferred to futurity.

Very soon the gohr was in flood, and the water extended up to the S. and W. points of the camp, while it overflowed the whole Dompalm forests, and from this arose general illness. The soil here is not so good as in Mohammed Din's country, and even in the lower fields, the durra does not reach the same height as in his lands. The Hallenga have, therefore, less grain, fewer cattle, and camels; but such of the last as they have, they have wisely hid from our spoiler's eyes. A horse costs here fifteen or twenty reals or Theresa dollars. The Sugk or Bazaar is in the open streets of the village of Hauathi, on the Gohr-el-Gash, some half an hour's journey distant: milk, butter, honey, meat, and cotton goods are the main articles. Although, in former days, the barter of small articles was chiefly managed by means of durra, men now begin to know the value of Egyptian coin, and are shameless in their demands; for instance, for a bottle of milk, about three quarters of a quart, they will ask sixty fadda or paras, equal to one and a half piastres. Gold, however, will not be taken, as men will not acknowledge its value, not holding it to be as good as the Okiën that rich women wear in their ears. The mats they make here are seventeen to eighteen feet long, three feet wide, and cost two girsch, or piastres. An immense quantity of monkeys are among the hills here; we often, at first, counted troops of 200 or 300 of them on the slopes of the dome-shaped Kassela, ere the continued shooting in the camp frightened them off; they are the size of a stout hound, and have shiny, dark brown skins and horrible faces. They are called here Chirt, and seem to be a species of *kynokephalos*. At night, is often heard, on the rocks above us, a fearful screaming and howling, when they receive a visit from some panther or leopard. One day,



my brother and I made a foray on the apes, and, unmarked by them, got before them on the smooth rocks, over which their path ran; but hardly were we there, when they descended from their Olympus, and bombarded us with stones, so that we had to beat a speedy retreat. A Turk called Hassan, a capital shot, and who often brought to our kitchen hares, guinea fowls, and ottru (a dwarf deer), that he had killed with ball, promised at our request, not only to bring in a male and female of these apes, but, if well paid, a camel load of them. For many days we did not see our friend Hassan again; at last, we fell in with him at the bazaar, but he tried to get out of our way; however, we caught him, and asked for the apes; but he fancied we were laughing at him, and pointed to a hole in his head and a wound he had got in the shoulder. On my pressing two charien (gulden) into his hand, he recovered his good humour, and declared to us, that he would have nothing to do with those *metamorphosed men*.

In former times the race of the Hallenga had, at the foot of the hill of Kassela-el-Lus, a great city, an hour's journey in length, and it seems to have extended from Kadmin, near which one sees yet many loam walls, over our camping place, and on to the entrance of the valley, between the above-named hill and that of Mochrän (Mokran). The true name of the hill is el Lus, and the word Kassela is the name of a sainted Sheik. The rock-dome of Kassela is surrounded by six pillar-like rocks; and hence the saying "Kassela-el-Lus saba Rus" (Kassela-el-Lus of the seven heads), whereby would be denoted the pride and invincibility of its people. Above on the hill are yet to be found the ruins of the castle of a queen, named Sunia. The above-mentioned large city was called Fakenda, and there, according to the old Faki Mohammed in Kadmin, dwelt all the race of the Hallenga, descendants of the Hedjas. Some thirty years ago the race, partly from the distance of water, and partly from their numbers becoming too great, divided and separated; and from this separation arose Hanathi, Kadmin (Sunia or Assunia), Abré and Dabàb. The language of these villages is the Aggem, an original language, but mixed with many Arabic words. In Sabderath are made very nice sandals, stout leather sacks, and a good cotton stuff. Defterdar Bey destroyed Sab-

derath and murdered all he met with therein ; he had large pyramids built of the corpses, to contaminate the air, and so force the fugitives to take up, at least for some time, a new location. He acted less savagely in Hallenga, as he was not resisted there, all having fled to the hills, but he carried off all their fine horses, which were of the famed Dongola breed, and also all their horned cattle, which are of a fine form and bright colour, the dark-coloured ones not being admired by the natives. Judging from their language, some mixture must have taken place with the original native race, perhaps by means of their women ; but of this the natives will not hear, but claim a pure origin.

The Sheik Mussa of Hauathi had often visited us, and invited us to come to his village, as there many birds of paradise are to be found. We started, and we were yet a good distance from the village, when we perceived a large tree, on which, even when some way from it, we saw, glistening in the sun's beams, many of these splendid birds. We entered Mussa's court-yard, and the first thing that struck our eyes was his beautiful slave-girl Melka. She had a regular, handsome face, was a native of the Basa hills, and had, like all these hill-races, the advantage over the Arabian females in displaying well-turned, round calves. She had been the person who for some time had brought us milk in the mornings, and so we were old acquaintances. We also saw the Sheik's wife and daughter, both of good stature and with delicately cut features. On returning from our bird-chase and from the before-mentioned tree, from which we procured many of the gay birds, as also of their artfully formed nests suspended from it, we found our dinner prepared ; this consisted chiefly of a number of fowls, brought on in a great pot, floating in butter. The Sheik seemed much vexed that our stomachs were not those of two starved Arabs ; he scooped with a small gourdshell the melted butter out of the pot, and begged us to drink it, as it was most wholesome, and would make us fat. On this occasion he told us, that every rich man took from five to eight pounds of butter to breakfast, a statement incredible, though confirmed by many other informants.

Sheik Jacob, a relative of Mussa, visited us, inviting us to enter his hut ; on so doing, we there saw his wife, who was distinguished by very long nails tinged red and yellow with henna. He

is the most considerable merchant of this neighbourhood, and trades principally with Makada or Habesch; his tokul, here also called Baid (house), was dark, as all the light it had came in at the door, but was elegantly arranged in its way. Tables and seats were of well-made wicker-work from Abyssinia. Ostrich eggs were hung round, and the whole way round the tokul was a row of wine bottles placed close to each other as ornaments. Here we had again to eat, but we could hardly get a piece down, on which coffee was produced, which, from the perfumes used in its preparation, had a most peculiar though not unpleasant taste. He told us much of their habits and customs; such as, that the son of the ruling Sheik retained that title even when he was not elected on his father's death by the tribe, and received a third part of the revenue from the newly chosen Sheik; that the Faki did not accompany the tribe to battle. Here, too, the higher women colour their eyelids with antimony. Sheik Jacob confirmed what Mussa had already told us, that he had twice killed a lion with a lance, while the latter was moving off slowly with a calf in his jaws, and that he did not drop it when Mussa attacked him. The Sheik held that the king of beasts was ashamed of his theft, although he had no fear for himself. We were told that the elephants had twice nearly destroyed the whole village, because the holes dug in the gohr, which also served them as drinking-places, had been filled up by sand drifted by the wind. One elephant, on the occasion, had eaten too much durra, and drunk copiously of water, and had been left behind dead. We wandered about the village and came on a house of Mohammed Ehle's, who, though standing at his door, did not invite us in, but only saluted us. He was vexed and his pride was offended, because we had not visited him first of all. Some Schaigies, who stood near, joked Mohammed Ehle on it, blaming him for not showing us the usual civilities. As neither Mussa nor Jacob had placed any merissa before us, for, being Faki, they neither drink it nor smoke tobacco, though they snuff it, we asked the former where this Æthiopian drink was to be procured. On this he led us to a concealed hut in a distant corner, and here we found a merry party, Melek Mahmud presiding. The fat Mohammed el Chamuss (Buffalo), who owes the epithet to his corpulence,

was so far gone in drunkenness, that in rising to welcome us he fell, but continued by his humour and wit to highly amuse the party, at the expense of the Turks. We afterwards saw a funeral; the corpse was rolled up in two pieces of cotton cloth and borne on the shoulders; men with shields and lances followed it, and behind them came the wife and female attendants. She was of very voluptuous build, held a cloth in her hands; with most furious howling, she waved it over her head, ever and anon striking her naked breast. She, like the other women and girls, conducted themselves as if insane, grasping handfuls of sand, casting it in the air, on their heads, and on all around. But in spite of this outward inconsolable state, we observed that not a tear was to be seen in her eyes, or in any of the other women's.

A chasua had been made into the hills of Basa; the troops returned, bringing a crowd of prisoners of both sexes with them. The males were almost all wounded, and exhibited much stoicism during the painful operation of extracting the balls, which my brother performed. Even the Turks confessed that these mountaineers had defended themselves bravely with stones and lances. Many of the soldiers were also wounded, and with balls, which they in their usual blundering had fired into each other. It was, however, Turk-like asserted, that the Mograbin and Schaigies knowingly and wilfully had here and there fired on the soldiers, to drive them from the booty. It was a piteous sight to behold the prisoners, especially the women and children, brought into the camp bound on camels, despair written on their countenances. Before these were sold or distributed by lot, they were taken near the tent of Topschi Baschi, where a fire was burning, in which were iron stamps in the form of a star, heated red hot, to brand all of them with on the shoulder, even to the smallest child. No sooner did the howling and weeping reach our hut than, starting up, we seized our rifles, and with three servants were off to hunt. In spite of all our warnings, these would not remain with us, and we were much enraged on hearing three shots fired; we went up to the spot, supposing it to be our servants, but instead of them we found three soldiers, who lay on the ground bathed in their blood, and fearfully torn. Two were already dead, and

the third, who yet lived, though his whole belly was torn out, told us, that a lion had attacked them. On hearing the shots, our servants had hurried up, and were now sent back to the camp with the survivor, though my brother had no hopes of saving him. The Pascha no sooner heard this, than with Soliman Kaschef and his body-guard he mounted to pursue the lion, and I accompanied him with my hunter Sale, my brave lad from Mahass, who afterwards followed me to the White Nile, to show him the place and the visible track. Arrived there, the Turks galloped on, and I and Sale remained alone behind. I heard a heavy tread and the breaking down of bushes, and saw near me an elephant with its young. Sale, who was some distance from me, and had just shot a parrot, called to me, asking, if he was to fire at the elephant, which I loudly forbade. The beast went on close past me, crushing down the bushes: I saw its high back, and took up a secure position between some Dom-palms which, springing from one root, stood so close together, that the elephant from its size could not push in to me. Sale, in the meantime, was up a tree, and told me that the elephant had turned and was making its way back to the Chaaba. The monster seemed to be enraged, but still alarmed for its young one; for we found a long track on the ground where it had with its tusks as with a plough turned up the soil. Some shots were heard, and we fancied the lion had been tracked; but it proved to be the Pascha and his mounted followers, who had seen the elephant. A mounted messenger now galloped into camp, and in a moment the Arnaut Abdin Bey with some of his people came up. The elephant, finding itself saluted from all sides by a shower of balls, now charged here now there on the riders, who fired at it and as quickly as possible wheeled off. Aim as far as possible was taken at the eye, and ere long it was evident it was blinded, as in its mad charges on its foes it dashed against the palm-trees till the fruit fell in showers from them. All dismounted, and a narrower circle was formed round the elephant. It must have by this time received some hundred balls, and the ground it staggered over was dyed red, when the Pascha crept up to it, and, kneeling down, sent a ball into the right eye, on which the colossal creature fell backwards and expired. No traces could be found of the young

one, and as little of the lion. However, some days after and close to the camp, in which one often at night heard the lions roaring, a large male lion, without a mane, was shot by the followers of Soliman Kaschef.

We now got some sad news. Our hunter Abdallah, who from his unusual bravery we highly cherished, had a good while before, at his own express wish, marched with the Schaigie chief Melek Ada to Beni Amer, to shoot wild beasts for us, and inquire into other matters in that land. We had provided him with one of our best camels, a double-barrelled flint gun, powder, lead, and a considerable sum of money, to enable him to purchase giraffes. He had collected a good number of birds and other curiosities, when he resolved on joining us with what he had. Disregarding the advice of Melek Ada, as he himself afterwards told us, Abdallah would not await the recal of the detachment, but, without escort or companion, commenced his journey back. He had got safely through the lands of our foes, and reached those of the Hallenga; but near Arbree, three hours' journey from here, he was slain. There he was found, recognised as our hunter, and the intelligence spread in the camp by the Hallenga themselves. The Pascha at once sent out people to inquire after our property; and our man Sale, who went with them, found his dear friend lying with his belly cut open. He openly asserted that this murder was committed by the Hallenga. Of Abdallah's property and packages not a feather was to be found, although he was known to have carried two cases of stuffed birds with him. We suspected Mohammed Ehle, and were strengthened in our suspicions, as ere long a yet more horrid accident occurred. Ali, a nephew of Mohammed Din, and the friend who had protected us on our visit to the Great Sheik, and accompanied us back into the camp, had, with two other young relatives, visited his uncle, and ourselves, here. The Pascha had not deigned to notice him, and he was much cast down about the sad fate of his near relative Mohammed Din. Although the latter was ill, and the Pascha had forbidden my brother access to him, still we resolved from humane feeling to pay him a visit. Unquestioned, we passed the guard, and found the unhappy man, who had been deprived of his angareb, lying on the bare, damp earth, in an old,

dirty ferda; two thick posts had been driven into the ground, to which he was chained heavily, and in a way more fitting a wild beast than a man. He would take no medicine from my brother, as he feared poison; we could not, indeed, understand his Aggem, but his words as translated to us implied that he was ready to die for his race, and even by the fearful death of impalement, with which the Pascha threatened him. Towards evening, the three young men had started on their homeward journey. Next morning we had gone out very early on the hunt, and ere we went far saw thousands of birds hovering in the sky, and too truly foreboding the horrible fate of our acquaintances. We went to the spot over which the birds hovered in greatest numbers, and found, some half hour's journey from the camp, the three corpses, lying in their blood, most fearfully disfigured and mutilated. The bloody lances, and the quantity of blood round, showed that our friends had bravely defended themselves, but they offered a horrible spectacle, their eyes having been already picked out by the birds. That this murder was committed by order of the Pascha admitted of little doubt in our minds, and therefore it behoved us to bring punishment on him for it. We laid the three corpses on a camel feeding near, and I accompanied them into camp and to the Pascha's presence. I commenced as accuser against the Hallenga, and bitterly reproached them for such a breach of hospitable duties; but the Pascha, without any look of surprise or displeasure, answered with a mere "Min ara di?" (Who knows it?) accompanied by a meaning look at me, and then, by a sign, ordered the removal of the corpses, without exchanging another word with me. General pity was felt in the camp for the murdered, and even among the feelingless Turks there was much excitement, when Mohammed Ehle, with a small train, entered to pay his respects to the Pascha, or inform him of his villanous treachery. As at first the Pascha did not speak to him, which probably my presence might account for, he, according to Turkish etiquette, had to remain silent, and afterwards, as we were at the same time leaving the divan, I, before all his people, bitterly reproached him. This he bore in silence, as if he was the guilty party, and in his own village of Hauathi the same was openly asserted by our friends. The Albanian Abdin Bey was so

enraged, that it was only by the united persuasions of the other officers that he was prevented from mounting, along with his wild Albanians, and overtaking and cutting down Mohammed Ehle; this, had it occurred, would more likely have brought on a general revolt against the Pascha himself, as the soldiers have been long loudly murmuring at his ill treatment of them as regards food and pay. Mohammed Ehle had before this, in a battle with the Haddenda, received a lance wound right through the outer part of the breast, directly over the midriff. The Pascha had expressed a wish that my brother should operate on him, but Joseph did not admire this practice, and had recourse to washing it with opium. When the pious Sheik, from its smell, recognised opium, he would no longer submit to the treatment, because opium in no shape must find its way into the sainted body of a Faki. So my brother let him and his wound, which had already become an ulcer, alone; he had hoped to have healed it by sympathetic means.

In our hunting excursions, we often visited Hauathi, as merissa was to be got there, which was not allowed to be introduced or brewed in the camp. The women of the upper orders pass the whole day on their angarebs, and do not busy themselves in any way; they anoint their bodies, and wear glass coral, and some real coral in its rough state, round their necks and wrists, as well as silver and horn rings on the latter, the ankles, and above the elbows; silver rings on the fingers and both thumbs, a small silver ring in their right nostril, and in their ears golden plates. Their hair lies in small plaited knots close to the head, but one never sees on it the white pomade made from camels' fat, so common on the men's. Each house had a hollow in the floor, covered with hoops and a cloth, in which the women squat down on their heels and smoke their pipes; they also smear their face, and necks to their shoulders, with musk; the men do the same to their necks, so as to conceal the disagreeable specific smell that the skins of all these dark races emit. We also hit here upon an establishment where the men had their hair frizzed out after the prevailing fashion before mentioned. Instead of a comb a piece of pointed wood was used, which they often leave sticking in the hair, so that it may serve to scratch the head



with. Such a frizzing-out requires many hours' labour, and with the women it often takes up a whole day, as their hair is very stiff and difficult to arrange. The women carry very heavy burdens on their heads, and move under them with much grace and activity, nor did we observe any deformity among them.

We paid a visit to the Chawaga Mohammed, a respected and, in his way, well-informed merchant: he confirmed to us what the fiery milkmaid of Mohammed Ehle, by name Fatme, had reported in the camp, that our friend Mussa, who had been most shamefully defamed by Ehle to the Pascha, had shut himself up in his tokul, to starve himself to death. For four days he had been shut up in his dark hut without any nourishment, and threatened to stab with his lance any one who came near its door. We held it to be our duty to dissuade him from this determination, and so went to his house. Here all were in deep sorrow, and we were warned not to go near the tokul, as the Sheik was a brave man, who would keep his word. This however did not alarm us, nor prevent our going up to the door and begging admittance, saying we wished before his death, which we declared a manly one, to take our leave of him. It was the work of some hours, during which we sat in the shade of the recuba, to get the miserable man to answer us. At length, however, after we had stoutly abused both Turks and Mohammed Ehle, he cried out that all should retire save we alone, and cautiously opening with his lance the door, admitted us, and again locked it behind him, so that only a very little light came in through its crevices. We embraced and kissed the brave old man, who wept that it was the last time he would behold us. We pretended to be about to leave him; my brother telling him he carried drops about with him, which did he take he would avoid all the tortures of the death by starvation he seemed resolved on. I still see the man, with shaking knees, leaning on his lance, and gazing on my brother, as he dropped on sugar, from a phial, some liquid anodyne. Mussa let his lance fall, seized us both by the hands, and begged my brother to stick the sugar in his mouth. Instead of the instantaneous hoped for effect, he found his love of life awakened; and my brother plainly told him that he now would live fourteen days, although he took neither food nor drink. This did not at all please him, and he

grew angry. I saw, through a crevice, that food was prepared for us in the recuba, and begged him to let us eat our meal. My brother held him persuasively in his embrace, and as the Sheik opened the door, I drew the angareb into the doorway, under the pretext that we would eat in his presence; he began to yield a little, said we had acted ill towards him, in forcing him yet to live fourteen days. After some remonstrance, he took a little milk, and gave up his purpose of dying. No sooner did his family and the merchant Mohammed remark his drinking from the distance, than they rushed up to him, and embraced him. I afterwards told all this to the Pascha, who gave me an assurance that nothing to harm or annoy the Sheik should happen. The people, who had heard of this wonderful medicine, now came about us, and would have some of it. My brother, who well knew the greed of these Arabs, told them first to bring honey and butter into the camp; on this they hurried off as fast as they had come, but, as usual, brought us nothing.

The Aggem, or language of Taka, has no means of counting over the thousand, and by this is therefore often meant much more. Mabuck and Abba mean father; Oho, merissa; el Dura, honey and water as drink; Eüm, water; Tohscha, Toschi, flesh; Dahanita, Good day; Dabaiakn, How goes it? Tiah, milk; Ola, butter; Thau, honey; Otamm, bread; an Harguab, I am hungry; an Guib, I am thirsty; Ohàtta, horse; Okamm, camel; Omir, ass; Ditock, mother; Sannock, brother, &c. This language has great similarity with that of the Bischari, and like it is very widely spread, and to be viewed as the original language of the old foes of Egypt. Whether the words of Arabic occurring in it have been introduced by the Arabs, or are an original part of the language, cannot well be decided.

In the stalls of the cows in milch were always some stuffed skins, taken from the slain calves, stuffed and placed there that the cows at the sight of their sucklings might yield their milk. The Hallenga possess many suits of chain armour (labbis) and good straight swords; the first however they only now use in their forays upon their foes about here, as these would not protect them from musket-balls. Their food is chiefly milk and asside (meal soup); in such meat dishes as they have, they put so much of a small

red pepper (*schiteta*) that an European can hardly eat them. They ascribe curious powers to this *schiteta*. They eat, in defiance of the Koran, the tortoise, as well as the hog, and also the locust or grasshopper, from which they tear off the wings, and then roast it in the fire. The shells of the tortoise and of many small mussels they use as dishes and spoons. They have neither wheat nor maize, although the ground is well adapted to them. The merry-makings on marriage often last a month, when the bridegroom is rich, or has a number of relatives. Hides are used as cradles, which are suspended like hammocks on cords, and swung about. These are hung from trees, in the open air, as are also skins filled with milk, and in them, by shaking, butter is produced.

One day, when we were with the Pascha, he gave my brother directions to professionally visit the sick Faki Mahommed of Kadmin, a man held in high esteem by all. He, the head of all the priesthood in Hallenga, was now very old, and had no special liking to pay his respects to the Pascha; besides, he might also have been offended, the Pascha having laid his village, where alone the Faki may dwell, under contribution, — a thing even Defterdar Bey had not ventured on. We learned from a Faki, who had accompanied the army from Chartum, that this Faki-el-Kebir had sworn not to behold the sun-light, as long as the Turks darkened the land. Accompanied by a servant, we mounted our asses, and started for the Faki village, some half-hour's journey distant; we must have been spied out when some way from it, for we found many of these holy men assembled, who would have denied us entrance into it, as no laity were permitted to tread its sacred soil. However, on our unslinging our guns, they disappeared in all haste; but on our calling out and asking where the great Faki dwelt, two of them turned and showed us to his abode. We entered a roomy *recuba*, where many young girls of considerable beauty and bright colour were occupied weaving straw mats. From the entrance-hall we came to a *tokul*, and through this to another, where the old man lay on an *angareb*, reading by dull lamp-light. I, however, returned at once into the entrance-hall, both for the sake of the purer air, and more agreeable company, the latter of which our sudden

entrance much surprised. My brother remained conversing a considerable time with the old man, who told him many things, and could not conceal his hatred of the Turks; he had been many years in Mecca and Medina, — had, according to his own expression, learnt every thing, and called himself Allan (learned). When my brother questioned him as to his ailments, he at once loudly declared he would take no medicine from any surgeon of the Pascha's, not because he mistrusted my brother, as he before now had in Djedda had for his friend a Frank doctor, but merely because he would not be indebted to the Pascha for any thing whatever. When my brother recommended him to move into a better atmosphere, as the air in the dark tokul was very detrimental to health, he replied, that after sunset and before sunrise he continued his devotions in the open air.

We left him, and, as we were doing so, we were met by the Faki of Chartum before mentioned, who had married a woman of this priest-village, and who often had invited us to come and drink merissa, which he secretly brewed. As he almost never spoke the truth, from which habit we called him Misaur, we now threatened to take him stoutly to task, if he did not procure us this drink, which he had days before promised to bring into the camp, though we held it impossible that he would dare to produce it here. He led us through an empty house into a court surrounded by a high mud wall, and to the shade of a tree; then brought out some small stools or chairs (bamber), made of woven camel-hides, for us to sit on. With his hands he dug up the earth before us, showed us a wooden cover, and, after this was removed, a great burma (an earthen bomb-shaped vessel), full of merissa, concealed under it. He then hurried into the house, and brought out a small gara, to scoop it up in, and a knife, with which he scraped off the brown bark of some branch smelling like mint, and which, powdered over the merissa, gave it a more piquant taste. We grew merry, as if from draughts of good wine, and drank, in the German student style, in rivalry with the Faki. From the rapid drinking and talking, he became maudlin and loving, and wanted to embrace us as his brothers, but the stools not being the steadiest, he came to the ground. We then helped him up, and now he as suddenly became lachrymose, as it occurred to

him that he must save us from a great peril, and that, as he knew the road, we must return with him to Sennaar along the Abyssinian frontier. Our servant became now attentive, and winked to me to mark the Faki; however, we drank on stoutly, would not allow any danger was near us, and at last out came his secret. On our arrival hereabouts, the Pascha had sent his stores of powder to this village, not so much because, from the great want of caution in the soldiery, it and the camp were in great peril when it was there, but as he held it improbable the enemy would risk the blowing so many holy men and their village into the air by firing it. This, however, we now, to our great surprise, learned was about to be done, and the holy men were, within three days, secretly to remove their possessions by night out of the village, and hide them in the great cave of the Kassela, and when all was ready, the house in which the all-important powder was stored would be fired. If this plot were carried out, the whole army, and we with it, would be lost to a certainty, as the Hallenga, excited by their priests, would have then set on us, and we could have offered no resistance. As by this time the Faki could no longer either get upon his legs, or stand when placed on them, our servant raised the burma out of the ground, and placed it on his beast before him, to bear it off to the camp, where we might finish its contents. Burdened with this important secret, but otherwise very merry, we rode back to the camp. My brother made his report to the Pascha as to the illness of the Faki, and the former could not conceal his annoyance, that, by declining the medicine, a want of confidence had been shown him, — a confidence that he on so many occasions had most horribly abused, as had been acknowledged by his former trusty surgeon, Soliman Effendi.

Before now, I had, at the instigation of his higher officers, more than once begged of the Pascha to remove the stores of powder into the camp, and place a cordon of sentinels round it, as the priesthood, most especially, were unworthy of trust. I now repeated the request; he gazed on me with sparkling eyes, and said, "I know all!" At once he gave orders to closely surround the village with troops, to allow no one to pass in or out, and to strongly reinforce the guard over the powder-magazine. Next

morning, the powder, which was packed in small chests, was brought on camels' backs into the camp, and piled up in a pyramidal form on the open space before our tent. The Pascha fancied that all that was necessary for its safety, was to cover it with a tokul, to protect it from rain. I represented to him, that the foe might steal up into the rocks above us, and from thence, fastening burning stuff to their lances, hurl them down on the straw thatch, and so, at one stroke, destroy us all. On this, great thick woollen cloths were got, and spread over the chests, and above these a coating of turf placed. Over all this a tokul was erected, and the Pascha seemed satisfied, but still brooding over the vengeance he would take on the Faki, though probably he would not at once venture to carry it out, so as not to further inflame all the tribes against him. I had afterwards returned to Chartum (Chardum, by the Turks), on my way to visit the White River, when my brother's letters informed me that the Pascha had hung up, not on a gallows, but on Dom-trees near the camp, nine of the Faki, and that he asserted he would ere long serve in the same way some forty more.

Breach of matrimonial ties is uncommon here; any female guilty of such breach is slain with a lance, not by her husband, but her brother. At a marriage, the women sing all manner of indecent scandals against the man, and especially those least likely to make him acceptable to a young wife. The wives veil themselves always, even at home, while the slave and female attendants (Nussuahn), young or old, wear merely a small cloth round the loins and hips. The preparation of fat for ointments, and incense, form their main employment. The beauties of a maiden are great eyes, large and round; small breasts; hair down to the shoulders, and sometimes a white skin. When tidings reach them of the death of a relative, they howl in a fearful manner all night, strew dust or earth on their heads, and repeat this for many successive nights.

## CHAP. XIII.

Ravages of Wild Beasts. — Hills of Basa. — Native Tribes. — Chariff. — A Chasua and its consequences. — Singular Recovery. — Supper Party. — Female Slaves. — Turkish Jealousy. — Snakes. — Superstitions. — Basa. — Origin of Tribes and Races. — Miseries and Ennui of Camp Life.

To form a regiment for the Khaimakan Hassan Effendi, a vile fellow, who was slave along with the Pascha, the officials have to furnish slaves. The Pascha gave 50, Mustapha Bey 35, a Colonel 30, a Kaimakan 15, a Bimbaschi 10, a Jusbaschi 2, a Melasim, and all Mallems, 1; and just as arbitrarily does the Pascha act with the Saraf (money-changer, or financial officials). The Saraf of Cairo has run off with 7000 purses (kies). The Pascha has been generous enough to place 3000 to his own debit, but the other Sarafs of the country must pay the remaining 4000. No officer, however old, gets his discharge without first having his accounts overhauled, or, in other words, being plundered. Some people of Mohammed Ehle's have been caught tempting the soldiers to desert, and stealing camels, but our chief remains true to his policy not to break with the Hallertga. The only punishment he inflicts on them is to take away their lances and shields, and, at the prayer of Mohammed Ehle, after a few days' imprisonment, let them go. The making of busa, or merissa, is forbidden, and brandy is not to be had; so now they steep raisins and honey in water till it ferments, burying the vessel containing it in the ground. The opium is, too, all used up, and the few who have been in the habit of using it torment my brother for some, and promise in return what they never mean to perform. The tigers (nimr), or panthers, almost nightly spring from the rocks over the low camp-fence, and bear off so easily goats and sheep, that the owners, who sleep beside them, only hear the dying cry of the prey, and the rapid spring of the spoiler over the pales. The lions have again slain a man, and three cows, near the camp; we therefore are now more cautious when we go out to hunt, and the servants wisely stick close to us. Our collection of birds and four-footed animals is much increased, and we have also gathered together a number of snakes and other reptiles.

Towards the east, among the hills, running up to Habesch, dwell savage tribes and robbers; they speak an aggem of their own, are Maguss (heathens), dress in skins, or go perfectly naked. Their weapons are the lance and a small shield of buffalo-hide. The men ornament themselves with coral, are powerful, incredibly agile, and wonderful runners. They are an abomination to the Mussulmen, as they neither pray, have any kitab (book or Koran), nor any Faki. They have neither camels nor horses, but only cattle, goats and sheep, and live on milk and flesh. They grow little durra, as their ground is ill adapted to it, and only eat of it every tenth or twelfth day. Their towns or villages are situated on the highest hill-tops, are fenced in with thorns and stone walls, and they are said to have sixty such fortresses. They are of various shades of colour,—brown, black, red, and almost white. The fairer females of bright complexion are highly valued. They plunder from each other, principally stealing women and cattle, and make forays into Habesch and Taka; they know not the duties of hospitality; the stranger who enters their country, even though a female, is robbed and murdered. The father will demand the guest from the son, even though he has eaten and drunk with him, and only with the view of sacrificing him to their inhospitable usages. This makes them deeply hated by the Arabs, with whom a guest (Diffahn), with certain exceptions, is sacred. They sell their own offspring, even their daughters, as victims to Turkish lust. They tattoo body and limbs very neatly. Whence these *kill-tribes*, whom the Arabs, in contempt, call Naas-el-Gebel saket, spring, no one knows; probably, however, they are the original inhabitants of the land, driven back into the hills by the conquering races of Abyssinians and Arabs: further, the different hill-tribes have different languages, with some Arab words mixed in them, as in Faszogl.

On the Gohr-el-Gash, two days' journey from here, to the eastward, commence the extensive and highly populous mountains of Basa. The two principal cities of that land are Bada and Deriba. These nations also murder their guests, and are Kaffers or Maguss (heathens). Here, too, plundering is the main pursuit, with little agriculture, but much cattle-breeding. The whole labours are those of the chase, especially elephant-hunting,



the making of coloured straw mats, and vessels for food and drink ; they also make very neat drinking-cups and milk-dishes, covered or lacquered over with rosin. They generally eat their meat raw, drink much merissa, and old and young dance and beat the nogara day and night. The Gash winds through among the hills, and gives these tribes water ; for eight days' journey on each side of it, extend the hills of Basa to Makada, to which succeed the hills of Damballass, followed by the high lands of Hammassein, in which the Gohr commences. The houses in Basa are well-built tokuls. The coral-ornamented men, who smoke much, wear a ferda, the women only a small loin-cloth. In both sexes the eyes are small, the cheek-bones very prominent, the face broad, and the lips not even fleshy ; their whole physiognomy displays brutality and savageness. Each hill has its chief ; one over all there is not ; the powers of the chiefs are small. Even the Turks admit their bravery, and say that individuals among them would take up a position on the rocks, and, after having cast away all their lances, would defend themselves against a heavy fire with stones, until they were brought down riddled with many balls. The love of home is very great ; much to our joy, almost the whole of the slaves of both sexes have escaped from the camp by the gate, which the Schukurie held. The women had actually slain their infants, that these, by their cries, might not betray or impede their flight. These people run like deer, and in a moment leave much ground behind them. Their language is perfectly different from all others, and is certainly a well-sounding one, e.g. *Ojfa*, meaning merissa. Here, and on the way to the hills, snakes are said to be found, not so very long, but thick as a crocodile, and able easily to swallow a man ; instances are related of their having half or wholly swallowed the sleeper from his angareb. Four days' journey off, higher among the hills, lies Belcha, or Balacha, which, according to these people, must be an immense and most populous city.

Behind these, a day's journey from here, on a hill towards the east, is Sabderath, and half a day's journey from thence is Gedechn, the population of which are of Arab descent, and tributary to the Turks. From the hills of Baria, Märia, Basehn, and Semhend and to the north-west, bounded by the Haddenda, extends in a

somewhat bowl-like form, from the south to the east, the land of the Beni Amer, which, in its people and their habits, much resembles the Haddenda; its southern part is hilly, more so than on the east, where it slopes away till it reaches the Red Sea. It receives its principal supplies of water from the Gohr Baraka, which has its rise in the north-east chain of the Abyssinian mountains, and winds through the lands of Kostahn and Mâria westwards, then divides into two branches, one of which runs eastward by Sauakin into the Red Sea, and the other through the Beni Amer. On its course to Sabderath, where date and tamarind-trees are to be found, it loses much of its waters, and beneath that hill it divides again into two arms, one of which runs southward round the hill of Kassela-el-Lus, by the village of Hafara, and the other westward, by Hauathi, into the Gohr-el-Gash. Among the Beni Amer, cultivation is not much pursued, but attention is paid to cattle-breeding, and they have many of these, and camels with large humps, which they barter with the Haddenda for grain. There are also in their land many giraffes and elephants, the teeth of which they pay tribute in.

North-east of Basa, to the frontiers of Makada, and to the south-east of the Beni-Amer, extend the hills of Baria, inhabited by a numerous race of blacks, heathens, who, however, wear the ferda. They are a stout, warlike race, great hunters, and therefore little of agriculturists.

Mâria, yet more populous, and on the western frontier of Habesch, and south-west of Sauakin, has, on the contrary, much grain, and many most beautiful female slaves, of a copper-brown and red-yellow colour. These people have a sultan, and manners very like the Abyssinians. It is said they are Christians (Nassara), and not badly disposed or cruel; to this it is not unlikely Christianity has somewhat contributed. The hills there are well covered with fine trees, and tamarinds are plentiful; but also immense serpents, of which most wonderful tales are told. The natives are most dexterous in weaving straw.

On the land of Mâria joins, to the S. E., Kostahn, the tribes of which are the most warlike of all, and are ruled by a sultan. Both races much resemble the Abyssinians, and in Kostahn are both Christians and heathens. Swords are rare; with their lances,

however, they attack elephants, of which there are many, as also wild buffalos and rhinoceroses; the teeth, hides, and horns of these they bring to Massaua, in the Habesch, and there barter them for pieces of cotton cloths for clothing. Both countries receive their waters from the Baraka, and on it, but further up the hills, their villages lie. Each land has a different language, mutually plunder each other of women and cattle, and carry on war among themselves, and against Makada. The men usually wear their hair long, and anoint it with fat. In all these lands gold is unknown, so are also the Abu Nukta and Abu Matfe (Theresa dollars and Spanish piastres), and all trade is carried on by barter in salt, cloths, and cattle.

The tropical rains generally commence at Assur or Magreb (three o'clock, p. m., or sunset), are usually accompanied by a Habub (blast of wind), and last till far into the night. In the morning the sky is clear and pure, not a cloud, save those which almost the whole day hang round the great hills' rocky dome. If the cloud (Nedde) withdraws during the day, rain sets in. However, it has not proved, as we were told by all, that during the Chariff, or rainy season, rain fell day and night, and in drops the size of musket-balls. Not only in the valleys, but in every crevice and fissure of rock, now starts up verdure, even where it could hardly have been looked for. A man here came to my brother, and requested a certain poison, backing his request by saying that he wished to separate from his wife for ever. We advised him to adopt the Mussulman's plan, and, if his wife was a bad one, to divorce her; but he preferred dying to exercising such a right, and left us much depressed. I had tried to persuade the Pascha not to treat Mohammed Din so harshly; but he said I did not know him. He at the same time told us, that his policy demanded he should also carry off into imprisonment at Chartum, the as-saint-esteemed old Sheik Hagemar, of Mahass, who had long prophesied the arrival of the English in these countries, and now English ships were in the port of Sauakim, from which the people much desired a landing.

Desertion among the soldiery still goes on, and increases: so many are now sick, that all fear to die. The vapours drawn from the water and damp soil by the sun's heat, the many dead camels lying round the camp, have poisoned the air, and brought on a

serious mortality among the men, who are almost all covered with small, itching pimples. Even the finest horses of Dongola, Cairo, Scham (Syria), and Arabia, are dying in the same way. The Pascha, not to embitter his higher officers, although all, discontented as they are, still appear before him with the utmost outward subserviency, allows them now to draw almost the full amount of their allowances; though they alone should answer for the deserters. The news from Sauakim, of a probable landing of the English, has caused much excitement in the camp. From all sides men flock to and question us, as they fancy that we, being Franks, must be aware of the English plans. On the whole, much general satisfaction would follow a change of rule; and this is specially shown when we tell them of the good pay of the English, the good treatment all receive at their hands, and how no officer is subjected to unworthy usage from his superiors, nor dare any attempt such practices as are common here, towards man or officer.

Certain of the detachments sent out in various directions to bring in tulba (tribute) have been slain, and a kind of revolt has occurred in the camp. In Mitkenab, in the land of the Haddenda, one of these detachments, a troop of Turkish cavalry, who seemed to be on the best footing with the inhabitants, who prepared a feast for them, have been treacherously murdered. They had encamped, eaten, and drunk, when the Haddenda attacked with their knives the thirty-two horsemen and fifteen servants, and cut their throats like sheep, before these, armed with pistols and muskets, could rise to defend themselves. The Buluk Baschi, alone, slew the Arab attacking him, threw himself on his horse, and galloped in with the horrible tidings. We were with Abdin Bey, their commandant, when the messenger of death entered. Abdin Bey, who loved his men, dead or alive, became so furious, that he howled aloud, and plainly gave us to understand that this murder was done at the instigation of the Pascha. He was about to rush to him, but as this would at once have driven matters to extremities, his relatives and we held him back by force, although the foam actually stood on his lips. Then he wanted to mount with all his men, and take a bloody revenge, nor wait for any orders from the Pascha. Afterwards I accompanied him to the Pascha, who put on a most indifferent face, and if nothing particular had occurred, called him merely Aga, though

he is by birth a Bey of one of the first Albanian families, and smiled sarcastically when he prayed to be allowed to set out immediately; and at last said to him, "Your men and horses are ill, but, if you choose to go alone, you may." This finished the business. The Pascha, indeed, could not put up with the pride of this Arnaut, who could see in the Pascha merely a Mameluke and a slave.

The tribute laid on the land of the Beni-Amer, in camels and cattle, has only come in part to hand. There are yet due 3500 cattle and 1300 camels, which the blood-sucker Hassan Effendi must go and bring in. Soon after his setting out, there was much talk of the cruelties which he was exercising on the natives. Although the people, on the whole, remained quiet, and their chiefs, not being able to assert their authority, had fled, still Hassan had allowed 200 persons to be pitilessly shot down, and besides had carried away whole herds of camels from the Haddenda, with whom we were on terms of peace. These, at once, took their revenge; burned Gos Rajeb, murdered some twenty merchants, and plundered the magazines of corn laid up there for our retreat. Almost all the soldiers returned ill, when the continued rains forced them to retire to camp. To give the Pascha actual proof of their courage, they had cut off the ears of the slain; and he, in return, ordered a present to the soldiery. A servant had been compelled to cut off the ears, and now he lies yonder firmly bound, and raving mad. All stealers of camels, when caught in *flagranti*, are immediately deprived of their ears, as the Pascha also pays for them. That many lose their ears who had no thought of theft, is easily imagined, as the operation is done on the instant and spot. Besides many pretty women and children, Hassan Effendi brought in 2900 cattle, and 7000 sheep. He had, also, laid hands on eighty camels for himself; these he gave out he had bought. The camels, though handsome animals, showed little docility, as they live among these natives as untrained as in the desert; they were sent off to Cairo for sale. Although Hassan cheats the soldiers in an unheard-of manner, keeps back their corn, has cows stolen and slain and sells them, milk, flesh, and all such things, to the soldiers, at a high price, and has before been imprisoned for his roguery, and a second time, for similar tricks, degraded, still the Pascha has advanced him to

be Kaimakan, and raised for him, as already said, at the expense of all his officers and officials, a complete regiment. All he requires for his own housekeeping is one piastre's worth of flesh a day, and his people get only belila (boiled durra) and water for themselves. If they ask wages, he gives them the bastinado. He purchases from the poorer officers the horses they have taken as spoil, but never pays them; and these are afraid to complain to the Pascha, lest they expose themselves to Hassan's intrigues, and the cabals which the higher officers carry on against their inferiors. The Pascha had sent the poor camel-drivers sixteen cows, but this vampire took on himself to reduce their share to three, keeping thirteen to himself. I held it my duty to tell the Pascha this, who merely said, "Malliich" ('Tis no matter), and soon after mentioned he had recommended him to Cairo, to be made Bey! that he was already very old, and was failing, and that, ere long, the Divan might call him to account, or be his heir. While thus speaking he could not repress an ironical smile — such is Turkish policy. The market now showed well; fine cows could be bought for forty or sixty piastres, five to eight cows were given for a horse from Habesch, and goats and sheep were to be had at three or four piastres a head. The Hallenga made large profits, and those who had before represented themselves as miserably poor, now flocked in with from eight to twelve pieces of cotton cloth on their shoulders for sale.

The Schaigies, also, made a chasua on the Dabaina-Arabs, who dwell towards the south, between the small rivers Settiet and Bassalahn, and will pay no tribute. The Schaigies, however, suffered considerable loss, from the now highly flooded waters, the lands there being very fruitful from this abundance of water. Although the Schaigies lost many men, and also horses, still they have brought in with them 700 cows and 300 camels; but all, from the constant rains, have returned ill. Such as have to supply themselves with new horses are much cast down, as a new horse often costs them all their pay for two years. Although it is usual to give a part of the spoils of such robbing expeditions to the troops engaged, still the Pascha on this occasion took the whole of the plunder to himself, but in the name of the Belik, leaving unanswered their petition for a share. By this, the Schaigies, who are ever placed in the most dangerous posts, are

much soured, openly and bitterly complain to us of their wants, and make no secret of their hatred of the Turks. Thus, in one way or another, the whole camp is filled with sickness and discontent. I myself had been ill eight days of fever and ague, and was lying alone in our tent, suffering from violent fever, when a Faki entered and came up to my bed head, accompanied by Melek Mahmud, who had brought him to cure me. My brother entered, and seating himself on his angareb, signed to me, with assumed gravity, to remain calm and quiet, as the Faki commenced murmuring sentences out of the Koran, and, like a mesmeriser, to pass his hand over my head and face. To please the Melek, I submitted quietly; but when the priest, raising his voice, began to spit in my face, while he would have held me down by the shoulders, I, enraged, sprung up and hurled him from me on my brother, whose enjoyment of the scene greatly annoyed me. In an instant, I was all well again: the excitement had thrown off the fever, nor did it return.

The Sheik Mohammed Defallah, who very often visits us, had slain a young camel, and asked us to sup with him. Although we as yet had not tasted camel flesh, we preferred remaining at home, as we had game, and were preparing a pudding for supper, and were just about to commence our meal, when he appeared, followed by two squires, and with friendly violence forced us to go with him. We found in his recuba Abu Sin, Wod-Naga, and two other Sheiks. The camel flesh had been cut in small pieces, stuck on wooden skewers, fat and lean alternately, and roasted. It did not suit our palates, we much preferring dishes prepared after our own country fashion. His bilbil, a better kind of merissa, however repaid us, and put us in better humour; and not to appear stingy before the Æthiopians, we had our own supper brought in, as also what we had intended for our next day's dinner; viz. some roast hare, and a ragout of guinea-fowl. Of course we, with a "Bismillah," invited the Sheiks to partake; and our cookery so well suited their taste, that the strongly spiced camel flesh found few customers. On our producing a rice pudding, mixed with raisins, and covered with wine sauce, which certainly should have been four times as large as it was, all burst out into praises; and these joys became

yet greater, when Mohammed Defallah pulled out two bottles of date brandy, which he, having spent all his money, had purchased for two pieces of cloth which he had won by his dromedary's speed; and I now requested the party to be allowed to prepare for them a Frank drink. I poured out the bottles' contents into a vessel, and, to the surprise of all, set fire to the brandy; a thing none had before seen, much less tried; and then taking white sugar, melted it in the flames. When they beheld us two stirring about the flaming liquor with our hands, without fear or pain, they took us for sorcerers. Abu-Sin and Wod-Naga, who, being Faki, did not drink even merissa, stared with the utmost astonishment at each other, and retired without taking leave of any one. On our blowing out the flame, Melek Mahmud was the first who ventured to taste it, and soon after the strong-liquor-loving Defallah was all joy, and praising the Germans (Nemza) who had invented such a beverage. Ere long it suddenly occurred to the fat Defallah, that he had not said his evening prayer. Although Melek Mahmud would have prevented him, and told him that he himself only prayed when no plunder was to be had, he, with the aid of his servants, rose from the ground and staggered out of the door. There he was let down, on the spot where we had often before seen him praying, and where, contrary to prescribed ceremony, he let his heavy posteriors rest on his heels, but could not call to mind one word of his prayers; nor would he have got out a word had he done so, as he held in his mouth the biting bukka (tobacco, natron and water), and could only make a dull mumbling murmur. After this there was much talk, and the Turks were abused, as usual: all had full confidence in us, and were well convinced we told no tales.

Of the female slaves of Basa, brought into the camp for sale, the old rogues who had most money (such, for instance, as Hassan Effendi) have bought the most beautiful, for the purpose of again selling them at a large profit; the lower ranks of officers also buy on a venture, and foolishly enough, as they have seldom sufficient to keep themselves. Old Deli Mustapha, the Pascha's Kawedschi, had bought a slave, and hidden her in a nook behind the hearth where he cooked his coffee, where she could neither stand upright, nor see daylight. Although we were very



well acquainted with him, still his jealousy would not allow us a single peep at the girl. Besides, he seemed to feel some superstitious fears about it; he used to pour on the ground, as a libation to the evil spirits, the first cup of coffee he brewed in the morning. The Bosniak, Hussein Aga, city commandant of Sennaar, who was a friend of ours, and who looked upon us as a kind of countrymen, had bought a couple of pretty girls, and his jealousy was fearfully aroused when they smiled at one of his slaves. Happily, the latter escaped death, but came in full career, with his master after him, to seek safety in our recuba. We saw at once what would occur, and let him in, but excluding his master, who stood without with drawn sabre, foaming with rage, and demanding his slave, to murder him. The latter, however, aided by our servants, had made his escape through the back-door, and was off again, on which I sent one of my people after him, to tell him to take shelter under the Pascha's roof. As our friend Hussein still continued to conduct himself like a savage, we had to show him our rifles, and I thought it better to go myself to the Pascha, to save the slave's life. I told the Pascha the case; he said that under the circumstances the master was certainly at liberty to take his slave's life, but that Hussein, as Chief Hakim, could make no use of such a right, as he had openly and often promised not to do so. He declared he would let Hussein Aga taste the bastinado, and gave orders to a Kawass to go and bring him. I had nothing now for it than to retire in all haste, send the Kawass to Hussein's hut, and get to my own. In an instant I told the yet raging though somewhat cooled Hussein, who was still before it, what had occurred, and advised him to take shelter in the back part of our recuba, where he would not be seen, and at once make out the order for the freedom of the slave; that I would convey it to the Pascha, as he was certain to demand it from him. Though a few minutes before so brutally savage, he now went at once into the proposal, and I hurried off with the manumission to the Pascha, and prayed him not to let any disgraceful punishment fall on the brave Bosniak, that might be followed by degradation, and whom he moreover had, by a mere word, brought to silence; and assured him that the Bosniak had given us no offence. However, he must appear before the Pascha, which he did, pale and trembling; but

the great man reproved him for his passionate outburst and former similar offences, and dismissed him, smiling and nodding to me, as if pleased at what I had done. No one was happier than the slave, who on the sight of his master had again fled to our recuba, when I handed him his manumission; we took him into our service as cook, so that our former cook could now go and follow his passion, the chase.

The Gisser was not yet swept away, though the water was four or five feet above the dam. I, along with the Pascha, was riding one day in its neighbourhood, on the left bank of the Gash, when my dromedary shied, and we became aware of a large serpent. The Pascha at once gave the workers orders to catch the animal, and this was at once set about. The snake, thus pursued, took the water, and once in, it boldly raised its head and turned on the Arab near it, who, armed with a hassaie, had cast himself off the dam into the water. With great dexterity he took aim at the head of the snake, and struck it so violent a blow, that, as if stunned, it let its head sink and began to writhe and twist most violently, on which another Arab approached with a cord: the first laid hold of it, seized the snake by the neck below the head, looped the cord round it, and then both drew it ashore. Here it lay for a moment quiet, and we could examine the fearfully beautiful creature, which was more than eleven feet long and half a foot in diameter. However, when they began to drag it further on, which, of course, would have spoiled the whole skin, orders were given to carry the animal into the camp; a jacket was bound over its head, and three men prepared to raise it on their shoulders. The brute, however, made such strong convulsive writhings, that it and its three bearers came to the ground together, and the same thing happened again when many other bearers were aiding. I went with them to the camp, had a strong nail driven into the front large beam of our recuba, and the monster hung on it. It hung all slack and limber down, as did also another snake that our servants had hung while yet alive inside our recuba; and I intended to take them down and skin them in the morning, as the day was too far gone to do anything to them now. In the night I was most unpleasantly disturbed, for the inside snake that hung

at the head of my bed seemed to glide with its cold belly over my face; in terror I sprung up, and thought I had been struck over the shin with a club, when the big serpent, now in its death agonies, gave me a stroke with its tail through the open door of the recuba, before which some of the servants sat on their heels telling tales of spirits, snake-kings, &c.

Next morning, when we called on our servants to take down the snakes to skin and stuff them, and told them not to spare the alum and arsenical soap, to our great astonishment they refused to work. We soon perceived they had been told by some bigot that this was an unclean work for a Mussulman: as at the moment there was nothing better for it, if we would not allow the sun to ruin this fine specimen of a python, we ourselves, though much disgusted, set to work on the job. As soon as the servants saw that we were not ashamed of such work, first one came and then the other, and took the assala to themselves, and worked all the more diligently on our promising them a pot of merissa. This serpent, like all large snakes, is called assala. Not long after, we received a similar snake of half a foot in diameter, but only nine feet in length, that had a short tail, like the *Vipera cerastes*; this they also called assala, and held it to be one of those before-mentioned short thick snakes, that swallow men. The marking of the skins of the two snakes showed little difference, but the head of the latter was the broader of the two.

As we here meet with people of all nations of the world, we hear many things, but with all the praise of their own native country, however small, is ever the favourite theme. Abdin Bey told us that in his country, Albania, were to be found flying snakes. He has a black serpent's horn, that seems to be an artificially blackened large tooth, and a stone out of the jawbone of an ass. To make oneself proof against poisons, as well as the bite of numerous reptiles, one has only with a sabre to slice off a piece of an Aggem, *i. e.* a heretic, and eat it. The race of Sagara (sorcerers) is much feared, as they are held to have strange power; but there is also an herb, a charm against such sorcerers. In the mountains of the Druses there is yet another kind of magicians, Gessit, who draw a circle round the bewitched person, out of which he cannot pass. Superstition, indeed, goes far, and Melek Saat has

written amulets that bring evil on those, who secretly foster ill-will against him; they are very old, as are all such papers we have examined. Mahmud Aga, Bulluk Baschi, and Abdin Bey have great seals, the impression of which they stamped on paper, and gave to those who had the fever to wear about them; if this has no effect, there must be some evil spirit (*schittan*) in the way. There are also papers (*uarrag*) that sick men must eat, or burn and inhale the smoke. Osmar Kaschef, as a preventive to cold and cough, drinks the water with which the ink of certain written words has been washed off a wooden table; and he swears that a frog split open and placed on a shot-wound will draw out any ball within twelve hours. Even the most intelligent among them believe more in their charms than in the best doctor. The Pascha, a freethinker, states his belief in men living to the age of 400 or 500 years. All, both Turks and Arabs, are much prejudiced against the European method of treating diseases. If the medicine does not give immediate relief, it is bad, *all bosh*. All that any friend recommends is at once tried, and faki and charms are always employed along with the attending doctor. Their own receipts are powerful, as, for instance, for a cold, pepper, ginger, and hot spices, &c. Almost for every illness they open some particular vein; the vena ranina for indigestion, the vena frontalis for headache, the vena digitalis for ailments in the limbs, &c. &c. Garlic, placed on or in the tarbush is a preventive to coup de soleil; and garlic and salt, placed under the tongue, a cure for thirst and fever. Arabs and Turks groan and cry at every attack of illness, and call on Allah and the Prophet, "ia Rabbi! Rassul Allah! Sheik Abd-el-Kader!" &c. During illness they seldom change their clothes, and remain in their under garments, which are clogged with perspiration. On fresh wounds they place sulphur, wash them often with brandy, and strew on them coffee, salt, and gunpowder. For lance wounds the natives here roll round a piece of stickgoat's hair or cotton, and turn it round in them. When these in a day or two become highly inflamed, they make a rim of paste round the wound, and pour into it boiling butter. That the butter that runs over after being applied to the wound is never wasted, but drunk up, is a matter of course. They say if it does not burn like fire it does no good, and it is incredible how

soon they thus heal wounds. That every wound in this clime requires to be more stimulatingly treated than with us, is true, and therefore balsam of Peru is a capital medicine here. In Beni-Amer men pour into their wounds hot pitch or rosin, and leave it there. As a cure for fever, milk and senna are used.

The nearest town or village on the Gohr-el-Gash, some half day's journey from here, is Tercfât or Hafarra; east from it, on a hill well supplied with water, is Illit, some day and a half's journey from Kassela; at a similar distance to the south-east is, on the Gash, another village, called Bitama. In the east, on a picturesque hill, rises Sabderath, one day's journey from here, and half a day's further to the east, Gedèhn. The range of hills these villages are on runs from north to south-east, and is well supplied with water. At the foot of the hills are gohrs, the hollows of which collect the rain water from them, which afterwards runs out or is lost in the plains. The Sheik Nuhr of Sabderath is a great leader of hostile forays and plundering expeditions. If he can not go on these, he finds no rest at home, and therefore wars on giraffes and tigers. The tribe of the hill of Gedèhn are respected by the Turks for their fidelity and firm adherence to their word. These are Arabs, and of the Hallenga tribe.

A fresh foray has been made into Basa, and some days ago tidings of heavy losses reached the camp. The natives there had retreated into caves, of which there are many and large ones among the hills, some of which, like those of Kassela, have water inside them; almost all of them have very small well concealed entrances, though many inside are of great extent. They are said to be inhabited by men of ancient days, spirits, and ghosts. The Turks fired in grenades or small shells, full of schiteta (red peppers pounded), as kindling fires at the mouths does no good, the smoke escaping by some hidden outlets.

The district of Basa commences, as before said, two days' journey further up the Gohr-el-Gash than Kassela, and extends along this Gash for eight days' journey up to Makada. Four days' journey from the frontier, and so nearly in the centre of the land, is Belgam or Bâlacha, which is a part of Basa, and has large popu-

lous villages among its hills. The inhabitants of Basa are to be praised for allowing no thievings to go on among them; one may lay down his goods by the wayside, and no one will touch them. None commence harvest till all go. Circumcision is usual among the men, but not as a religious rite. Elephants are in great numbers, and these are the principal objects of their hunts. The elephant hunters are called Agàr, and for this reason my brother's slave of the Basa race, got the surname of Agàr, as his father was a famed elephant hunter. The method of killing elephants is, while one hunter well mounted attracts the monster's attention in front, another behind cuts with a sword the back sinews of the leg, a deed not only requiring much strength, but also high courage and dexterity. Besides corn, they cultivate simsim (sesame). Children are fed on milk and honey; grown persons consume merissa and lochma. Flesh is little used; the head of the elephant is, however, highly famed, as also the cap of the foot. The climate is healthy, and the people hale and cheerful. The troops returned from thence highly delighted with the burmas, filled with honey and merissa, which they found in great plenty in the larger tokuls of these people.

All speak of a Bellad-el-Kelb (Dog-land); the women there are not disfigured, but the men have dogs' faces, feet with claws, and tails like apes; they cannot speak, though the women well understand what the men mean by the wagging of their tails! This land of dogs is at one time said to be on the frontier of the Habesch, at another on those of Darfur, now Felatta, and so on. A land inhabited by Fellati who are clothed, was mentioned to me when voyaging on the White Nile; and there was also pointed out to me, under 4° N. latitude, the hills of Lokoja, where it was said there was a race of men with dogs' heads who were cannibals. Afterwards we heard that the Wadi-el-Kelb was thus named, from the inhabitants being great robbers who held fast to their prey like dogs. The great Sheik Abu Sin, however, informed us, that this land was only six hours' journey distant from here, and that its Sheik bore the title of honour of Wod Kelb, which probably had been the title or name of some earlier renowned Arab chief, and that this Wod Kelb, who some seven years before had defeated a part of the army of Churschid Pascha, and would not

behold a Turk, paid, in an indirect manner, his tulba (tribute) through him. There is, in truth, a district of Arabia called Kalb, pronounced Kelb by the Turks, from whence it is possible this tribe may have their name.

Hallenga, Haddenda, Mitkenab, Bischari, Homrahn, Beni-Gerah, Beni-Amer, and even a part of Schukune, have a language of their own (Rottàn). Why not also Arabic, like most of the Arab tribes? who have emigrated the more so, as now on the G-esira Arabic has even driven out the original language. Were all these the original tribes, or rather the sole people of these lands, as they have only *one* language, or were they a powerful people, only gradually intermixed with Arabians? or have they united with them, the latter being the fewer, having adopted the language, while the former received the new religion? or has only a part of the well-known immense emigrations of the Arab race remained here, while the rest moved further south (to Kordofan, Darfur, Borzu, Bornu, &c.), and thus among larger masses lost its original language, while it retained its religion? On the hills men speak another language, which the above-mentioned races do not understand, and these hill tribes must be an original race, although among the tribes each has a different language of its own, perhaps the poor remains of their nationality. But over the great tract of country of the above-mentioned tribes, some one language, some one great nation must have once spread, as among all these different races there is a perfect similarity of customs and usages, as of one nation. The original nation must also have been migratory and uncivilised, as in the whole extent of country, from the deserts behind Syene from the Atbara to the Red Sea, not the smallest trace of a former cultivation, or settled dwelling seat, has been seen by any traveller, although men talk of pyramids and such-like, as I afterwards heard. Perhaps all these lands were once subject to the Abyssinian emperor, who among his titles styled himself King of "Kas," which may be identical with "Gash," and have not only meant the Gohr itself but also all the lands situated on it. The word, too, "Makada," used for Habesch or Ittopia, also points to an olden connection with the empire of Abyssinia, as according to the Kebra za Negest, the queen who visited Solomon was called

"Makeda," that is if one does not derive the word from the Arabic Machada. Although different languages prevail among the hills on the borders of Habesch, still one finds, with the exception of those who from trade or religion are connected with Habesch, the manners and customs nearly the same, and like those of all races of the earth of a lower grade of civilisation, who do not come into contact with other nations, and in trade and opinion learn little new. Basa, however, seems that which has remained most true to a state of nature.

Hardly had the Schaigies and Mograbins returned from their chasua into Basa with their prisoners and plundered cattle, than the Pascha took it all to himself, contrary to the common usage that allows the troops employed one half; but now to stir up Melck Mahmud to a similar foray with his Schaigies into Beni-Amer, on which land an ever arbitrarily increased tulba has been laid, and to make him and his people more zealous, he promised them the whole plunder: Mahmud goes, and returns when men fancied he and his whole troop had been cut off; and again the Pascha breaks his word, in spite of the great loss the party had suffered, and only gives him half of the spoil, and shares some of it among different Sheiks with whom two stolen camels had been found, as if he feared such a revolt in Hallenga as has already broken out in Kalabat. Mohammed Ehle, who with part of his people had joined the foray, appropriated to himself 50 camels, 200 cows, and 600 sheep. For the same reason, the Pascha had 400 ardep of corn brought from the reservoir at Kataref, as the Hallenga knew how to excuse themselves under the plea of poverty, and the Haddenda, who had declared themselves (taija) submissive, were not to be heard of, nor would they deliver any grain.

Many and various as are the natives of the countries we meet with here from all parts of the Ottoman empire, their own country is and ever will be the favourite theme of all. We feel this also, and our old Rhine songs make us now gay, now sad. For some days I had been sick of fever. Omar Kaschef sent me some lemonade with orange juice in it; I fancied I was drinking our favourite May-drink, and that I was in Königswinter on the Rhine, and, in spite of the fever's violence, I was happy. Unfor-



unately we have had latterly to give up the chase, as from behind almost every bush peep out hostile lances, and horrible murders daily occur. I lie all day on my angareb, constantly smoking, and, like a dreamer, keep my eyes fixed on the dusty partition of our hut, scarce hearing the dull words of the ignorant Turks, and allowing the time to pass on in idle listlessness. Thus do men alter; I am vexed with myself, but the unendurable heat soon changes my anger against myself, into curses at this broiling, monotonous life, the camp, and all in it. But I cannot venture outside the scriba without running the risk of being massacred, and the life and doings inside the fence are all too familiar to me. On all sides are heard nothing but grumblings about want of money, food, and everything else; then, each abuses the other, the Pascha comes in for his full share, and all round are complaints of the present, and praises of past times under Churschid Pascha. Only a small German country town could show dullness similar, and there other things would be better. The few books I carry with me I have read over a dozen times, and all that remains for me is thought, though my mind is so dulled and worn, that I almost at once fall into dreamy fancies and castle-buildings;—gigantic plans! immense fortune,—careless, luxurious old age,—purchase of landed estates in some happy, fair land, improvement of them,—family happiness, &c. These coloured and handsome women are not calculated, even for a short time, to afford amusement to an educated man; one can indeed only look on them as dumb conductors, as no one spark of feeling seems to be ever drawn from them. They themselves are unconscious of their unhappy lot, to be thus throughout all these lands condemned to slavery. All feelings here die away and become blunted, save only the remembrances of earlier life in one's native country, and especially the joys of one's student years and intercourse with youthful friends. Then come the thoughts of wine, beer, and clear cold water, and the food of home, not delicacies, but the plainest fare. How often do we talk over the sauer-kraut, potatoes, hams, sausages, and pork and broad beans! These may all be trifles, but if a man wants them for many years, and is exposed to all the annoyances of such a climate, he will soon feel how dear such things will become. I have now

been more than half a year from Chartum, and constantly in the field, and not once have I enjoyed the great luxury of reposing undressed between clean-washed linen sheets, but have invariably slept, full dressed, on the ground, or on the angareb. Our best linen soon vanishes, as the constant perspiration spoils its purity, the chalky dust burns into it, and the servants know nothing of washing; near their black skin all seems to them white; and, alas! for three months we have had no soap. In the midst of such a lazy, idle life, creeping on like a slow fever, all at once one hears the cry of "Jalla!" and one hangs for four or five days, eighty or a hundred leagues on a camel's back, shaken and rubbed till sore in body and bones, with a glowing sun, or sudden cold, and constant thirst and hunger as embellishments. But a man can bear much; I have held out through what I never would have believed. In violent fever, mounted on a dromedary, in midday sunbeams, more dead than living, held on by others, — and yet I recovered. To remain behind was certain death from the hand of the enemy, or the teeth of wild beasts. I have experienced what necessity will force a man to bear. In this monotonous state of existence and uniform manner of life, I compared myself to the camels picketed outside our tent, under the burning sun, now perfectly quiet, now lazily stretching themselves, undisturbed, though crows and ravens walk about on their backs, ever chewing the cud, or, as a change, seizing a blade of grass, and never showing the slightest sign of joy or curiosity.

#### CHAP. XIV.

Advance against the Enemy. — Retreat. — Omar Kaschef. — Great Cavern of the Kassela-el-Lus. — Baobab Trees. — Hunting. — Birds. — Beasts. — Pascha's Plans. — Quit the Camp for Chartum. — Conclusion.

THE Haddenda continue shooting our camels, although these are sent out to feed under military escort. We, ourselves, have during this campaign lost in all five and twenty camels and six dromedaries by such robberies, — a loss that falls on our own purse, as we could not bring ourselves to ask the

Pascha for any share of the plundered camels taken by our troops. Quite close to the camp the Haddenda, or, as is likely, the Hallenga, have with their broad lance heads pierced through and through three Mograbins, who defended themselves and their camels against them. My brother, who, at the first glance, gave up the wounded as hopeless cases, now says, it is a wondrous chance that these three men have ever recovered so far as they have; they are now out of danger. Sobi Aga, a leader of the Mograbins, had presented us for these cures, or rather that we might speak well of him before the Pascha, a truly handsome dromedary. For the latter reason also another chief officer, Soliman Aga, left behind him, on visiting us, 400 piastres, which we sent back to him by a servant, to whom, however, he maintained that the money was none of his. On our telling this to the Pascha, he rejoiced at our prize, and, laughing heartily, advised us to keep our consciences quiet, as in this land a man must take all he could get.

At last it was resolved to advance against the Haddenda in their Chaàba with the whole army: which caused a precious confusion in the camp. The camels, laden with the ammunition, set out, but ran away, and threw it off when but a short way from the camp: the latter was fired at all corners, that the enemy might not throw themselves into it. The march was continued in a north-westerly direction, on the before-mentioned village of Dabab, till late in the night. Next day, about noon, we found ourselves on the Gohr-el-Gash, and had to undergo an awful scorching. On the following morning the camp was pitched an hour's journey beyond Dabab, where the deep, grassy soil and heavy dews caused much illness, and many of the sick died. The poor Schai-gies had day and night to gallop round the camp, and for three days had not been off horseback. After a rest of two days the march further into the Chaàba was made for some two miles, and, as usual, without any order, as every one had to find his way as he best could over the yet undried morass. The Black Sheiks are in their suits of armour, and have their helmets hanging at the saddle-bow. So also have Mohammed Ehle and Achmed Scheriff, though they are much in terror of being shot by our soldiery (Ashari), but must, such being the Pascha's express

orders, accompany us, that so we may have in our power hostages for the Hallenga's good behaviour. The Pascha had a great square formed, as the Arabs began to show on all sides. The few Hallenga who are with us have stuck pieces of white paper in their hair, not to be taken by our soldiery for the enemy (Haddenda). The Arabs, by fearful howlings, challenged us to commence the battle; these were replied to by a perfectly useless fire from our soldiers, without aim and at too great a distance. The Pascha galloped about like a madman, but would not move his force. The cannons were moved about from side to side and fired off, so as to astound the foe by their thunders and grape-shot, and make them keep a respectable distance from us. At last the cavalry took a breathing and charged; but, from the trees and some huts that had been fired, effected little. One of the Schaigies and four Koschafs (sing. Kaschef) fell, horses and men. After this the enemy became again quiet, and made no more attacks. The Pascha took particular pleasure in riding here and there against a single foe, and in shooting them down, as these, after having thrown all their lances, remained fixed as Achu-el-Bannat, to show their scorn for death. The Schaigies made a fearful howling as they attacked, and as the foe approached them, the blacks of Mohammed Defallah danced about on one leg and beat on their shields with their swords, now crouching low down, now springing up into the air. The village of Dabab was burnt down, although it is in the Hallenga country, and the powder was moved on close by, and passed not ten paces from the burning houses. At midday the triumphant Achmet Pascha, to whom I certainly had ascribed higher leader's talent, retreated to his camp, which had in the meantime been left in charge of Abdin Bey. Here there was now no end of all kinds of boastings. Each proclaimed his great deeds, and according to all, an immense number of Arabs must have been slain. Friday arrived, and we should have again marched out, but the great Kadi Salani of Chartum, who had been for some time in camp, and to whom the Pascha had presented a beautiful female slave, although he brought two wives with him, advanced out of his tent and spoke with some of the upper officers. This did not continue long, till the Pascha came from his tent, and we soon observed what had been the tenor of the sly priest's words. All the soldiers

rushed one after the other to the Pascha's feet, praying that this day no blood might be shed, as it was Chumna, a holy day or festival. This great Kadi is a hypocritical but intelligent Mograbin, drinks stoutly his wine in private, especially when he gets it for nothing, and, as I afterwards learnt from my brother, during Ramazan, when even the poor half-starved soldiers fasted, openly set them the fine example of eating and drinking before his tent, nor allowed himself to be annoyed by the displeasure of the other holy Sheiks, who during that period abstained from all food or indulgences. The Sheik of the Bischari, Wod-Naga, who, as well as the other Sheiks, have no wish to see the complete subjection of the Haddenda, has disappeared with his people from the camp to arrange with them a secret treaty, to which the Pascha has in private given his consent. The latter, who did not, nor dared not, trust to this, has during the negotiation caused the great Sheik Mohammed Din, his nephew, and the Sheik of Mitkenab, to be placed on camels, loaded as they were with the chains they all along had worn, and conveyed back to Chartum under a strong escort. In spite of the negotiations going on for a peace, many expeditions were made from the camp, but without any success, as the herds that were here and there seized on, at the fearful howls of the Arabs were scattered in all directions, upsetting infantry and cavalry, and rushing back into the forest to their fellows. The Haddenda declared themselves defeated by a deputation of a Sheik and three of themselves, but they would pay no tulba, unless the Pascha retired to the Kassela. The retreat to Kassela was made in a single day. Thirty men perished from fatigue, and 370 asses, and many horses and camels. Among the wounded, was Omar Kaschef, to whom the Pascha paid every attention, and specially recommended him to my brother's care. His horse had been killed under him by a lance-thrust, and he had received six deep wounds in the neck from the Handschar. The poor man had the night before lost an amulet, and all, even the free-thinking Sali Effendi, are firmly convinced that some evil spirit had during the night stolen it, so to effect his death. My brother who, after the Pascha had marched off with the great part of the troops, had been left behind with the sick, has completely cured the Kaschef. From this and the cure of the three Mo-

grabins, Joseph's fame rose so high, that men believed he could revive the dead, but would not, as he dared not contend with the will of God.

The camp was now close to the village of Kadmin, behind which in a ravine started up a beautiful rock-spring, the only one of its kind we saw in Africa; and near this we were again fenced and pallisaded. No sooner did the Pascha again find himself in security here, than at the instigation of Mohammed Ehle he openly exposed for sale in the camp the three sons of the Sheik Auet, the true head of the Hallenga, who will not surrender, and this he did on purpose to insult the father. The price asked for these youths was so high that no one would buy them. Mohammed Ehle alone bid for them with looks bent on the ground, as his countrymen round looked with furious eyes on him, it being against all custom, and contrary to the Koran, to buy a true Believer.

From the village being so near us we had much better opportunity of coming into communication with the natives, among whom my brother made various medical observations. The women, especially the female slaves, have beautifully turned strong arms, a full upper body, and this principally from working at the murhaka; the under part of the body and limbs are not so fully developed. All are rather slender than stout; whereas most of the blacks, the Dinka excepted, exhibit a good deal of such beauty as the Cape Venuses boast of. The body is free in all its movements, and the ankles and wrists are fine and the feet small. The hair is thick, bushy, and stiff.

Here the people, on the death of a Faki, or rich man, beat the nagara, and sing to it a monotonous song of a very few words. After burials the howlings are continued in the houses of the dead for from seven to fourteen days, and longer by the women. In the graveyard stands a kind of catafalque, a low scaffold, overhung by coloured mats; at the head is erected a post ornamented with shells and ostrich feathers, round which the women stand, stretching up their arms in the air, singing, and dancing. Here, too, are Faki, to whom on the night of Thursday and Friday the Nebi come. Ere a Faki can become famous he must be very aged, or have distinguished himself by much fasting and self-denial, but chiefly by much dissimulation and hypocrisy.

On the south-east side of the main ridge of the Kassela-el-Lus is to be seen, low down between blocks of rocks, the entrance to an extremely large cavern (Mogara, here Charr), which, according to the tales of the older men, is exceedingly high and roomy, runs under the whole hill, and contains water, which afterwards comes out at the north-west side of the hill in a rock-spring. Accompanied by our friend the Faki Misaur, who had, as before told, entertained us so splendidly with merissa, and, betrayed by it, revealed to us the priests' gunpowder plot, we made a hunting excursion to that side, thus, unobserved by the inhabitants, to reach the cave; we having always received evasive or negative answers, when we requested to be shown the entrance to this place of retreat in pressing dangers. The entrance is round, and only by bending low under a mass of rock can one get in; inside all was dark. We had no torches. Our timid guide called our attention to the fresh bones and traces of blood, which, though they might not foretell a Polyphemus, still hinted at unpleasant four-footed inmates. We did not push far in, but resolved to purchase wax, make large torches, and with a larger party repeat the visit, as it was said that high pillars, probably stalactites, were to be found in the interior; but of such we saw as little sign at the entrance, as of inhabitants. It is probable that there are here about many such caves, and all connected with each other. In the hill of Abd Chammel, which rises like a sugar loaf at the distance of some miles to the south-south-east of Kassela, and which is to be seen from the Gisser, there are many such caves, which, holding water, are used by men as dwellings. If one considers this, together with the caves of the neighbouring hills, being used as dwellings, while such in other places, *e. g.* in Basa, serve only for places of refuge in times of danger, one might justly hold this land to be that of the Troglodites—the race of Troglodytica of olden geographers. It is worthy of remark, that all these “people of nature” bear no bows or arrows, nor even “poisoned” lances, as those on the hills behind Sennaar, Kordofan, and the White Nile. The distant weapons are held unworthy of a man, but are not on that account the less feared.

The present inhabitants, though otherwise good Mussulmen, as

little reject the flesh of the tortoise as of the wild hog, which they look on as a delicacy, and the fat of which they form into sausages and roast on a hot stone. Their other food is milk, lochma, durra bread, which is often as fine and white as the wheaten wafer of the Host; meat, generally stinking or that of sick cattle, always eaten without bread, the more fat and butter the better, as they never look on any dish as good that is not swimming in grease. Like the Schaigies, they leave on the bones not the smallest bit of flesh, sinew, or muscle, and even with their sharp white teeth grind down the smaller bones. Their only relishes are salt and red pepper, which they bear about them in large horns. In general, they are very moderate and easily satisfied; but when they can light on anything gratis, they prove themselves real gluttons, but never seem to suffer from their gorgings. When starting on foraging expeditions, which they carry on far and wide into the Haddenda country, they merely take with them a little durra, a small quantity of flesh dried in the sun, and each a small water-skin; on such expeditions the leader lives no better than his meanest follower. The main object of these forays is cattle. To somewhat relieve the stench of their pomatum, they strew highly-scented powder over the hair, and so give it a golden red tinge. Blood revenge is here, as on the island, imperative; but commonly 1000 piastres will be accepted as blood-money; this is also the usual sum demanded as a prisoner's ransom. Blood is here not avenged solely on the person guilty of shedding it, but, as in Russia and Greece, on his family and relatives. The women of the better orders work at making fine cotton cloths and handsome mats, but not for sale, merely for the use of their husbands and selves. Such mats are often cheap at ten or twelve reals. These people are in the habit of holding snuff mixed with ashes between their teeth and lower lip, partly as a delicacy, partly as a preventive against scurvy in the wet season. Musk and all such strong scents are highly admired. The large raised angareb or marital couch stands in the background of the tokul, and is shut off by coarse woollen cloths (schamla) and straw mats (birsch); before it stands the usual angareb for the husband. The armlets and foot-rings (anklets) of the women of the Djalín, who fled from the Nile on account of



Defterdar Bey's cruelties, were made most neatly out of dollars slightly alloyed with copper; and it was these fugitives who introduced among these tribes some culture, and civilisation, and also cotton and onions. Besides the Theresa dollars, one also meets here thalers of the Emperor Francis, which from the eagle, or rather from its feathers, are called Abu Risch, but these are not so well liked as the former.

In spite of the Haddenda hovering about the camp, we went to a gisser, an hour's journey south from here, to look at a Baobab. On a small hill, where a large ravine touches on the Gisser, there is one towards the south-south-east, and some others about the edge of the Gohr at the foot of the hills; but neither here nor in Sabderath nor Gedèhn, do they reach the size we had seen them elsewhere, in higher regions. We had never before heard that these giant-trees were to be found here, although my brother had often sat under the shadow of a fallen one, of which the stem had a circumference of eighteen feet, and was thirty feet to the branches. Its bark is like that of our birch; outside it has a fine white rind peeling off in strips; beneath this, the real nourishing brown bark, and below that the substance of the tree, fine nets of fibres, that lie on one another in lamina the thickness of a finger. The marrow-reed of it is very large, and when fresh and green makes a good salad. The stem suddenly ceases, and finishes off in small horizontal branches; the finger-like leaves are all small, and the crown poor compared to the stem. The bright green woolly fruit resembles longish gourds, the shell of which is easily broken, and the interior is filled with brownish beans, as hard as stones, which lie imbedded, without any regular order, in a white substance. This white substance melts in the mouth, and has a pleasant sourish taste. The fruit is more than a foot long, and half as thick. The older trees are generally rotten at heart, but, from their cork-like elasticity, not easily felled, and difficult to burn. From the fibres of the wood are made rahat, baskets, and ropes. From the White Nile I brought with me a sample of these fibres prepared for use, which in fineness did not yield to the best flax, and in durability far exceeded it. The gazelles have incredibly increased; on his return to the camp my brother shot three, but the Otru (Antelope

saltiana) seems to have completely vanished. Formerly here, in Taka, hyenas were so numerous, that they broke into houses, and attacked full-grown men. Sobi Aga in one night's ride shot thirteen of these marauders, as his people assured us.

Snakes' bites and scorpions' stings grow more common. Although men have repeatedly been brought to us who had been found delirious, and with all their limbs greatly swollen, still until now my brother has succeeded in saving all by administering sal-ammoniac inwardly, and washing the wound with it, without having to apply fire, as is the usual habit here, and which is also the custom in cases of poisoned lance wounds in Kordofan. There are some other good remedies in use among the natives themselves, as *e. g.* fresh pounded ricinus seed mixed in butter quickly cleans the ulcer; and they have also some singular remedies, as, for instance, for colds and sore throats, the cutting of the uvula.

Although we have everywhere inquired after, and looked about on all sides for, old remains, we have not as yet fallen in with even a single stone which is either hewn or marked with figures; however, Achmet Scheriff tells us (and he it was who first gave us tidings of the great Queen Kahua who ruled up in the mountains), of a part of the Beni-Amer country, where the city of Eidip stands at the head of the Gohr of Baraka, called Assaramm Dehera, a day's journey from the Red Sea, where there are scattered about seven pyramids and many great stones, and that at the foot of the hills of Kostahn, Habab, and Mària are also many remains of ancient buildings of great extent.

A main source of amusement has been, and will be, during all this campaign, hunting, or rather shooting; and, on the whole, we have succeeded well, as not only have gazelles and antelopes, but also hares, bustards, guinea fowls, wild geese, and ducks, kept our kitchen pretty well supplied. The neighbouring forest affords here and there sufficient shade for us to rest under, and in early morning or late of an evening listen to the song of the birds, who by their songs often make us forget we are in the centre of Africa. The first of these is a kind of thrush, with fire-red breast and black wings (*Larius barbarus*, *Afr. spec. nov.*) which has the song of our blackbird, and first showed itself in numbers in the rainy season. These mostly frequent the higher

trees, while other kinds of thrush with black or white heads [*Turdus (ixos)*, *leucocephalus* (*Crateropus*), and *xanthopygus* (*Arsinoe*)], which crowd in flocks the lower bushes, by their chatterings, curious notes, and mocking songs remind us of the starling. The Marabouts (*Leptoptilus*, here called Abu seïn), has also become plentiful. The Schaigies take great delight in chasing these birds, (that have a difficulty in rising from the ground) on horseback, and even on dromedaries, either over-riding them or knocking them down by throwing a stick, and then, without killing them, pull out the feathers under the tail and set them at liberty; these feathers they sell to us for some trifle or other. Our collection increases, and we rejoice in the prospect of at a future time seeing them in the Berlin Museum, for which we intend them. The animals now in that museum sent by us will be found enumerated in the *Appendix*. One bird, most plentiful in Chartum, the small red house-tit (*Fring. Senegal L.*), we have never seen here. •

Of living animals, we have a young animal of the lynx species, here called fagged; but, although we have had him many months by us, he is as little tamed as any weasel. Against my brother, though he has never beaten him, the beast has a peculiar spite, and he cannot pass near him without being in danger of feeling his sharp claws driven into his feet. Besides, we have a young lion (the male lion here has no mane), and a kind of panther (here sometimes called nimr, tiger, a vague designation of all larger animals of the feline species, and sometimes, fagged), which has all the way along its back a whitish mane, as broad as one's hand, under which, however, its peculiar spotted skin is observable; especially when, as it grows older, this mane thins off, seeming to be peculiar to the animal in its younger state. Further, we have a kind of squirrel, with a silver grey tail (*Sciurus brachyotus Ehrenb.*), which has become perfectly tame, and lives in strange intimacy with the lynx. Of these squirrels there seems to be plenty here, but never have I seen them on the trees, as with us; they dig and grope about the ground, especially where the natives have their corn pits. Of birds, we have only the Secretary, or snake-eater; and a Horn-bird (*Buceros nasutus L.*), which was winged by a shot. The first is very handsome, and has the peculiarity that in

the upper part of him he resembles an eagle, while his legs are those of a wader. The Arab who sold him to us, asserted he had brought him down from the nest where he bred. The Horn-bird has a very short tongue, in a very crooked bill, and over the latter an evident horn, the point of which seems blunted off. From his short tongue, and projecting horn, he is obliged to seize his pieces of flesh by the tip of his bill, throw them up in the air, and catching them, thus bring them within reach of his tongue, to settle them for swallowing. The Pascha had received two young dwarf antelopes (here, Otru, springing bucks), which he presented to us. We bought a goat in milk, to give suck to these little creatures. One night I heard a peculiar noise, and I foreboded some mischance had happened to one of the little ones. I kindled a light, and saw that another, to me unknown beast, had one of the antelopes in its jaws. Without thinking long over it, I seized the robber in the act, and then discovered that it was a jackal. My brother, from being ill, could not aid me; but our servants had heard my calls, and, to save the skin, a cord was at once procured, and the spoiler strangled with it. Men called it Badschum, but it had a short tail, and the Arabs said it was a Kelb-el-Galla (wild dog). Finally, we have a Civet-cat (here, Kediss-el-Sabat). Numbers of these cats are kept here in cages, to procure from them the much-loved musk or civet, which is contained in glands behind. Of the great brown apes, which are represented among the hieroglyphics with torches in their hands, as executioners (a species of *Kynocephalus*), we could procure no specimen, and Mohammed Ehle would not sell us his, that was quite tamed, and generally sat on his house's roof. As these hideous apes fight among each other with sticks and branches, and know how to defend themselves with stones, as we ourselves had experience of, perchance they may be some species of the far-famed Chimpanzee, which in size exceed the Ourang-outang.

The Pascha summonsed me, and informed me that Kataref and Kalabat had declared against all tribute; that a revolt against the Egyptian rule was to be dreaded in Sennaar; and that England threatened Egypt; then, that fortunately, six cannon, with munitions, had arrived at Berber, and seventeen at Korusko. But, in spite of this, he would abstain from chastising the rebels, as the

army was much melted away, and many were sick. He held that the Sheiks under him must have business elsewhere, and would there make much spoil; he would, therefore, wait till spring, and then push up, on and by the Blue Nile, to Atisch, from there fall on Habesch, and quickly conquer it, ere the English, who had taken it and its bad people under their protection, could have tidings of it, and so by force open up this old road of trade. His plans of conquest extended from thence all over the gold lands of Faszogl, out over the Beni-Amer, and to Darfur; as if all this was a mere trifle. On a sign given, his attendants quitted the recuba, and he entrusted to me that the Viceroy had invited him to pay him a visit at Cairo; that he certainly would not go, but had no wish to quarrel with him, as he still possessed his confidence, as his sending the twenty-three great guns showed; although he had before had his doubts about it. (This reserve that he obstinately persisted in, after a second and even third invitation, afterwards cost him his life; and it was fortunate for me I made my escape in time, as he must have divulged to some treacherous Sheiks the plans of independence he fostered, as I afterwards, on my journey to Mandera, had completely proved to me by Abu Sin.) He then made a gloomy face, and related that his father-in-law, even at this busy and unpleasant time, urged him to equip a second expedition to the White Nile, and that he must, for the moment, comply with his wishes.

No one was better pleased than I by this last intelligence, and I was hard put to to conceal it. His promise to promote me to Bey on his conquest of Abyssinia, or rather of its nearest provinces, and to give me sixteen purses monthly, was, compared with this, a mere nothing; as, in this country, there is a mighty difference between promising and performing, as I, unfortunately, in the sequel had bitter experience of. Soliman Kaschef, of Kar-  
reri, a brave Circassian, and a "fellow of infinite humour," who already had commanded the first expedition to the Bachr-el-Abiat, and who had now been some time with the camp, and employed on many plundering expeditions, made a long face when the Pascha announced to him that he should lead this expedition. However, on our quitting the Pascha's presence, he came with us

to partake of a bottle of wine, and I revealed to him that it would be the greatest pleasure to me to accompany him on this journey of discovery, that we were sure to find much gold (as I knew from my books), and requested him that he would beg of the Pascha that we two brothers might accompany him, even though it should be at our own expense; he undertook the task with great willingness, and also saw that it was all proper that we, whom the Pascha called his two eyes, should not make such request ourselves, as it would look as if we were no longer desirous of being near him. Next morning we got the great man's decision. I might go; select a boat for myself, but nothing more; my brother, on the contrary, must remain with him. My request to him, that my brother might also go was refused; as he pointed out the great mortality in the camp, and also the care of his own person, which he would not confide to the Italian Hakim, Dr. Bellotti.

This determination of the Pascha placed us two brothers, who desired to live, fight, and die together, in the most painful dilemma. The thoughts of a separation, when dangers were each day increasing, in the centre of Africa, where we had already mutually nursed each other during repeated attacks of fever, and each found, during such, the other so necessary, was insufferable; nor was this bettered by the short time allowed us to come to any resolution, as the departure of Soliman Kaschef was fixed for the next day but one. Only late on the last evening did I acquaint the Pascha with our determination, and that I would avail myself of his permission to join the expedition as a traveller. For long he gazed in silence at me, as if he feared that I, who bore his dangerous secret about me, might purpose to journey, instead of up, down the Nile, to receive the reward for betraying him. However, when I recommended my brother to him, and begged him not to let him from under his eye, this hostage seemed to him sufficient bail for my honesty; for he broke his gloomy silence, and recovered his usual friendly manner, though sadder than common, and sent for Soliman Kaschef. He specially requested me to keep a careful journal, which he would have translated into Turkish; and recommended me to cling firmly to Soliman Kaschef, to whom ~~he was~~ immediately about to commend me. "Oefta ainak" (open

your eyes), he said to me at the conclusion, with meaning emphasis ; as if he hoped, hereafter, pursuing his conquests in this direction, to be able to carry out his favourite plan of forming all his regiments from the blacks alone.

As the Pascha could not spare troops to afford us a sufficient escort to Gos Rajab, our journey had to be kept the greater secret, as during the night the challenging cries and howlings of the Haddenda had been heard on the other side of the highly swollen Gohr-el-Gash. At break of day an alarm was beaten, and, as usual, all, without the smallest order, rushed out of the camp, as the foe was believed to be already at our gates. In the utmost haste our camels were laden, and I took our collection and the greater part of our things with me to place them in safety in Chartum, as a surprise and plundering of the camp was likely sooner or later to occur. The Pascha accompanied us with the greater part of his forces to the village of Hauathi on the banks of the Gash, by this demonstration, and also by the fire of grape-shot across the Gohr, to frighten the Haddenda back into the Chaaba. This manœuvre succeeded completely, for Mohammed Ehle by his spies found out, that the Arabs had directed their steps to the north, nor was there any trace of themselves now to be seen ; and this, ere long, the bold Melek Mahmud confirmed, who had taken with his Schaigies possession of the opposite bank of the Gohr to secure the passage across it. He now received orders from the Pascha to cover our flank on the side of the Chaaba, to draw off the enemy's attention and mask our march, and, if necessary, escort us with his horsemen as far as the Atbara river. Now commenced leave-takings as if we were never again to meet each other, save in Paradise ; even the Pascha looked sorrowful ; his unsuccessful campaign, his fame ; and again gazing questioningly at me, embraced me for the first and last time, on which, as became their slavish souls, his train and followers took leave of me with much respect and reverence. It was curious that my brother and I, dear as we were to each other, parted, as if we were merely separating for a morning's ride. We both regarded this as a good omen ; it seemed as if a greater certainty was given to our again meeting by this cheerful feeling, and by this more happy mood succeeding to our forebodings of evil.

In long winding line we rode in single files up the sandy banks after our leader, and reached, without any mischance in crossing the some 4000 feet wide Gohr, the still most swampy Chaaba, where I all the more feared our baggage animals would never get through, from the difficulty I found in making my own way on my dromedary. The Schaigies rode right and left through the bushes, and so closely crouched down on their animals under the branches, that often neither man nor horse was to be seen. The escort (Schaigies not included) of our caravan was only some sixty men strong, and part of these were camel-drivers and servants armed only with lances. Nor were we without female, and most assuredly unveiled, society; many pretty young slave-girls, from the mountains of Basa, were with us, who understood not a word of Arabic. They belonged partly to Soliman Kaschef and his Askari, partly to Ladjam and other lovers, who did not seem to hold the camp as the safest abode for their loves, as many slaves, both male and female, had already escaped from it. These poor creatures were much to be pitied and much moved my compassion, especially when I beheld how longingly they looked towards the hills, as if they would fix in their minds the direction, in case any chance of escape offered. No sooner had their conductors observed these glances, though some of these were themselves slaves of the negro race, than with the utmost brutality they lashed the poor girls, crouching on the camels, over the loins and naked back with the kurbash till the weals rose on them. But to behold this, and dash on the scoundrels with long whip and lay stoutly about me, and to bestow on one slave of our friend Mohammed Ladjam's (who offered to resist me, and was about to use his weapon, calling me a Kaffre), a horizontal cut with the lash that circled his neck and dashed him to the ground, where my servants instantly disarmed him, was the work of a few instants. Soliman Kaschef and his people had ridden on far in advance without knowing anything of these doings, and I had nothing therefore for it, but to remain in the neighbourhood of the slave-women and my baggage, and putting new caps on my rifle and pistols, threaten to instantly shoot down any one who did not conduct himself as he ought, or who should dare, as my servants feared they would, attempt to injure my baggage



camels. On the Kaschef halting and our reaching him, I related the matter to him, and he repeated my threats as to any one attempting to injure me or my baggage animals, and turning to me, told me, he would give me other slaves to indemnify the owners, in case I found it necessary to shoot any for misconduct; on my particular interference to obtain good treatment for the slave-women, he at once declared the punishment of any ill-usage shown them to be irrevocably fixed at fifty blows of the nabut (bastinado). The poor girls now cast grateful looks at their deliverer, and I laughed at the jealous but powerless fury of their conductors, and at an after-time had the satisfaction to be recognised by some of these unfortunate women, and welcomed by them in the most kindly manner. We now, without any further strange adventure, passed over Gos Rajeb, through the meadow-lands of Butana, to which I intend again to revert in my "Journey to Mandera;" and by Halfaia to Chartum.

The Pascha also afterwards arrived at the same place, his long-determined-on retreat having been carried out, as there were no laurels to be gained by keeping the field, and his presence was indeed much required in Sennaar.

## APPENDIX.

## LIST OF BEASTS, BIRDS, AND REPTILES,

SENT TO THE BERLIN MUSEUM.

|                                                     |                                        |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| LEPUS æth.                                          | Fr. bengalus <i>L. Gm.</i>             |
| Cercopithecus Sabaeus, n. sp.                       | Fr. cantans <i>L.</i>                  |
| Sciurus brachyotus <i>Ehrenb.</i>                   | Fr. nitens, <i>L.</i> , adult.         |
| Viverra Canis, a kind of jackal<br>with short tail. | Vidua [Fring.] paradisea.              |
| Felis Leo.                                          | V. [Fring. serena.]                    |
| Felis, n. sp.                                       | Oryx [Fring. ignicolor] <i>Vieill.</i> |
| Felis Serval.'                                      | Ploceus personatus <i>Temm.</i>        |
| Antilope Saltiana.                                  | Lamprotornis aenea [Turdus<br>aeneus]. |
| Antilope Sommeringii <i>Rupp.</i>                   | L. chalybea, n. sp.                    |
| Falco vocifer <i>Daud.</i>                          | L. Chrysogaster.                       |
| Falco excaudatus <i>Daud.</i>                       | Nectarinia lucida, n. sp.              |
| Falco polyzonus <i>Rupp.</i>                        | N. melampogon, n. sp.                  |
| Falco leucocephalus.                                | N. metallica, n. sp.                   |
| Falco melanopterus <i>Daud.</i>                     | N. metallica, adult.                   |
| Falco tinnunculus <i>L.</i>                         | Anabastes acaciæ [Crateropus].         |
| Strix flammea <i>L.</i> var. Afric.                 | Picus nubicus <i>L. Gm.</i>            |
| Corvus Cryptorhina poicilo-<br>rhynchos <i>Wag.</i> | P. Goertan <i>L. Gm.</i>               |
| Lanius, n. sp.                                      | Bucco erythropygos, n. sp.             |
| Lanius nubicus.                                     | Pogonias senegalensis.                 |
| Lanius barbatus, sp. dist.                          | Psittacus frenatus.                    |
| Turdus [Ixos] leucocephalus<br>[Crateropus].        | Cypselus melba (var. jun.).            |
| T. [Ixos] xanthopygus [Ar-<br>sinœ <i>L.</i> ].     | Caprimulgus cuneatus, n. sp.           |
| Saxicola aurita <i>Temm.</i>                        | C. climacurus <i>Vieill.</i>           |
| Fringilla [Pyrgita] spadiceae,<br>n. sp. Afr.       | Merops nubicus.                        |
| Fr. [Estrela] elegans <i>L. Gm.</i>                 | M. Cuvieri.                            |
|                                                     | M. viridis.                            |
|                                                     | M. erythropterus <i>Lath.</i>          |
|                                                     | Alcedo rudis <i>L.</i>                 |
|                                                     | A. senegalensis <i>L.</i>              |

|                                        |                                            |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Actæon.                                | Ibis Hagedasch <i>Lath.</i>                |
| striolata <i>Ill.</i>                  | Ib. æthiopica.                             |
| cias abyssinica <i>L.</i>              | Parra africana <i>Lath.</i>                |
| Centropus senegalensis <i>Ill.</i>     | Anser ægyptiacus.                          |
| Colias senegalensis <i>L. Gm.</i>      | A. [Sarkidiornis] melanotus.               |
| C. striatus <i>Lath.</i>               | Pelecanus Onocrotalus <i>L.</i> , adult.   |
| Buceros abyss. <i>L.</i> , adult.      | Gypogeranus.                               |
| Buc. nasutus <i>L.</i>                 | Psamosaurus.                               |
| Buc. melanoleucos, <i>Lichtenst.</i>   | Hydrosaurus [Monitor, Varanus niloticus].  |
| <i>Bechst.</i>                         | Naja Haje [Coluber Naje <i>Hasselq.</i> ]. |
| B. erythrorhynchus <i>Briss. Tem.</i>  | Vipera Cerastes <i>Daud.</i>               |
| Columba capensis <i>Lath.</i> , adult. | Python Sebæ.                               |
| Pterocles senegal. <i>Tem.</i>         | &c. &c. &c.                                |
| Perdix, sp.                            |                                            |
| Ciconia senegal.                       |                                            |
| Grus Pavonina.                         |                                            |

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